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Comparative Indian Literature

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Comparative Indian Literature

Volume 2

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Prefatory Note

With the publication of the second volume of *Comparative Indian Literature*, an ambitious endeavour has been accomplished and a long-felt need fulfilled. The work, though complex in nature, was finished in record time and on a modest budget. When the Kerala Sahitya Akademi considered undertaking such a comprehensive two-volume history, the Managing Committee was quite aware of the magnitude of the problems, both academic and administrative. But Dr K. M. George, the Director and Chief Editor, who first mooted the idea and submitted the blueprint, was fully optimistic. Here at last is a history of Indian literature conceived in a special way to facilitate comparative studies and help evolve an Indian standard in literary matters.

At the conceptual stage, one of the many things discussed was the special emphasis of the scheme and the suitability of the title *Comparative Indian Literature*. As stated in the Preface to the first volume, comparative studies as such are not attempted in the scheme. And such studies will run into hundreds. What we have attempted here is to present a synoptic survey of the entire field of Indian literature. 'A comparative literature,' says Henry H. H. Remak, 'does not have to be comparative on every page, nor even in every chapter, but the overall intent, emphasis and execution must be comparative'. We fully agree with this view and therefore we feel that the content of the book justifies the title. It is up to the scholar to select his favourite alcove to pursue his own studies, comparative and otherwise.

An important aspect of Comparative Literature is the identification of the national content in the literature of a multilingual country like India which is constantly being replenished by more than twenty streams. The traditional Indian concept is that the Ganga symbolically represents all the sacred rivers of the country. In other words, the spiritual unity of the country from time immemorial is reflected in the concept of the Ganga as a symbol of India's age-long culture and civilization. By an extension of this imagery we can say that all the literatures in India share an essential unity in character and content. Whatever the ethnologists and historians might say about the racial and other differences, the same people inhabit India. There is an Indianness about the Assamese tribal as well as the most orthodox Namboodiri Brahmin of Kerala. This Indianness is reflected in the literatures of the country also and the present book promotes a better grasp of this truth.

A salient feature of the book is the meticulously prepared appendices where the reader finds, among other things, equivalents of international literary terms in 15 languages which, to our knowledge, no one else has attempted so far. There is also a select list of indigenous literary terms with brief explanatory notes.

The Kerala Sahitya Akademi has been extremely fortunate in getting the services of Dr K. M. George, an experienced, methodical and fastidious editor to implement the scheme. But for him such an encyclopaedic project would have dragged on indefinitely. We sincerely thank Dr George for his dedicated work.

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The Akademi's thanks are also due to Macmillan India Limited who have cooperated with the Akademi as joint-publishers in bringing out this difficult work rising above normal business considerations.

Our fond hope is that these volumes would soon appear in the major Indian languages as they already have appeared in Malayalam.

Trichur
November 1984

S. GUPTAN NAIR
President
Kerala Sahitya Akademi

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Acknowledgements

In this pioneering attempt to present a total view of Indian literature designed with a generic conspectus, my personal involvement has been considerable from the time the project note was submitted to the Government of Kerala till both the volumes were published under the auspices of the Kerala Sahitya Akademi. It was a great privilege for me to work as the Director and Chief Editor of *Comparative Indian Literature* which has been acknowledged as a work of national importance.

While presenting the work as a whole to discerning readers, my mind goes back with gratitude to the Government of Kerala who initiated the scheme, the Kerala Sahitya Akademi who accepted it as a part of its Silver Jubilee celebrations and Macmillan India Limited who associated with the Akademi in the stage of publication. The success of a scheme of such magnitude and range depends considerably on the active cooperation of the distinguished team of editors and contributors. I am beholden to the 15 eminent language-editors who have helped me not only in editing, but also in the selection of competent contributors for each subject in their own language of specialization; also to the various distinguished contributors who have lightened my work by their prompt response. My thanks are also due to the literary celebrities who have contributed introductions to the various sections as guest editors and to the editors of Macmillan India Limited, Madras.

As I have stated in the Preface to the first volume, *Comparative Indian Literature* has a design of its own. The difficulty of fixing specialists as contributors, getting suitable articles in time from them, checking, revising and editing the articles to suit the special purpose, and managing all this with a limited staff can be easily understood. But the greatest problem which confronted the editor and also the printer was the handling of a large number of authors' names and titles of books involving a multiplicity of sounds, covering several languages, each having a large number of scripts with precise phonetic values. And when these sounds had to be rendered into the Roman alphabet with just 26 symbols the problem assumed gigantic proportions. It was solved to a considerable extent by employing a system of transliteration with diacritical marks attached to the Roman letters. However, many writers and readers are not very familiar with this system, the use of which is unavoidable in a work of this nature. This has made proof-reading also particularly taxing. And therefore, a special word of thanks is due to Prof. K. Sankaran Namboodiri, a distinguished teacher of English, who has read the proofs of the second volume with competence, and also to Sri P. Sankaralingam who has prepared the index for both the volumes.

Trivandrum
November 1984

K. M. GEORGE
Director & Chief Editor

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LINGUISTIC MAP OF INDIA

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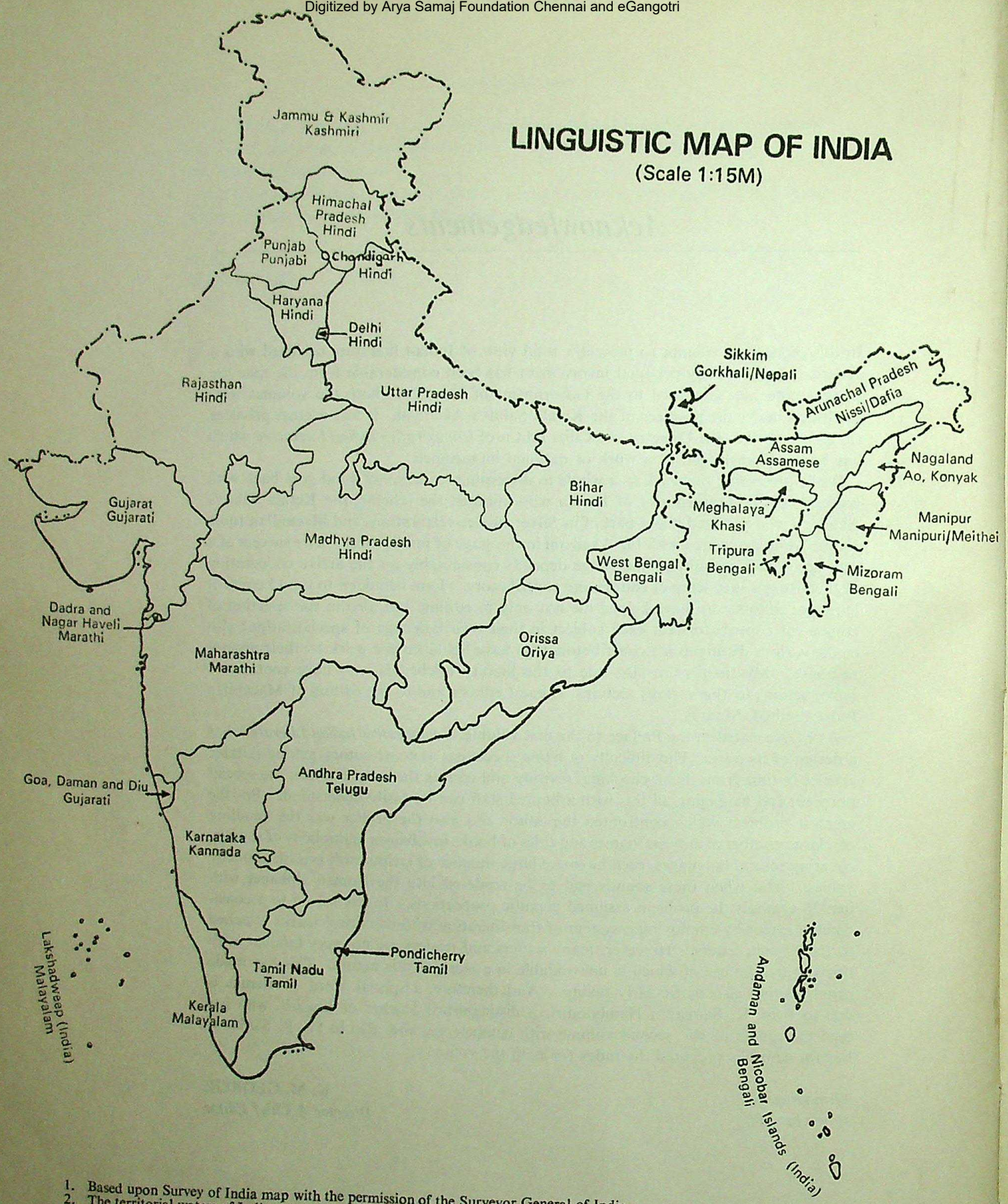

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Section 7

SHORT STORY

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Introduction

MULK RAJ ANAND

'Once upon a time' were the familiar words of the grandmothers of our land, as they were, presumably, of other countries, from the earliest times. The family was the unit of a hamlet of ten, fifteen or twenty homes, and men and women built their shelters for privacy, for security against hot days, cold nights, the storms that blew, and against the invading outsiders. And, within the villages grew the individuals, in groups, and there evolved some conventions for human relations, so that they might be able to live with others and share the spoils of the hunt or the portion of fruits plucked from trees, gather the harvests they grew on common lands, milk the cattle they reared, and use the tools they fashioned for the creation of wealth. The young prepared for life, through the wisdom of the heart, communicated through fairy tales, like those about Urvashi and Pururavas in the *Ṛgveda,* stories about heroes like Rama and the Pandava brothers. All these stories had a moral at the end, or some philosophy, and advice for action. The myths in the four Vedas, the *Sūtras* of the Upanishads, often achieve their telling effects, through the narration of stories. And the epics Ramayana and Mahabharata include many fables, tales, and long short stories.

In the various civilizations that flourished in our land through faiths of the different periods, questions of human situations are to be seen explained, not only in metaphysical expressions, but in stories about saints like the Buddha, as in the *Jātakas*, or Buddhist birth stories, in the *Pañcatantra*, and later in the Hindu myths of the *Brihat Kathā.* In order to hold the attention of the audience, when the tales were recited as part of religious discourses in the temple courtyard, or under the big tree in the middle of the village, or in the home, suspense was created, mostly through ambivalent metaphors. The good and bad deeds of men and women were narrated in terms of the behaviour of animals and birds, angels and demons, woven through fantasy, to suggest that they were covers for human beings. The lion was always ferocious. The fox was always cunning. The deer was always innocent. The elephant was always wise. The parrot told truths it had heard. The moral was made expressive at the end of the story, because of the old religious taboos, which were accepted for centuries. The stories were written for people of all levels of awareness who had to be awakened. Some were made conscious indirectly, while others had to be given a moral lecture directly.

The stories told in the ancient periods were repeated in the early medieval and medieval periods, after adaptations, to which was added the salt of the tongue of the narrator, though the basic metaphysical significance was retained. And when many of the tales, especially the *Jātakas*, the *Pañcatantra* stories, travelled with the caravans of merchants to West Asia, and further west to the Christian world, and were incorporated in the sermons of medieval monks, the original content was transformed, as, for example, when the Buddha was made into a Christian saint by the Catholic Church and symbolized the pain of Gautama akin to the anguish of Jesus.

But so strong was the influence of tradition that quite a few tales in the *Kathāsarit-*

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sāgara (Ocean of Stories) of Somdeva derived their plots and even their texture from the *Brihat Kathā*.

Thus the storehouse of wit and wisdom and folly of the tales told in India until the late medieval period, was a vast pool, in which there were many stirrings of the breath of anonymous tellers, waves of interior cultures, which came to the surface again and again, but which were contained in the pool so that later the pool became stagnant through lack of movement.

The Brahminical injunction, prevalent during the ages, that the theme of each new story may be chosen from old myths and legends and moral tales, inhibited the direct confrontation of the human predicament in the feudal periods of the one-man rule of Rajas and Sultans and Nawabs, thus preventing the expression of emotion through self-censorship. The old, old tales were often repeated. And the animal and bird fables appeased troubled consciences.

The impact of the West through the British occupation of our land had many deleterious results, but it also brought some unforeseen blessings. For instance, the English language was imposed as a medium of instruction. And though this suppressed the various languages for a time, it brought some of the learning of European Renaissance of the 15th century down to India, also the humane literature through novels, short stories and modern fables.

The incoming of these forms of literature was miscellaneous, spasmodic and casual. The British officials, who came to administer the country, imported for the relaxation of the spirit, fiction of the low pressure variety, also salacious novels like the *Memories of Fanny Hill*, and *Clarissa Harlowe*, the *Decameron* of Boccaccio and the Heptamaron of Queen Margaret of Navarre. Later came Thomas Hardy's *Tess*, and the tales of horror of Edgar Allen Poe. The stories of Kipling, O'Henry and Maugham were the main fodder of the subalterns in the British army, as also the novels of George W. M. Reynolds, *Mysteries of the Court of London*, *Pope John* or *the Female Pontiff*, Rider Haggard's *She* and Charles Garvice's purple novels. But, sometimes, a few men of taste imported the novels of Jane Austen, the Bronte sisters and George Eliot. By the thirties of the 20th century the protest literature against the war and decay of western civilization became available to the academics in the novels of D. H. Lawrence, Aldous Huxley and Andre Malraux. The great Russians, Gogol, Tolstoy, Turgenev, Chekhov, and Gorky, had begun to percolate into Indian consciousness after the First World War. James Joyce's *Ulysses*, (1922) and his book of stories *Dubliners* (1914) shocked orthodoxy. After the Second World War, the fables of Kafka, the fiction of Jean Paul Sartre, and the stories of alienation of Albert Camus, startled the intelligentsia, and also fascinated some writers, who claimed that contemporary existentialism had been anticipated by our own ancient philosophers.

Anyhow, the creative synthesis began, sometimes conscious, but mostly unconscious, between fiction, long and short, of the West and romantic literature which was being written in all corners of India, from the cue of passion, inspired by frustrations against the old, and the wish to welome the new. Ratan Nath Sarkhar's *Afsāna-e-Āzād*, Bankim Chandra's *Ānandamaṭh* and K. M. Munshi's novel of Somnath, brought about the fusion of history and social cause though unsuccessfully. But inter-influences, interpenetration of consciousnesses, and the mixture of instinctive Indian aspirations and western rendering of desire for the new awareness, brought a flood of short stories, in almost all the languages. This flood left rich sediments of mixed cultures, which fertilized contemporary writings.

The short story form has thus been practised by many writers in various emergent languages of India, which is no longer Bharat, but an emergent new civilization, that may exalt the small as beautiful, away from the grand industrial complexes of the West.

In spite of the fact that the moderns and contemporaries had to make the transition from the type character, the outer situation and abstract moods of the *Navarasa* theory of the surviving tradition, and of the moralistic tale, to the individual human being in the

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changed external circumstances of the world of the new psychology, to the short story *qua* short story, their achievements have been considerable.

Already in the early years of the 20th century, they had begun to perfect the short story.

In this genre, as in other fields, the poet Rabindranath Tagore was the great pioneer. He abandoned the pseudo hero of romantic writers like Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, and looked for inner motivation as the unstated departure point of the short story. In the story about the village postmaster in the Kushtia district of East Bengal, in the wild free spirit of the adolescent girl who is part of nature, and in the *Kābuli Wāllah*, he re-created the lonely souls of life and blood characters, full of tender desires, frustrated, but clinging to the small decencies which reveal their humanity. After Tagore, the highlights were Sarat Chandra Chatterjee and the three Banerjis (Tara Shankar, Bibhuti and Manek).

As in the novel, so in the short story, the Bengalis led the way, perhaps from the example set by Tagore, though the new writers went further into the interior of eastern India and brought up new characters, who had hitherto never entered literature.

Sarat revealed the pathetic women in obscure families, the daughter-in-law, the widowed aunt, and the good-for-nothing poet like his own father living at the mercy of the patriarch father-in-law, and the waifs and strays, like the peasant-owner of *Mahesh*, selling his bull and emigrating from the village to the town.

Tara Shankar brought to light the neglected tribals and the forgotten folk.

Bibhuti concentrated on the ordeals of growth of the adolescent (as in the *Pather Pāñcāli* series) in adverse circumstances.

Manek loved the throw-outs, like the beggar and his beloved, who seek solace in violent love as the rejects of society.

The influence of the Bengali pioneers was felt in almost every language along with the percolations from the West.

It is possible that Premchand emulated the example of Sarat Chandra, though this Urdu-Hindi writer went deeper into the folk psyche in his *Prem Pachīsi* stories, and ultimately threw up the great tragic story *Kaffan*. And it was not mere coincidence that he presided over the first progressive writers conference in Lucknow in 1936 and gave emphasis, self-consciously, to social conscience—the reservoir of feeling in the literature which was to come.

His hope was fulfilled with the emergence of Krishan Chander, Ismat Chugtai, Rajinder Singh Bedi and Qurrat-ul-Ain Haidar, who followed the romantic revolutionaries, Sajjad Zaheer, Ahmed Ali, and Rashid Jehan in the mellifluous world of Urdu writing.

Seemingly dissimilar, the languages of our country show parallel currents flowing into the ocean of the short story.

Certainly, the ideals of the freedom movement, with the emphasis on liberating each soul, put forward by Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru, revealed deep vibrations of the writers, compelling them to search the interior consciousnesses, through the crisscross of emotions, for those urges which were in the whirlpool of confusion, brought about by the hopes of people and the despairs of every step taken towards the future.

The creative impulse does not deal with abstractions. It seeks to touch in the concrete, those stirrings which emerge from inchoate, imperceptible feelings and express themselves so that the reader says: 'Oh, I feel like that too.'

Of course, there were almost parallel movements in the development of the short story. The early romanticists, who wrote atmospheric stories, like Lakshminath Bezbarua in Assam, Ramanbhai Nilkanth in Gujarati, Viswanath Satyanarayana in Telugu, were followed by those who had read Tagore, like Narayan Hemchandra in Gujarati, V. V. S. Iyer in Tamil, K. V. Puttappa in Kannada, and by the realists like Sarat Chandra Chatterjee in Bengali, Premchand in Hindi, Gudipati Venkatachalam and others in Telugu, N. S. Phadke and V. S. Sukhtankar in Marathi and Kalindi Charan Panigrahi

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in Oriya; and these were followed by new young experimentalists like Sandipen Chatterji, Moti Nanda, Syamal Ganguli and Amalendu Chakravarti in Bengali; Kirat Babani, Anand Khemani and Vishnu Bhatia in Sindhi; Subhadra, Manu Bhandari and Mangila Bhagat in Hindi; Ananthamurty, Ramachandra Deve and Rajshekhar Neermanvi in Kannada; Jayakanthan, Rajam Krishnan and R. Choodamani in Tamil; Joginder Paul, Balraj Mainera and Surindar Prakash in Urdu; Kakkanadan, O. V. Vijayan, Mukundan and Sethu in Malayalam; Ratanlal Shant, Iqbal Rahim and Nasir Mansoor in Kashmiri; and many others who are emergent.

It is a truism that there is not one uniform culture in the short story in any society, but this truth is far more symptomatic of the short story in our country. There are as many inspirations as there are individual writers, even when they belong to a movement, a school, or a coterie. By its very nature, the short story is a personal rendering of feelings; and as these are coloured by the similarity of a unique personality, the creative art expresses those nuances to which the bent of every peculiar temperament inclines the writer. This makes for diversity of expression. And it brings to view hitherto unknown emotional experiences as in the *Diary of a Madman* by Fyodor Dostoevsky, or in the *Gentleman of San Francisco* by Ivan Bunin, or in Lu Hsun's *The Tragedy of A Q*. In this way the most intense short stories of India will have enriched our many cultures by the revelation of how *Sanskriti*, the cultivation of the new Indian personality is, emergent.

And when the history of Indian culture comes to be written in the next century, it may appear that the inmost longings, thwartings and desire urges, of the many peoples of our country, as expressed in the short stories, are more authentic evidence of the life of our time than the slogans of politics and the very obvious outer events.

And if one may make an *obiter dicta* about the achievements of most of the writers of stories of our time, I would venture to say that they have transformed creative writing from its once inane preoccupations with superficial pleasures, to the literature of truth—which has often yielded beauty.

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Assamese

B. K. BHATTACHARYA

Early Development

The Assamese short story is a child of the modern sensibility. Its form defies definition. It is more than mere reportage, implying as it does characterization, unity, cumulative interest, climax, resolution, etc. It is a well contrived literary form and is easily distinguished from the folk-tale, fable, ballad and beast-epic. The most innocuous definition is that the short story is a prose narrative of limited length. Under this broad definition, we can include individual episodes of Assamese *Kathāgurucarit* (prose biography of the saints written in the 18th century) and the written folk-tales of the modern age. The individual episodes of *Kathāgurucarit* are, however, no more than mere anecdotes, but the written folk-tales, may in one sense, be regarded as the precursor of the short story in Assamese.

Lakshminath Bezbarua (Lakṣmīnāth (Bejbaruvā), 1864–1936), who was the most influential writer of his age, published his first short story collection, *Surabhi* (Divine Cow of Plenty) in 1909. His other short story collections are *Sādhu Kathār Kuki* (Basket of Stories, 1910), *Jonbiri* (Pendant, 1913) and *Kehonkali* (The Sweet Voiced Bird, a posthumous publication, 1968). The short stories of Bezbarua lack a uniform structure, as some are humorous or satiric, while others are either episodic or atmospheric. Among his humorous stories mention may be made of 'Bhuruki Bou', in which a young Assamese bachelor, who acquired the lazy habit of not contradicting untruth due to opium-addiction, finds himself in a situation of comic misery by accepting the assertion of an intrusive but well-meaning Bengali friend that he has a wife. Ultimately he announces that his non-existent wife is dead and makes a quiet exit from the neighbourhood in Calcutta to save his face. The satiric structure is best seen in such long stories as 'Milārāmar Ātmajīvanī' (The Autobiography of Milaram) and 'Bhokendra Baruā'. In the former, the writer satirises the sordid life of a vain opium-addict, while the theme of the second is the false social values of a half-educated, uprooted and corrupt young Assamese dandy. Being a progeny of a famous thief, Milaram leads a debauched life, and behaves perversely under the constant influence of drugs. Ultimately he joins other opium-addicts in submitting a petition to Queen Victoria to protect their right to live by addiction. Bezbarua, with his inimitable carefree, elastic and humorous style, paints the character rather broadly. Bhokendra Barua, who reminds one of an amusing Theophrastus character (Bhokendra literally means the Lord of Hunger), tries to climb the social scale by changing his rustic name to a Sanskritized one. Failing to make a living by poetry, he becomes a government spy before shifting his field of activity to political oratory in order to live by misappropriating public money collected at mass meetings. Bezbarua had his eye on the foibles of human nature, which he alternately subjected to his satiric fury and comic upbraiding. His comic appetite often made his art suffer. But as a pioneer his short stories can be regarded as pace-setters. They were mirrors of the Assamese folk lore and culture. Of all his short stories, 'Bhadarī' is remarkable for its authentic characterization of rural Assamese womanhood. The story is short. A harassed and mentally perturbed peasant returns home from the field only to find that the food is not ready. His harsh admonitions evoke a bitter reply from the vexed wife, Bhadari. At this, the peasant strikes her on the back with the fish-knife. The scene then shifts to the hospital. The convalescing wife forgets her husband's crime and calls him from jail to assure him of his innocence. Twisting facts, she takes the whole blame for her serious injuries on herself. This wifely devotion brings tears to the husband's eyes and he reaffirms his guilt. The reunion takes place after his term of three months in jail.

Bezbarua's short stories lack a firm commitment to form. This is due to his preoccupation with the totality of experience in a character. He always tries to create unity of effect through style. Yet he opened up a vista for this new genre of writing by demonstrating its scope and its connection with the folk-tale. Till the thirties, his idea of

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the short story being a sketch and a tale of short duration (*abegettyā sādhu*) provided the norm. Quite a few writers took to short story writing earnestly, but none of them possessed either Bezbarua's felicity of language or his inventiveness. Bezbarua himself did not always adhere to a sense of time and often allowed his comic sketches or stories to lengthen into short fiction. Bezbarua's essentially comic vision of life made him cast his characters against a scale of values that revealed limitations more than their power of transcendence.

Bezbarua's Successors

The concept of the short story being a sketch cannot be fulfilled unless the writer has the power to harness his lyric impulse or create a sense of unity of action. Saratchandra Goswami (Śaratcandra Gosvāmī, 1894–1944), the junior contemporary of Bezbarua, was a straightforward story-teller. Goswami and his contemporaries began searching for material for their stories from the everyday life around them. Bezbarua lived in Calcutta and therefore, despite his deep knowledge of Assamese history and culture, stood at a distance from the everyday life of Assam. His successors drew their material freely from this virgin field of life. Among them mention may be made of Dandinath Kalita (Daṇḍināth Kalitā, 1890–1955), Dr. S. K. Bhuyan (Sūrya Kumār Bhūñā, 1894–1964), Nakul Chandra Bhuyan (Nakul Candra Bhūñā, 1895–1966) and Nagendra Narayan Chaudhury (Nagendra Nārāyaṇa Coudhuri, 1881–1947).

The romantic aesthetic, introduced by Bezbarua, enabled him to bring to his theme 'a vast variety of modes of inflections of thoughts and expressions'. It also gave the mind freedom to search for themes and characters among all sections of society. Attention was specially paid to irrationality and injustice in existing social relationships. The man-woman relationship became the favourite field of exploration in the short story. Saratchandra's 'Moina' (Darling) depicts the sad state of the mind of a woman who, having lost her husband and children, transfers her affections to a domestic mynah bird that can reproduce human words. Its death puts her into a state of unrelieved sorrow. 'Adriṣṭa' (Fate) similarly depicts the state of mind of the sick newly-wed wife of a poor domestic servant. The wife silently greets her husband with welling tears when he tries to assuage her hunger with food stealthily brought from the house of his master. In 'Nadrām' the author sketches the character of an Assamese tribal soldier whose wife deserts him during his long stay at the front and lives with another man. Failing to win her affection back, the soldier generously permits her to become the other man's wife. These sketches by Saratchandra indicate an eagerness to continue the trend of discovering themes within a familiar society, while retaining an awareness of the self-conscious genre imported from the West and made familiar by Bezbarua.

The Puritan Mould

Dandinath Kalita, S. K. Bhuyan, Nakul Bhuyan and Nagendra Narayan Chaudhury searched for a way out of the moral confusion arising out of the puritan norms of the man-woman relationship. Saratchandra Goswami did not free himself from this puritan norms but accepted it almost as a work of fate. In 'Sadhavā ne Bidhavā' (Is She a Widow?), Dandinath pinpoints the moral anger of the young wife of an old husband. Ultimately she asks for the narrator's help to release womankind from material bondage. In 'Haricaranar Biyā' (Marriage of Haricharan), Dandinath offers a solution to caste injustice by letting the Brahmin Haricharan marry a Sudra bride, Lalita, disregarding the prevailing social norms.

S. K. Bhuyan took to short-story writing only casually. His attempt to bring a cosmopolitan artistic vision to the genre is noticed in his story ' Bijulī' (Lightning) believed to be an adaptation of Edgar Allan Poe's 'Ligeia'. Bhuyan's story depicts the character of a man who had earlier promised his beloved to remain unmarried but failed to keep it. However, his feelings for her returned after he met his newly-wed bride on the wedding night turning his mood of happiness into that of remorse. The story is a eulogy of love as an enduring emotion. But the author fails to produce the intensity of effect for which Poe was famous.

Nakul Bhuyan is less distinguished as a story-teller, but in one story he cuts new ground by shifting our focus from the usual village scene to the labour colony of Assam tea gardens. 'Premar Epiṭhi' (One Side of Love) resembles in content Goswami's ' Nadrām '. Budhuwa, who learns that his wife loves Bajiya more than him, consents to give her up to her lover. The same exploratory attitude of discovering new subject-matter in one's social milieu characterizes Nagendra Narayan Chaudhury's approach to the short story. The ideal in his case is not a poetic tale, but a realistic portrait. His aim is to focus attention on the social impediments to the fulfilment of love. The poverty-stricken lover Hemkanta is rejected as a suitor of Sudharani by her conceited father, a man of property. When she is married off to a man of her father's choice, Hemkanta is jealous. But he soon realizes that love demands self-sacrifice and that jealousy only hampers the realization of true love.

New Promise

The marriage of local experience with the cosmopolitan romantic aesthetic succeeded only after a group of sensitive young men took to short-story writing. Compared to the works of their predecessors, the new short stories were better from every point of view. Characters, settings and dramatic conflict received better treatment from them. Some of them had a fine ability to create unity of effect or unity of action. A distinct development of form took place

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in the hands of Lakshmidhar Sarma (Lakṣmīdhar Śarmā, 1898–1935) and Holiram Deka (Halirām Dekā, 1901–60). The thirties was a decade of short-story writing and several writers came to prominence through the pages of monthlies such as *Awāhan*, *Jayanti* and *Bāñhi*. Among them were Laksminath Phookan (Lakṣmīnāth Phukan, 1897–1976), Bina Barua (Dr. Birinchi Kumār Baruā, 1910–64), Troylokyanath Goswami (Trailokyanāth Gosvāmi, b. 1906), Rama Das (Ramādās, b. 1909), Krishna Bhuyan (Kṛṣṇa Bhūñā, b. 1915), Dinanath Sarma (Dīnanāth Śarmā, b. 1914), Radhika Mohan Goswami (Rādhikā Mohan Gosvāmī, b. 1906), Umakanta Sarma (Umākānta Śarmā, b. 1918) and Mohichandra Bora (Mahīcandra Borā, 1894–1965). The achievements of the age can be best appreciated through the selective works of a few representative writers.

Holiram Deka has a few stories which demonstrate clearly his tendency to place his characters in middle-class settings. One of them is 'Re Bare Bhāi' (Oh, Elder Brother). It is the tragic tale of a Hindi-speaking blind beggar who travels with the narrator from Gauhati to Shillong in a bus on a wintry evening. The compassionate driver allows the beggar to travel free. After arriving in Shillong, the blind boy walks along a desolate road in search of his elder brother whose address is not known to him. Nobody can tell him where his elder brother lives. His scantily-clad body feels the biting cold air of Shillong. Far into the night, he searches for his brother, but cannot find him. His heart-rending cries of 'Re Bare Bhāi' echo through the Shillong air. His last cry is heard by a woman inmate of a hostel in a distant corner of the town. Afterwards the blind boy's body is discovered in a street near the hostel. The touching narrative succeeds in creating an atmosphere of pity and desolation. Another story, 'Bhabiṣyat' (Future), is a fine study of human weakness displayed at critical moments of spiritual agony, when queries about the future weigh the mind but cannot be rationally answered. The rational father in the story, whose son is lying critically ill in the hospital, goes to a street astrologer to divine his son's future. The astrologer predicts his son's death. The worried father returns to the hospital to find to his relief that his son is recovering. In another story, 'Rahan Sanā' (coated with varnish), the author successfully draws a picture of the transitoriness of sexual emotion. A married engineer, working at a place far from his home, becomes infatuated with the sophisticated Bengali wife of an officer living in the neighbourhood. In contrast with his rustic wife, she appears to him to be a finer specimen of womanhood. But soon her ordinariness is proved. Finally the arrival of his wife brings him to his senses. Holiram Deka is able to deal with similar situations not only rationally but also in a comic vein. 'Biyā Bibhrāt' (Marriage Discord) and 'Balibhāt' (Picnic) are gay pieces based on trivial incidents.

Although psychological finesse was Deka's forte, he could not put it to full use to create enduring stories, because of his premature retirement from the field of writing. Almost all the writers of the thirties, with the exception of a few, gave up writing when, during the Second World War, the economic crisis brought all literary magazines to a temporary halt. The short story was thus a casualty of the war.

Significant Development

Lakshmidhar Sarma, who died young, of tuberculosis, was one of the brilliant leaders of the freedom movement. It was he who brought romantic stories to some perfection. Sarma appears to be the first short story writer to give dignity to the emerging womanhood. He deals with the man-woman relationship from an elemental and ethno-social point of view. His women characters reveal their inward stresses and strains rationally and go beyond the limits of social conservatism to seek new norms. In 'Shirāz', he depicts the social consequences of aristocratic philandering. Kandarpa, the son of a rich tea-planter, seduces the luckless family maid, Sabitri, and has an illegitimate child by her. When ostracized, she takes shelter in Shiraz's house. Years later, Kandarpa, now a successful lawyer and a married man too, goes to Shiraz's village and there discovers Nur, the daughter of Sabitri. Of Sabitri he has only a faint memory. But soon a sense of guilt overwhelms him. And in a mood of repentance, he takes Nur to Calcutta and arranges for her education. Her name is changed to Sita. There she falls in love with a Bengali youth, Anil. Kandarpa arranges their marriage, but Anil comes to know of Sita's past and declines to marry her even though they are lovers. She is now deemed an outcast and ultimately returns to the house of Shiraz to take shelter. The story has an enduring appeal. The writer's social realism is convincing. Sarma was equally at home in the poetic tale. 'Neena' is such a tale. It approximates in intensity of emotional effect to Edgar Allen Poe's 'Ligeia'. Only Neena is not Ligeia, that prefect Rhenish lady of beauty and wit. She is a tribal girl living in a remote Assamese picturesque village. The narrator, who comes there to hunt, meets her on a moonlit night near the village stream. Soon he goes away, but not before the innocence of the rustic beauty is destroyed. When the urbane lover returns after some years to the village, he does not find Neena but only hears a legend: 'Once a hunter came and Neena fell in love with him. The hunter went back to the city, but Neena, unable to bear the pangs of separation, disappeared near the stream.' The hunter visits the stream alone on a moonlit night and sees a vision of Neena. She becomes a spirit haunting his soul.

Indigenous Forms

Sarma reverts to social realism in two stories. In 'Byarthatār Dān' (Gift of Frustration), Lily emerges as the representative of all unhappy women married to rich and boorish

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husbands whose coarseness bores them. The unhappy woman wants to be free and seeks fulfilment of her womanhood in the bracing arms of gallant paramours. She, however, soon discovers that Lalit, her dead friend's husband, is no instant reliever of her heart's miseries. She feels jealous and offended, but after sufficient agonizing reflection over her frustrations, she realizes that in his refusal lies another dimension of the greatness of love. In 'Bidrohinī' (The Rebellious Woman), a Brahmin widow, Lalita, asserts her moral and human right to remarry and her rational arguments reveal the force of a new social consciousness. 'All around us, there is great call of a new life, and everybody has the noble desire to know the truth,' says Lalita. 'The greatest message of this movement is the call for a full recognition of womanhood and motherhood of woman.' The story gives us an idea of the writer's views on man's social and moral progress. He asserts that life is the supreme principle of morality and social progress. In 'Usha' the writer depicts the complex attitude of the married woman towards her childhood friend, Jivan. The name Jīvan (life) is used in an allegorical sense. Its appeal is irresistible, infinite and elemental. That is why Usha feels its impact even when she is outwardly happy in her family life. Sarma brought to Assamese stories a sense of self-confidence if not of perfection. He gave the genre an indigenous form.

The standard set by Sarma was followed carefully by his contemporaries, Laksminath Phookan (1897–1976), Birinchi Kumar Barua, Troylokya Nath Goswami, Rama Das and others. Phookan's favourite theme is elemental love which transcends conventional social limitations in a natural setting. He generally creates unity of effect through action. His narrative style is usually woven around a single character. His language is attuned to realistic portrayal and is free from emotional overtones. In 'Medhī' his neat art comes alive. A devoted Vaishnava preacher, Medhi, is charitable and devoid of any sense of possession, whether it be the edible fruit of his village orchard, or money or his very young wife. He gives his mangoes away to the village lads. Even the thief, caught red-handed, is not deprived of the stolen bunch of betelnut. He donates his inherited money to a public cause. His last gift is his young wife. When she goes away with a widower to satisfy her yearning for motherhood, Medhi does not take offence. Instead, he sends her his residual savings as a last gift. Medhi is a unique character. His detachment is essentially Indian. Phookan has had three collections of short stories published. They are: *Mālā* (Garland, 1918), *Ophāidāṅg* (The Vainglorious, 1952) and *Maramar Mādhuri* (Sweetness of Love, 1961). In some stories, such as 'Ophāidāṅg', Phookan takes a dig at the false sense of prestige of the poor middle class who hide their acute poverty. This compels them to lead a life of hypocrisy and become victims of exploitation at the hands of usurious moneylenders. Ananta cannot pay his house-rent, but out of false pride, offers to buy the house itself from the landlord at a price of Rs 50,000. His dream does not materialise. Phookan draws lower middle-class characters very well. The sympathy with which he depicts the character of the poor typist in 'Tāipistar Jīvan' (Life of a Typist) testifies to his broad humanism. In life the typist suffered, but after his death his dead body is bedecked with flowers. Phookan had a broad vision of life and he extended the scope of the romantic aesthetic in the short story by his deft handling of wide-ranging themes.

Mohichandra Bora is the author of *Ukilar Janma Rahasya* (The Mystery Behind the Genesis of an Advocate, 1970). His stories have a satiric structure, the satire being directed against the hypocrisy and greed of people who hover around the civil court in a small town. He seems to have borrowed his comic technique from Bezbarua, for his ironic characterization reminds us of Bezbarua's satiric stories. But in his best stories, such as 'Kerānir Kapāl' (Fate of a Clerk), he displays a narrative style of his own. The character of the Court Shirastadar is perfectly drawn in the story. The unity of effect achieved through action and comic viewpoint gives it a neat structure. The cunning and henpecked Shirastadar uses a subterfuge to replace a clerk in the court with his wife's brother despite the latter's proven disqualification. The honest clerk Kinaram, having lost his job, wallows in poverty. Seen against the background of the economic crisis of the thirties, his forced unemployment acquires a deeper significance. Bora set a standard for satiric stories which, in many ways, is complementary to the standard set by Lakshmidhar Sarma.

Bina Barua is very good at characterization, but his short stories tend to become short fiction. His best short story 'Āghonī Bai' (The Elderly Āghonī) provides a fine portrait of a poor, aged widow living on rich neighbours' charity. She is a relic of the past, and in the delineation of the past the author shows skill and insight. But the picture is static; it lacks excitement. Yet what endears it to us is the author's power of realistic imagination. Aghoni comes alive as a typical Assamese woman, somewhat corrupted by poverty and isolation, as she struggles to live with her lame granddaughter, born of her runaway daughter, Layani. The moral picturesqueness is tragic. Bina Barua's forte, however, was the novel and he soon shifted his attention from the short story to the genre which most suited him.

The same subject of an ostracized and poor woman is dealt with in a more convincing manner by Rama Das, the author of *Ramā Dāśar Śreṣṭha Galpa* (Best Stories of Rama Das). Narrated by a small boy, the story of Seuti's sufferings and ultimate suicide comes alive in all its innocence and poignancy. Rama Das is very good at narrative and every element of it is devoted to ensure emotional unity. This characteristic is also noticed in his love stories. Set against the beautiful landscape of Shillong and its cosmopolitan society, his love stories acquire a voluptuous tint. His language too is charged with energy.

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In one of his best short stories, 'Parājaya' (Defeat), Troylokya Nath Goswami, the author of *Aruṇā* (1948), *Marīchikā* (Mirage, 1948) and *Śilpīr Janma* (The Birth of an Artist, 1950), focuses attention on the suffering brought about by the alienation of man in old age and the inadequate human sympathy for his plight. Kamala wants to give shelter to an octogenarian beggar who has been turned out of home by his apathetic family members on a wintry night, but her husband, a college professor busy at that moment reading *Das Kapital*, protests. The old man goes away. In the morning, he was found beneath a tree near the house, dying. Kamala nurses him and the repentant husband joins her in her efforts. A doctor is called, but all efforts came to naught and the old man dies. The professor's heart burns with remorse, but Kamala is calm, apparently satisfied with the service she had rendered the dying man. The story is infused with a moral sense that emanates from the heart rather than from the brain. Goswami was the first to bring this consciousness to the short story. He is deeply interested in the problems of social change. In another story, 'Duṭakīyā Note' (Two-rupee Note), he draws an authentic picture of the dying feudal culture in the villages. The guru (the monastical head of a *sattra*) and his attendant go to a village, where his followers live, to preach and collect temple tolls. He finds that his villagers have changed and that crude materialism has taken possession of their souls. He collects only two rupees, which he hands over to the attendant, and decides to give up his religious career.

The rest of the writers of the thirties are merely followers of the above trends. Most of them figured briefly on the literary scene as writers and then passed into oblivion. None of them was an innovator. Yet some of their stories deserve mention. Suprabha Goswami's (Suprabhā Goswāmī, b. 1917) 'Luitar Moh' (Lust for the Brahmaputra) depicts the mind of a sensitive girl who is infatuated with the male river and suffers on account of it. Radhika Mohan Goswami, Jamiruddin Ahmed and Dinanath Sarma did not experiment with such novel themes, but their stories display a certain capacity to seek variations of themes already dealt with by their predecessors. Radhika Mohan's 'Śanigraha' (Saturn) deals with the theme of exploitation of the people by Kabuli moneylenders. Dinanath Sarma introduces in his story 'Mṛtyuhīn Mṛtyu' (Deathless Death), the self-sacrifice of a brother and sister who were freedom-fighters. In 'Niruddeś' (Disappearance), Krishna Bhuyan delineates the character of a domestic servant who sacrifices his security and job to help treat his poor and diseased master. In all these stories the romantic aesthetic reigns supreme.

Post-war Developments

The Second World War, which reached Assam in 1944, turned it into an area of one of the bloodiest battles in the world. Earlier, Assam had participated in the '42 Movement' in a big way. One volunteer was hanged, more than a dozen were killed by the police and thousands suffered physically and mentally. Literature was affected by these turbulences. The romantic aesthetic was modified to accommodate the claims of social realism. Literary journalism and book-publishing had never really flourished in Assam, mainly due to the lack of sound economics. Now, scarcity of paper and rising costs of production reduced publishing to a skeleton. In these circumstances it was mainly through the medium of the magazine *Rāmdhenu* (Rainbow) that a new group of writers made their debut. New materials thrown up by war and rebellion found their way into their writings.

Syed Abdul Malik (b. 1919) began writing in the thirties. His position as a romantic short-story writer had already been established by the end of the war. Malik, the author of *Paraśmaṇi* (Touchstone, 1946), 'Rangāgarā' (The Red Moat, 1953), *Marahā Pāpar* (Faded Petal, 1954) and *Ābarta* (Whirlpool) showed in his earlier stories a taste for variety. The exotic treatment of sex in different settings was a notable feature of his stories. But his better stories exude genuine sentimental humanism. In 'Jiśu Chṛistar Cabi' (Picture of Jesus), he depicts the character of a white soldier engaged in action in Assam. His love for children is expressed with sympathy in a restrained tone. In Maram (Affection), a war-returned captain, who had killed 251 men in battle, weeps at the death of his pet dog. In 'Sihāte Naṭhage' (They Do Not Cheat) the picture of a wandering woman juggler is drawn with empathy. It shows that she too is a human being struggling for bread. The human struggle is best expressed in one of his stories called 'Tinicakīyā Gāri' (Three-Wheeled Cart). A judge, revealing his past to a rich relative (who comes to consult him about a property case) tells his life story with which a three-wheeled cart is intimately connected. The judge's father, deprived of his share of property by his brother, had come to town in search of a living. With his three sons, he took shelter in the house of an old woman who was a spice-grinder. The father became her aide hawking spice in her three-wheeled cart, and earning enough to put his three children through school and college. The eldest became a judge and the younger ones became rich. The judge describes how he still has the cart with him and how he cleans it daily as a tribute to his father who died before his childrens' rise to prosperity. The relative sees tears in the eyes of the judge as he comes to the end of the tale. The judge had noticed that his relative rejoiced in his riches, and admired his new car. He related his tale to impress upon his relative that a vehicle like the three-wheeled cart often had more things to reveal about life than the new car. In another story, 'Khelā Śeṣ Hol' (The Game is Over), the author treats sex in a novel manner. A childless European couple living in a tea garden buy an Arabian racehorse. The wife, frustrated by her husband's barrenness, takes a fancy to the horse and transfers her love to the animal in a most extraordinary way. The horse becomes the rage

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of the racecourse and this makes the husband jealous. One day the horse meets with an accident in a race and the husband shoots it. Malik is a prolific writer. His contribution to the Assamese short story is in the art of narrative.

During the forties and fifties, the trend of short story writing was what the critics call 'modernist'. In actual practice, every writer went his own way. *Ramdhenu*, a monthly edited by Birendra Kumar Bhattacharyya (Bīrendra Kumār Bhaṭṭacārya, b. 1924) encouraged this trend.

Modern Trends

Birendra Kumar Bhattacharyya, an author inclined to social realism, wrote some stories which drew materials from the freedom movement and other socio-economic struggles. In 'Kolong Ājio Boi' (And Kolong Still Flows), a freedom-fighter, disappointed with the results of Congress rule in free India, recapitulates the role he and others had played in achieving freedom, then decides to start a new peasant movement. The story focuses attention on his deep sense of frustration over the total reversal of values by the erstwhile leaders. The central concern of politics is no longer the impoverished peasant. Nor do the sacrifices of the villagers count in the new order of things. In lyrical narrative, the author bares the soul of the people through the feelings of his main character, Thagiram, and shows how the freedom-fighter returns, in his old age, to the struggle (which he thought was finished) in order to give the people self-confidence and hope. In his story 'Sāthar' (Riddle), Birendra Kumar's theme is the Assamese-Bengali tension in 1960. An Assamese youth, disappointed by Assamese not being established as the state language due to the resistance of a section of Bengalis, is provoked by the political killing of an Assamese student. The youth as a result is rude to the Bengalis living in his neighbourhood. But recognizing his childhood friend, a Bengali girl, who was in distress, he realizes his fault that political passion cannot be pushed to an illogical end and returns to sanity. Meanwhile the police arrive to arrest him for certain acts of arson. He willingly surrenders to them. He knows that the path to realize his political aims is different; he must take the Bengalis with him too. In 'Sermon on the Mount', the tragic story of the Naga Pastor of Ukhrul Church is narrated. While the Naga rebels preach violence and are in guerilla action, the Pastor preaches peace and love, bringing on himself the wrath of the rebels. The pastor's son is involved in the election campaign going on amidst this violent atmosphere. On the day of elections, the pastor votes in his constituency and is about to set out on his peace campaign to a nearby village. He has already been warned by the rebels not to do so under pain of death. He ignores the warning and is assassinated. His wife is overwhelmed with grief, but when the police arrive, she refuses, in Christian spirit, to lodge a complaint, saying, 'I have forgiven the assassin'. In 'Miyān Mansur', the narrator goes to the Gauhati river port to release from the cargo ship the first parcel containing copies of his first printed book. The parcel was sent from Calcutta along the river route. His wife, who is on the other side of the river at her mother's house, crosses the river by boat just at that time. The boat capsizes and a motor boat rescues the travellers, but the narrator's wife is not among those rescued. Just when he has given up all hope, a Pakistani sailor aboard the motor boat jumps into the river and rescues a woman who looks more dead than alive. When she is brought to shore, the narrator recognizes his wife. After her recovery, the narrator wants to thank the sailor, who was nowhere to be found. His address is not known; but the narrator is prepared to travel the whole world to find the brave sailor. Bhattacharyya has written some other stories of this kind. Many of his short stories tend to be short novels. One of his traditional stories ('Mākanar Gōsāi'—God of Makan; God can also be interpreted as 'guru') deals with the inward sufferings of a Brahmin widow whom a religious guru sought to seduce, but whose silent protest brings him to his senses. His stories generally have a cathartic effect. He always deals with his themes on a larger canvas.

Jogesh Das's (Jogeś Dāś, b. 1927) talent for neat characterization is best seen in his story 'Pratāh-Sandhyā' (Mornings and Evenings). Three retired old men regularly meet and exchange notes on their individual situations in life. They do so during their morning and evening walks, and sometimes over a cup of tea in the house of an acquaintance. Two of them are widowers and live with their sons' families. One of them is separated from his wife. None of them has any rapport with his sons or daughters-in-law due to their dwindling purses. Each of them secretly pines for his dead or separated wife and resents the harsh rule of his sons or daughters-in-law at home. The atmosphere of the story is successfully drawn. Das is also a conscientious narrator. In his story 'Kalpatuār Mṛtyu (Woe to the Hanger-on), he narrates cogently how an old household servant of a rich mouzadar (revenue-collector) returns to find the whole household in a deeply disturbed condition. This is due to the housemaid who has conceived by the mouzadar's eldest son. The servant, who has come to get his unpaid revenue remitted, is asked to marry the maid. Years ago, he had wanted to marry that very girl, but the mouzadar's son had not allowed him to do so as he himself had an eye on her. Now she is ostracized and the mouzadar's family is in turmoil. The son's wife is unhappy and there is no communication between the father and the son. The servant is offered two hundred rupees and assured of revenue remission provided he marries the pregnant maid. He agrees. Once he had promised to take the maid home as a bride in a horse carriage. Now he keeps that promise. Short story collections by Jogesh Das include *Papīyā Tarā* (Shooting Star, 1956), *Hāzār Lokar Bhir* (Throng of Legion), *Āndharar*

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Āñre Āñre (Behind the Darkness, 1958) and *Triveni* (1959).

Mahim Bora (b. 1926), the author of *Kāṭhanibārī Ghāṭ* (The Ferry Station of Kathanibari, 1961), *Mai, Pippali Āru Pujā* (I, Pippali and the Worship, 1967) and *Rāti Phulā Phul* (The Flower that Blooms at Night, 1977), is known for his deep insight into rural human relationships. His narrative is always tempered with restraint. His best-known story, 'Kāṭhanibārī Ghāṭ' is told in a novel manner. The theme is commonplace—widowhood. But the description is excellent and the narrative gripping. At night, on the northern bank of the Brahmaputra, opposite Silghat, the narrator awaits a ferry. A newly-wed wife arrives with her brother and camps near him on the sand. The round mark of vermilion on her forehead is prominent. She has a nice figure. They befriend each other, talk and have tea together. The ferry arrives, but as it has engine trouble, the return trip is cancelled. The woman is to catch the Jorhat bus on the other bank that very morning as she has to hurry to her husband who has met with an accident. She is anxious and apprehensive. Soon her husband's brother arrives there to escort her and assures her that there is no cause for anxiety. All of them, including the narrator, cross the river in a boat and are in time to catch the bus. The narrator bids them adieu. He is deeply impressed by the woman. Her escort takes the narrator aside, confides that his brother is dead, and enters the awaiting bus. The narrator looks vacantly at the receding vehicle.

It is not possible to discuss here the stories of all the significant modern short story writers. The common characteristic of their stories is humanism, but it is very difficult to say whether the writers have a world view or not. In the absence of a comprehensive analysis of the individual viewpoints of the writers, it might be better to indicate their positions by their technical achievements. Bhabhen Saikia (Bhabendranāth Śaikiā, b. 1932) and Saurabh Chaliha are two distinguished short story writers. The former narrates stories from the viewpoint of commonality while the other uses the stream-of-consciousness technique to describe the thoughts, impressions, musings, etc. of the individual characters. Bhaben Saikia is the author of *Praharī* (Sentinel, 1963), Gahbar (Cave, 1969), *Bṛndāvan* and *Sendūr* (Vermilion, 1970). Saurabh Chaliha is the author of *Dupariyā* (Midday, 1963), *Asānta Electron* (Restless Electron, 1962), *Ehāt Dābbā* (A Throw of Dice, 1972) and 'Golam' (The Slave, 1972). Bhaben Saikia's Praharī provides some indication of his excellent craftsmanship. The story first projects the viewpoint of an impoverished teacher, Rajani, towards his family in particular and the world in general. He is an unfortunate man who loses three new-born daughters. He also loses his job at the school, apparently seeking long leave, but really because he inflicts physical punishment on the pupils. He loses hope, sells his paddy-fields and takes private tuitions to earn a living. At this juncture, another daughter is born—and she survives. The second part of the story is narrated through the eyes of the grown-up daughter who, on attaining maturity, feels the pinch of poverty. She wins the heart of a boy, but the father resents her behaviour and the mother asks the boy to stop seeing her. Death takes the daughter away and the family lapses once again into a life of desolation and vacuity. The rest of the story is told from the viewpoint of the teacher's wife. She goes to the marriage ceremony of her dead daughter's lover and blesses him, and weeps bitterly.

Saurabha Chaliha's 'Golam' (Slave) is about a student's life in a pedagogic institute in Germany. The student, who is from Gauhati, learns German from Frau Muller. He writes a sketch of Gauhati in winter and submits it to Frau Muller for examination. The plagiarised piece was copied from a German reader. He even describes Gauhati as a snow-capped city! He has no patience to learn anything as he is in a hurry to pass somehow and get a diploma in business-management which will help him get a lucrative job in India. His plagiarism is not detected by the teacher and he passes the examination. The narrator takes the student's viewpoint. In the story, his thoughts contrast the city he describes and the real city, with its desolate look during the rains. The unhygienic and wretched conditions of his home, and his poverty are described vividly. The student's hypocrisy is painted effectively.

A lone writer, belonging to no school, is Laxminandan Bora (Lakṣmīnandan Barā, b. 1931). In 'Guru Parva', the narrator relates how, following the departure of the village Sutradhar from the village, he is rigorously trained in Sattriya music and drama by the monastic head of Caripota Sattra. He learns the arts and conducts several *Nāṭ* (dramatic) performances. But he soon discovers that his training is not perfect. He is especially deficient in singing some ragas. The narrator does want to blame his guru for this deficiency. In the meantime, the guru is on his death-bed. The narrator and his father call on him. The guru confesses that the training he had given was not comprehensive. To make amends, he gives his disciple a manuscript on dramaturgy and music so that he can learn the arts in detail. The author shows that he has a workable knowledge of the arts.

Homen Bargohain (Homen Bargohāin, b. 1932) gives the impression of possessing a strong masculine quality in his writing, especially in drawing characters and writing dialogue. Some of his stories deal with sex as an elemental urge in man. But his best work is in a few stories like 'Hāti' (Elephant) and 'Sisur Hañhi' (Laughter of the Child). The former uses the elephant as a symbol of time. Baloram feels that his elephant Bapdhan is not only a symbol of wealth, but is also an index of his life's achievements. His sons are richer than him, yet their riches are built on his prosperity which, to him, is synonymous with the elephant. The relationship between him and the animal is one of deep love. But his sons want to get rid of the elephant; the eldest even

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gets a motor car to replace the old-style animal carrier. The trial of strength between the two generations comes on the day of the marriage of the youngest son. The father insists that the bridegroom should go on the elephant. The sons reject the idea and take the bridegroom in a car. Disillusioned, the father parts with the elephant and makes a gift of it to its mahout. Contrast as a technique is also evident in the other story. The carefree laugh of a baby of a well-to-do father contrasts sharply with the weeping child of an old washerman who has been deprived of the physical power to carry on his trade.

Other modern writers who are contemporary to the above-mentioned writers include Nirupama Bargohain (Nirupamā Bargohāin b. 1932), Prabina Saikia (Pravīnā Śaikīā, b. 1938), Mamani Raisam Goswami (Māmaṇi Raisam Gosvāmī, b. 1940), Sneha Devi, Atulananda Goswami (Atulānanda Gosvāmī, b. 1935), Chandra Prasad Saikia (Candra Prasād Śaikīā b. 1927), Padma Barkataki (Padma Barkaṭakī, b. 1926), Rohini Kakati and Medini Chaudhuri (Medinī Caudhuri, b. 1929). They are, however, not innovators, but only continuers of the trends noted above.

Nirupama Bargohain is a well-known writer to whom narrative is important. In 'Jay-Parājay' (Victory and Defeat), the narrator is a college girl and, through her, the life of a poverty-stricken young widow is depicted almost like a bit of reportage. Sushila obtains the protection of court against the advances of a rich neighbour, but wins her case at great cost. She is compelled to become dependent on another rich contractor. Sneha Devi shows a good grasp of the life of a woman at home. In 'Janani' (Mother) she narrates the story of an aged mother whose position, after her son marries, becomes like that of a housemaid. She puts up with it patiently, confident that her son will change and free himself from his wife's stranglehold. A son is born to the daughter-in-law, but due to her indifference the child becomes very ill. The son realizes the value of his mother. By putting the six-month-old baby in her charge, he asks her pardon for what has been done to her. The story retains the structure of a folk-tale.

Mamani Raisam Goswami's short stories confirm the impression of a fast-growing, wider social consciousness among Assamese women writers. Her story 'Naṅgaṭhā Cahar' (Naked City) is a grim story of poverty and sex in Delhi middle-class society. A university professor, lonely because her husband is away studying in London, narrates her grim struggle against loneliness, the naked lust of well-meaning teachers, journalists, and intellectuals. She takes to social work seriously and picks up a dirty little Harijan boy from the slums of Delhi and educates him. He assists her in her household duties. Soon he resents her free association with her male intellectual friends who are often openly voluptuous. He deserts her. She goes in search of him in the slum and meets his mother. The Harijan boy comes back to live with her. This time he does not resent the presence of her male friends in her house. He seems to reconcile himself to the frantic sexual habits of the city. There is a feminist fervour in Mamani's recent stories.

Chandra Prasad Saikia is an idealist. One of his short stories, 'Edin' (One Day), has the structure of short novel. The narrator is a professor who describes his day's encounters with several sensitive individuals, including his female friends. The most convincing character drawn by Saikia, however, is Sarala, in 'Athira Ehu Saṅsār' (The World is Fleeting). Sarala is old and regrets to see a prosperous rural family life vanishing. Her husband is dead. Her only daughter is married. The wife of her son dies in labour. But she still sticks to her hearth and home doggedly. During the '1942 Movement', she had resisted the police atrocities in the village. In free India, when land officers come to requisition the village land, including hers, she again resists. This time the government insists on occupying the land as there is a plan to lay an oil pipe line across it. Her protests are of no avail and she is forced to leave her ancient birthplace for good.

Padma Barkataki is very good at sketches, while Rohini Kakati is occasionally brilliant in his choice of themes and at creating an atmosphere through narrative. In 'Mṛttikā' (Earth), one finds a fine study of a nurse who disregards social prejudice to serve the flood-affected people in a locality and sacrifices her life for others.

Recent Trends

The new generation of writers is largely represented by men like Apurba Sarma (Apurva Śarmā, b. 1941), Kumud Goswami (Kumud Gosvāmī, b. 1948), Arun Goswami, Imran Shah, Nagen Saikia (Nagen Śaikīā, b. 1939) and Nirad Chaudhury (Nīrad Caudhuri, b. 1936). Apurba Sarma and Nagen Saikia have individuality of style. In 'Rog' (Disease), Apurba Sarma creates a very sombre atmosphere of death in a village affected by floods. Nagen Saikia's experimental story 'Bandha Koṭhāt Dhumuhā' (Tempest in a Closed Room) gives an indication of his preference for interior monologue. Atulananda Goswami can, as is indicated in his story 'Harir Māk' (Hari's Mother), handle deftly the little tragedies of social life that spring from a false sense of prestige. He shows in his story how the status of a driver's wife in the society of the well-to-do in the town varies with the success and failure of her son in his degree examinations. Imran Shah and Nirad Chaudhury write varied types of popular stories. Almost all these writers are imbued with differing degrees of social consciousness. Kumud Goswami, as his story 'Ṣikār' (Hunting) shows, tries to delve deep into the psychology of action. He himself says that, in his stories, he first creates the environment and then introduces the characters. Arun Goswami writes, as he confesses, to say what he has to say on the problems facing contemporary man. He believes

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in a class struggle. Polen Barkataki is another young writer who writes in order to express an idea or a dominant mood. He has a preference for the stream-of-consciousness technique. Most of these writers believe in the psychological unity of the story rather than in the unity of action. One happy exception is Silabhadra. Like Atulananda, he deals with the problems of ordinary social life, but he has concentration and restraint of expression and can create the desired effect with ease. His story 'Samudrar Tīr' (Seashore) amply illustrates his technique, which preserves the unity of action.

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Bengali

SUBIR ROY CHOUDHURY

Every language has its own indigenous tradition of tales and fables, and Bengali is no exception. Besides, Bengali like other modern Indian languages, inherited a treasure of fables and parables, tales and stories from Sanskrit including the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (The Ocean of Stories) and the *Pañcatantra*. Stories from other countries were also not unknown. In fact, long before printing was introduced in Bengali, tales like *The Arabian Nights* reached the shores of Bengal. Six centuries of Muhammadan rule acquainted us with many Arabic and Persian tales. One of the early publications of the Fort William College in Calcutta was *Totā Itihās* (Parrot's Chronicles) by Chandicharan Munshi (Candicaraṇ Munśī) published in 1805. The thirty-four stories as told by a parrot in this book were retold from the Persian original *Tūtānāmāh* by one Kadir Bakhsh. The title of the book will remind one of similar collections in Sanskrit particularly *Śukasaptati* or seventy stories by a parrot. Sukumar Sen suggests that many stories of *The Arabian Nights* owe their origin to the Buddhist *Avadān* and *Jātaka* tales. Such cultural export and import, however, are evident not only in our relation with foreign countries, but also within our own country. Iswarchandra Vidyasagar (Isvarcandra Vidyāsāgar, 1820–91) adapted from Hindi a few tales in his *Betālpañcavimśati* (Twenty-five Tales of Betala) in 1847. The original tales in Hindi were in their part borrowed from Sanskrit. Many such publications may be mentioned in this context. But the modern short story has not evolved from these tales, and is altogether a new form. The short story as such first emerged in the West and we imported it from there. Of all the literary forms it seems to be the most popular medium in Bengali.

The Beginning

Literary historians agree that the publication of 'Madhumati' in 1873 marked the beginning of the short story in Bengali. It has been said that the short story is the child of popular magazines. Although Bengali periodicals came into existence as early as 1818 through the initiative of the Christian missionaries, it took more than five decades to adapt the genre. One of the reasons might be that Bengali prose was also in its formative stage at that time. 'Madhumati' was published in the literary journal *Baṅgadarśan* (1872) edited by Bankim Chandra Chatterji (Beng. Chaṭṭopādhyāy, 1834–94). The authorship of the story is ascribed to Purnachandra Chatterji (Chaṭṭopādhyāy, 1848–1922), the editor's younger brother. The story, which appeared under an abbreviated name 'Sri Pu', is about an unfortunate lady called Ādariṇī, who lost her memory after a wreck. A Brahmo liberal rescued her. As Adarini could not recollect her past, her rescuer took her for a widow and renamed her Madhumati as she was found on the bank of the river of that name. Finally he married her, and both lived happily for a period. A chance song helped to regain her memory one day by sheer association of ideas. She remembered that she was not a widow at all and quite suddenly her first husband appears, looking for her desperately. She is in a fix, and tells him of all the complications that had arisen. The couple

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ultimately decide to put an end to their lives by drowning in the river.

But even after the publication of 'Madhumati', the short story as a literary form did not become very popular. A few of Bankim Chandra's novels are on the borderline of the novella and short story. His satirical sketch *Muchirām Guḍer Jīvancarit* (The Career of Muchiram Gud, 1879) bears the essential characteristics of a short story. Rabindranath Tagore's elder sister Swarnakumari Devi (1856–1932) was inspired to write short stories after she had been introduced to the works of Maupassant by her brother Jyotirindranath Tagore (1849–1925). Apart from being a gifted playwright, artist and musician, Jyotirindranath did for Bengali literature, what Constance Garnett did for English literature. Jyotirindranath introduced many European continental authors to Bengali readers. In the family circle, he used to read out stories of Maupassant to his younger brothers and sisters.

Rabindranath Tagore. It was only with the advent of Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941) as a story writer that the form became popular in Bengal. Gorky said of Gogol that they all had sprung from Gogol's *Overcoat*. Bengali short story may be similarly said to have sprung from Rabindranath's *Galpaguccha* (Collected Stories). At sixteen he first tried his hand at the short story. Although 'Bhikhārinī' was published in the family journal *Bhārati* in 1877, Rabindranath did not wholeheartedly take to writing short stories before 1891. Between 1877 and 1891 he published only three stories, but between 1891 and 1895 he wrote as many as 43. Out of these only six appeared in the journal *Hitavādi* (1891) and the rest except one in *Sādhanā* (edited first by a nephew, and then by the poet himself). In all 119 stories were written from 1877 to 1941. It is interesting to note that he wrote most of his stories during the last decade of the 19th century. Perhaps he realized that he had at last found an exciting new literary form which was, to become one of his most important media of expression.

The year 1891 was very eventful in Tagore's life. His father Devendranath (1817–1905) asked him to look after the family estate in East Bengal, now in Bangladesh. Sheläidā, now in the district of Kushtia, became his headquarters, and there he liked to live in a houseboat named 'Padma' on river Padma. This gave him an opportunity to study rural Bengal and her peasantry. The unknown village folks he befriended were immortalized in his stories. It has been said of Edgar Allan Poe that he was 'not interested in the ordinary, his joy was in the extraordinary'. Tagore, on the other hand, was just the opposite as far as his stories were concerned. Like Turgenev he too stepped out of his social class and identified himself with the common people. How a city-bred landlord adjusted himself to the rural surroundings can be learnt from his *Chinnapatra* (literally 'torn leaves' translated into English as *Glimpses of Bengal*), containing a delightful correspondence mostly with his niece Indira Devi Choudhurani (1872–1960). In these letters can also be traced the origin of many of his stories. The importance of mere landscape or interest in commoners' lives for inspiring Tagore to write so many remarkable short stories may be questioned. There were external pressures too. About this time his nephew Sudhindranath Tagore (1869–1929) had started a monthly journal called *Sādhanā*. It has already been noted that of the 43 stories written between 1891 and 1895, 36 first appeared there.

Another source of inspiration for these short stories was the constant demand made by the eminent scientist-friend Sir J. C. Bose (1859–1937), who was a frequent visitor to Shelaida. 'It was not only the necessity of filling the pages of *Sādhanā* or *Bhārati*', writes the poet's son in his autobiography *On The Edges of Time* (1960), 'but this constant demand from his friend that made father write so many short stories at this period.'

Tagore's stories can be classified (1) chronologically, (2) thematically and (3) locale-wise. It is interesting to note that Tagore was gradually changing the locale of his stories from villages to towns and cities, and with this change of setting we notice a fundamental change in his outlook and attitude to life. He is generally more critical and cynical when he writes about urban life. True that the characters in some of his earlier stories move freely from village to town and vice-versa, but even there the rural atmosphere dominates the whole situation. The main characters in *The Postmaster* (1891) or *Samāpti* (The Conclusion, 1893) are city-bred people, but their problems and emotional crises centre round the village and the village-folk. From *Naṣṭanīḍ* (The Broken Nest, 1901) onwards, Tagore increasingly showed more interest in social problems. It is not suggested here that he was totally unaware of the social problems in his earlier phase, but the focus was on the universal rather than on the topical aspects. Take for example the story *Kābuliwāllāh* (The Man from Kabul, 1892). Neither the locale of the story nor the regional identity of the Kabuliwallah is important here. It deals with the pathos of a father's loneliness when he is far away from his dear daughter. But his subsequent stories like *Strīr Patra* (A Wife's Letter, 1914), *Pailā Nambar* (Number One, 1917), *Nāmanjur Galpa* (The Rejected Story, 1925), or *Laboratory* (1940) cannot be properly appreciated unless we are intimately acquainted with the social milieu. Political leaders like Bipinchandra Pāl (1858–1932) were provoked to write sequels or polemics such as *Mṛṇāler Patra* (Letter from Mṛṇāl) in reply to *Strīr Patra*.

All experts on Tagore, foreign or Indian, seem to agree on the point that Tagore was a great story writer. According to Edward Thompson, his early biographer, 'It is strange that his stories have received so little fame in the West: they are the most underrated of all his work.' Krishna Kripalani claims: '... in the short story he showed himself a master

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almost from the very beginning. He followed no known model or pattern—there was none in his own country and its literary tradition. He was the first Indian to attempt this form proper and the short story as a literary genre is now very popular with Indian writers. No one has equalled him in this art, much less surpassed him. Chekhov and Maupassant were still unknown to him—the only two foreign masters who can be compared to him in this field, though he was as different from them in his technique and mode as they from each other.' Amiya Chakravarty seems to hold a different view regarding the western influence. He thinks that 'the single most pervasive influences seem to have been Chekhov and Turgenev—the latter's *Sportsman's Sketches*, for instance, were his favourite. He read Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, admired their consummate mastery of the novel; Hawthorne and Poe were also well known to Tagore. But it would be hard to tell whether the precision technique of Maupassant—without its context—had not influenced him even earlier.' In Tagore's later stories Amiya Chakravarty finds also the influence of Ibsen. Anyway, it is very difficult to find any direct influence of any western writer on Tagore's short stories in general.

Since Tagore's short stories cover the span of more than six decades, almost all the major fiction writers in Bengal were in a sense his contemporaries. Some of them tried to break away from his influence, some on the other hand tried to extend the topography and the social classes depicted in *Galpaguccha*. Still others like Prabhat Kumar Mukherji (Mukhopādhyāy, 1873–1932), and Charuchandra Banerji (Bandyopādhyāy, 1877–1938) actually received plots for stories from Tagore.

Tagore's Contemporaries

Among Rabindranath's elderly contemporaries, Trailokyanath Mukherji (Mukhopādhyāy, 1847–1919) was least influenced by him. More famous for his grotesque novel *Kaṅkāvati* (1892), Trailokyanath wrote a number of stories too, which are delightful to read and offer a strange mixture of fantasy and realism. In the world of his stories the ghosts move about freely with the human beings and there is absolutely no borderline between the natural and the unnatural. Yet he is also one of our most socially conscious writers. He is most humorous when he is bitter. His *Bhut O Mānuṣ* (Ghosts and Men, 1897), *Lullu*, *Nayanchānder Byabasā* (Nayanchan's Trade, 1894–95), *Muktāmālā* (Necklace of Pearls, 1901), *Majār Galpa* (Droll Stories, 1905), *Damaru Carit* (The Career of Damaru, 1923) contain some of the best humorous stories we have. He mingled the oral tradition of story-telling with the sophisticated art of story-writing. Sometimes he gives the readers the feeling that he is really addressing an audience rather than writing for individual readers. The satirist Parasuram (pen-name for Rājśekhar Basu, 1880–1960) was greatly influenced by him.

The short story became a very popular literary form in Bengal with the turn of the century. One of the reasons is the widespread influence of the periodicals which had been fostering the form since its inception. In fact, most of the magazines had their own groups of story writers having distinctive features and styles. It may, therefore, be more convenient to trace the development of the Bengali short story through these periodicals. The periodization which follows might some time appear to be arbitrary, for authors like Sarat Chandra Chatterji (Chaṭṭopādhyāy, 1876–1938), Tarasankar Banerji (Bandyopādhyāy, 1898–1971), Bibhutibhusan Banerji (Bandyopādhyāy, 1894–1950) or Manik Banerji (Bandyopādhyāy, 1908–56) never identified themselves with any particular magazine. Saratchandra, for instance, regularly contributed to *Jamunā* and *Bhāratvarṣa*. His association with them, however, was more accidental than ideological. And yet the group identity of an author often gives us a more comprehensive view of the trends of Bengali story at different stages of its development.

The Role of Periodicals

The first two decades of the present century were dominated by the following periodicals:

1. *Sāhitya* ('Literature', est. 1890, ed. Suresh Chandra Samajpati)
2. *Prabāsī* ('The Expatriate', est. 1901, ed. Ramananda Chatterjee)
3. *Bhārati* ('The Divinity of Art', ed. Sarala Devi and others)
4. *Sabujpatra* ('Green Foliage', est. 1914, ed. Parmatha Choudhuri)
5. *Nārāyaṇa* (est. 1914, ed. Chittaranjan Das).

Besides the periodicals, the Bengali short story owes a great deal to an annual competition of short-story writing for the Kuntalin Prize instituted since 1891 by H. Bose, who was actually a manufacturer of perfumes. It was an open competition with a rider. Stories had to make some reference in the text to either 'Delkhosh' perfume or 'Kuntalin' hair oil. The best entries were subsequently brought out in bookform. This competition was highly popular, and the list of contributors included Rabindranath, Sarat Chandra (under a pseudonym), Prabhatkumar, Anurupa Devi (1882–1958), Nirupama Devi (1883–1951), Sourindramohan Mukhopadhyay (1884–1966) and Upendranath Gangopadhyay (1881–1960).

Sāhitya, edited by Suresh Chandra Samajpati (1870–1921), was the mouthpiece of the old school of writers, though it welcomed *avant-garde* writers like Pramatha Choudhuri (pen-name: Birbal). Translations from many western

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authors including Maupassant and Mereimee appeared in this journal. But Samajpati himself was very orthodox and his own stories, collected in *Sāji* (Basket, 1900), are only of historical value and not of any literary worth. His journal became very anti-Tagore at one time. Its regular noteworthy contributors were Hemendra Prasad Ghosh (1876–1962), and Surendranath Mazumdar (1865–1931). Mazumdar became well-known for his excellent style and wit.

Among other short-story writers of the period, one would mention Jaladhar Sen (1860–1938), Srischandra Majumdar (1860–1908), and Dinendrakumar Roy (1869–1943). Jaladhar Sen was more noted as the editor of the monthly, *Bhāratvarṣa*, but had made his mark first as a story writer. Dinendrakumar and Srischandra mainly depicted village-life. The former was also one of our pioneer writers of detective fiction. One interesting point should be noted here. A favourite theme of these writers was love outside marriage, which is tabooed in a traditional society. Most of the love stories, therefore, centred round the conflict between tradition and modernity, love ending either in tragedy or fiasco. Sureschandra's *Private Tutor*, Jaladhar's *Ek Peālā Chā* (A Cup of Tea) and Prabhat Kumar Mukhopadhyay's *Praṇayer Pariṇām* (Consequences of Love, 1901) included in *Ṣoḍaśī* (1906) may be cited as examples.

Prabhatkumar Mukhopadhyay as a short-story writer was widely read and appreciated. Even when Tagore and Sarat Chandra were at the peak of their fame, Prabhatkumar attained considerable popularity in and outside Bengal. Mrs. Miriam Night translated some of his stories into English in an anthology called *Stories of Bengali Life* (1912). Prabhatkumar was quite at home in both tragic and humorous stories. He was probably the first Bengali author who wrote stories about the Indians living in Europe. His *Deśi O Bilāti* (Native and Foreign, 1909) is, in a sense, a forerunner of Pramatha Choudhuri's *Chār Yeāri Kathā* (Tales of Four Chums, 1916) and many other stories on the same theme by later writers. He was an ardent admirer of Balzac, and his *Ādariṇī* (The Favourite), one of the best animal stories written in Bengali, reminds one of Balzac's 'Love in the Desert'. But he was at his best in droll stories, and in inventing situations he was a master. Moreover, he had the rare gift of laughing with the characters, and never at them. His tragic story *Devi* has been made into a film by Satyajit Ray. This is an example of a story the plot of which was suggested to him by Rabindranath.

More known as a novelist, Sarat Chandra made his first appearance as a story writer. His achievement in this genre is great and no other Bengali writer after Tagore has exercised so much influence on other Indian writers. Before he left for Burma in search of a job he had sent a story for the Kuntalin Prize competition in 1902. He did not dare to sign his own name as the author and sent it in the name of his uncle Surendranath Ganguli (Gangopādhyāy, 1881–1954). The story, *Mandir* (The Temple) however, was awarded a prize, and when published in the following year, instantly made him famous. Another full decade passed, however, before he seriously took to writing.

Sarat Chandra's short stories contain all the positive and negative qualities of his novels, but the horizon of his experience is larger in the former. He was mainly interested in portraying in his novels the sorrows and sufferings of the lower middle-class people. In stories like *Abhāgīr Swarga* (The Unfortunate Woman's Heaven), and *Mahesh*, he portrayed the life of the very lowest strata of the society. For middle-class-dominated Bengali literature it was a real breakthrough. The downtrodden and the paupers may be found in Tagore's stories too but not in the context of the oppressor-oppressed relationship. Even in stories like *Bichārak* (The Judge, 1895), Tagore presents exploitation as a human problem and not as an example of class-conflict. Sarat Chandra went a step further and tried to focus on the insensitivity and callousness of the privileged caste and class. Though no rebels in any sense of the term, his characters nevertheless jolt us out of complacence. This area was further explored by the Kolloleans such as Yuvanāśva (pen-name of Manish Ghatak, 1901–79) and Premendra Mitra (b. 1904). Although some of Sarat Chandra's younger contemporaries tried to underrate him on the ground of sentimentality, it must be admitted that his wide experience, deep sympathy for the oppressed and an eye for detail largely contributed to the development of realistic literature in Bengal.

An interesting parallel can be drawn between Sarat Chandra and his contemporary in Hindi, Premchand (1880–1936). While the latter was more bitter and less sentimental, the former often makes us believe that the evils of a social system can be eradicated by sympathy and understanding. This also accounts for his ambivalent attitude towards society in general, for although he was deeply critical of social injustice he was nostalgic at the same time about certain older values and institutions like the joint family. Some of his most popular stories deal with, as also glorify, the importance of family ties at the cost of great sacrifice on the part of the individual. *Niṣkriti* (Deliverance, 1917), *Bindur Chele* (Bindu's Son, 1913) or *Rāmer Sumati* (Ram's Metamorphosis, 1913) may be cited as examples.

Pramatha Choudhuri (1868–1946), better known by his pen-name Bīrbal, temperamentally stands poles apart from Sarat Chandra. An artistocrat by birth, he was western in outlook and sophisticated in style. Though never a popular writer himself, his brilliance, wit and urbanity drew many young writers to him. Primarily an essayist, he also wrote a number of interesting short stories including *Chār Yeāri Kathā*. The four interconnected stories of *Chār Yeāri Kathā* are written in a bright conversational style on the theme of love's frustrations. The four friends tell each other of their

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disillusionment with the feminine mystique. The first friend tells of the captivating smile of a young girl who later proved to be insane. The second fell madly in love with an accomplished lady only to realize later that her real profession was that of a cutpurse. The third relates how he had fallen a victim to the caprices of a young girl who had pretended to be in love with him. This was her strategy to make her real lover jealous. The experience related by the last friend was perhaps the most exciting. At midnight he once received a phone call from a female ghost who frankly told him of her love for him. Social and racial barriers stood in the way of confessing this love till she died. Being dead she was finally free from her inhibitions. Social and political sketches of Pramatha Choudhuri are also delightful reading.

As we have noted above, Pramatha Chaudhuri translated one of Prosper Mérimée's stories. He was well-read in French literature and admired many writers including Alphonse Daudet and Theophile Gautier. He also translated one of the latter's story into Bengali. Although not a popular writer, he started a literary movement in his journal *Sabujpatra*, which had a far-reaching effect. Formerly, *Sādhu bhāṣa* (literally, chaste language) was the medium of written literature in Bengali. Pramatha Choudhuri canvassed for *chalit bhāṣa* (standard spoken dialect) in its place. Both Upendrakishore Raychoudhuri (1863–1915; Satyajit Ray's grandfather), and Swami Vivekananda (1863–1902) had already used *chalit bhāṣa* in some of their writings. But it was primarily due to Pramatha Choudhuri that *chalit bhāṣa* gained such wide popularity. In fact, he involved Tagore himself in this movement. Although one or two pieces of Tagore that appeared in the earlier numbers of *Sabujpatra* were in *Sādhu bhāṣa*, he ultimately discarded it in favour of *chalit bhāṣa* and never after changed his mind.

Another achievement of Pramatha Choudhuri was that he inspired many western-oriented authors like S. Wajed Ali (1890–1951), a barrister, to write in Bengali. Younger writers like Dhurjati Prasad Mukherji (Mukhopādhyāy, 1894–1961) and Atulchandra Gupta (1884–1961) served their apprenticeship in *Sabujpatra*. S. Wajed Ali seems to be the most widely known Muslim writer of the age. But Kazi Abdul Wadud (1896–1970), better known as an essayist, gained recognition as a fiction writer as well. If *Sabujpatra* was the mouthpiece of the elite group, *Bhārati* was dominated by the young prominent writers. *Bhārati* was founded by the members of the Tagore family. Swarnakumari Devi, our first woman novelist, edited the periodical in two phases, from 1884 to 1894 and then again from 1908 to 1914. Her daughter Sarala Devi Choudhurani (1872–1945) was also its editor from 1899 to 1907. Both encouraged many young writers to develop their talent by contributing to the journal. Even Prabhatkumar was a product in a sense of the *Bhārati* group, for he gained reputation as a writer only after he had become associated with it. Young Manilal Ganguli (Gangopādhyāy, 1888–1929), who edited the journal from 1917–22, and his associates introduced many foreign authors into Bengali. Among his contemporaries Charuchandra Bandyopadhyay, Sourindramohan Mukhopadhyay, Premankur Atarthi (1890–1964) and Hemendrakumar Ray (1888–1963) claim special mention. Though they were more successful as novelists, their contribution to the short story is also worth mentioning. Charuchandra was popular for his romantic stories, but he was seldom original in plot. As stated above, Tagore himself had suggested some plots to him. It is said of Sourindramohan that he 'sacrificed his literary gifts to overproduction'. He also wrote some popular books for children. Though Premankur Atarthi (better known under his pen-name, 'Mahāsthavīr') wrote some quite interesting stories, he was more noted for his autobiographical sketches in *Mahāsthavīr Jātak*. Hemendra Kumar Ray later changed his interest from adult fiction to juvenile literature. His stories for the adult have been forgotten today, but his adventurous and detective stories for children are still read with interest.

Charuchandra Bandyopadhyay raised some controversy by overtly introducing sex in some of his fiction. Nareschandra Sen Gupta (1882–1964) went a step further by introducing Freudian psychology in the delineation of characters. From his time Freud became a dominant influence in Bengali fiction, as a little later it would be Marx. Nareschandra too was more successful in the novel. Being a lawyer by profession he also defended some young writers when they were charged with obscenity. Jagadish Gupta (1886–1957) is often labelled as a writer of the Naturalist school. But this sort of labelling is often misleading. Unlike his other contemporaries, Jagadish Gupta was least concerned with either emotional or intellectual problems. His characters live or survive by primitive instincts. He did not have any respect for human relationships or values as such, nor did he believe that either nature or society could be changed. His stories always leave the reader feeling unsettled, and perhaps that accounts for his unpopularity as a writer. Though older than others he is generally associated with the *Kallol*, especially with the *Kāli Kalam* group. All this was late in life, and it is unfortunate that he never received due recognition, though some critics now regard him as the precursor of early Manik Banerji.

Assuming a female pseudonym was once fashionable. Even Sarat Chandra wrote his essays under the signature of Anila Devi. Whatever might have been the reason for it, very few woman writers, particularly of short stories, were really as notable as their male counterparts. Anurupa Devi (1882–1958), Nirupama Devi (1893–1951), Sailabala Ghoshjaya (1893–1973), Shanta Devi (b. 1894), and Sita Devi (1895–1974) were of some repute as women writers of fiction of the period. Except Shanta Devi and Sita Devi, the others wrote novels, but hardly any short stories. Sailabala

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Ghoshjaya once shocked the traditionalists by portraying an amorous relationship between a Muslim driver and a Hindu upper class lady in a novel called *Sheikh Āndu* (1917).

As already noted, the humorous story has a long tradition in Bengal. Kedarnath Banerji (Bandyopādhyāy, 1863–1949), particularly Parasuram enriched it further. A scientist by profession, he was a man of varied interests. He compiled a dictionary in Bengali, which is still regarded as a standard work. He also translated the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and a few other Sanskrit classics into standard colloquial Bengali. His first short story appeared when he was over forty. According to some critics, his first published story was 'Sri Sri Siddheswari Limited,' according to some others it was 'Biriñci Bābā' (1922). Anyway, these two stories made him famous overnight. His style is brilliant, witty, pungent, and his humour more cerebral than that of others. Some of his stories ridicule religious hypocrisy and popular superstitions, some deal with human weakness in general, and others re-create in a funny manner some of the odd characters and situations in the Sanskrit epics. His ghost stories are also entertaining. In *Bhūśandir Mathē* (On the Plains of Bhuśandi), Netyakālī, a female ghost, is made to face a serious crisis of identity. On becoming a ghost she meets all her three husbands of three former incarnations at the same time. Though Hindu custom ordains that a woman should be loyal to her husband, her present perplexity is real indeed.

The Kallol and After

Inspired by the contemporary continental literature of the West, Manindralal Basu (b. 1897) introduced sophisticated artistes and bohemians in his fiction. His characters generally belong to the upper middle class, and are well-read in western literature. His heroes are sometimes shown to be sickly, as in *Sukānta*, where for instance, the hero dies of consumption.

This type of sickly bohemian hero became fashionable for some time in literature as in life. In fact, Gokulchandra Nag (1895–1925), an artist and one of the founder-editors of the renowned journal *Kallol* (1923) died of consumption at an early age. *Kallol*, though not a literary movement in the strict sense of the term, produced a band of young writers who dominated the literary scene for the next three decades. The young band included Jeevananda Das (1899–1954), Sailajananda Mukherji (Mukhopādhyāy, 1901–76), Dineshranjan Das (1888–1941), Achintyakumar Sengupta (1903–76), Premendra Mitra (b. 1904), Buddhadeva Bose (Basu, 1908–74), Prabodhkumar Sanyal (b. 1907) and even the rebel poet Kazi Nazrul Islam (1899–1975). Even Tarasankar Bandyopadhyay's (1898–1971) first story *Rasakali* (1928) was published in *Kallol* though he never considered himself a Kallolean.

One remarkable feature about the group was their versatility. Many of them were both poets and fiction writers. Jeevananda Das would be an example. His fictional writings remained unpublished during his lifetime. His posthumous publications, however, show that his achievement both as a story writer and a novelist is also considerable. Some were brilliant essayists too. But they had often very little in common with each other. Sailajananda widened the horizon of Bengali fiction by portraying the lives of the tribal people in the coal-mine areas. Manish Ghaṭak (pen-name: 'Juvanāśva', 1902–79) gave us a somewhat intimate picture of the beggars, vagabonds and other underworld characters in *Pataldāṅgār Pāñcāli*. It was much later, in 1957, that the stories came out in book form. Premendra Mitra moved freely from the underworld to the upper middle-class people though he is more successful in exposing the hypocrisy and self-deception of the urban middle class. He has greatly influenced the next generation of writers. Of late he has shown more interest in science fiction and absurd fantasies.

Achintyakumar, Premendra and Buddhadeva were at one time regarded as an inseparable trio. They also jointly wrote two novels. But the parting of the ways came inevitably. Achintyakumar's favourite theme was love. But his career as a Munsif took him to different parts of Bengal which enriched his awareness of the Hindu and Muslim peasantry, the oppressed classes and middle-class life in small towns. He mastered the dialects of the outlying places in Bengal and used them with such ease in his stories that one critic humorously demanded that they be translated forthwith into 'Bengali'.

It must be admitted, however, that the trio mentioned above gained proper recognition much later in life. Most of the Kalloleans along with Annadasankar Ray (b. 1904) and others created controversies during their formative years with their so-called 'obsession with sex'. Sajanikanta Das (1901–60), editor of *Śanibārer Chiṭhi* (1924), raised a hue and cry against them. In fact Buddhadeva Basu had the unenviable distinction of being accused of immorality before the court of justice twice in his life: in 1932 for a book of stories *Era Ār Orā Ebong Āro Āneke* (These, Those and Many Others, 1932), and again in 1969 for a novel *Rāt Bhore Briṣṭi* (Rain through the Night, 1967). When his first story 'Rajani Holo Utalā' (Night Became Restless) appeared in *Kallol*, an elderly woman reader regretted that his mother did not kill him at her confinement by putting salt in his mouth.

What intrigues a modern reader is that sex has never been the *leitmotif* of Buddhadeva's fiction. While he never ignored the physical aspect of love, he seldom overemphasized it. He was widely read in western literature and Lawrence was once a favourite. Never interested in widening the area of his experience outwardly, he grew more and more an introvert in his later stories. Although he was more famous for his romantic or cynical love stories, some of

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his later stories deal with completely different themes, like the life of a lexicographer or the communication gap experienced by a linguist.

Vicitra, (1925–37), which was a magazine founded by Upendranath Ganguli (Gangopādhyāy, 1881–1960), a popular fiction writer of the older generation, brought into prominence three most significant authors to Bengali readers: Bibhutibhusan Bandyopadhyaya, Manik Banerji and Annadasankar Ray. In temperament and style, Annadasankar reminds one of Pramatha Choudhuri, witty and sharp; he is remarkable both for his brilliance and depth.

Bibhutibhusan's widely read novel *Pather Pāñcāli* (1929) was serialized in *Vicitra*. But he made his debut as a story writer long before in the monthly *Prabasi* ('Upekṣitā'). His stories often take us back to the world of Tagore's *Galpaguccha*. His characters are uncomplicated and lovable, though they sometimes suffer for no fault of their own. Gorky wrote about Chekhov's stories that they make one feel as if it were a sad day in late autumn. It could as well be said of the stories of Bibhutibhusan.

Manik Banerji shows a polar difference from Bibhutibhusan. He was psychologically more penetrating, socially more analytical, and temperamentally more critical. No two contemporary authors could be more dissimilar than Bibhutibhusan and Manik. The former's primary interest lay in pure and simple human nature. Manik Banerji, on the other hand, was more concerned with psychological complexities and ambivalences of the human mind. Annadasankar and Lila Ray comment: 'Manik Banerji is an enigma. He has seen things pleasant and unpleasant, at close quarters. His imagination transforms it all into a dream-like stuff that invests ordinary characters with a strangeness that fascinates and frightens by its weird quality.' Manik gradually shifted his interest to the analysis of social problems.

Tarasankar Bandyopadhyay was also socially aware and vigorous as a writer. He too had a rich and varied experience of life and in fact, the trend in Bengali fiction aptly described by Lila Ray as 'sociological regionalism' was started by him. But unlike Manik Banerji, he was nostalgic about the vanished or vanishing grandeur of the decadent feudal class. Saroj Kumar Ray Choudhuri (1905–72) also followed the same path in documenting regional life and wrote some good stories. Among other writers of the period are Rabindranath Moitra (1896–1932), Bibhutibhusan Mukherji (Mukhopādhyāy, b. 1896), Saradindu Banerji (Bandyopādhyāy, 1899–1970), 'Banaphul' (pen-name of Balaichand Mukhopadhyay, 1899–1979), Parimal Goswami (1897–1976), Pramathanath Bisi (b. 1901) and Sivram Chakraborti (1906–80). Most of them, incidentally, are acclaimed humorists. Sivram, according to Buddhadeva Bose, was 'gifted with an irrepressible and often irresistible humour', had 'after a long struggle, finally submitted himself to the awkward position of a writer for children only'. 'Banaphul' was literally a short story writer, the length of some of his stories varying from eight or ten lines to two pages at most. Saradindu was noted for both his detective fiction and semi-historical romantic stories. Manoje Basu (b. 1901), Probodh Kumar Sanyal (1905–83) and Gajendra Kumar Mitra (b. 1909) have also written on varied themes.

The Progressive Movement

In 1936 were published two great novels by Manik Banerji *Putul Nācer Itikathā* (*The Puppet's Tale*) and *Padmā Nadir Mājhi* (Padma River's Boatman). The year before saw the founding of the All India Progressive Writers' Association and Munshi Premchand presided over its first Congress at Lucknow in 1936. The movement had a stronghold in Bengal, and Manik Banerji gradually became actively associated with it. Some of his best stories were written during this period. For a while, Tarasankar was also drawn to the same movement.

The Progressive Writers' Movement gathered momentum after the brutal murder of a promising young writer Somen Chanda (1920–42) while he was leading an Anti-Fascists' rally. Short stories of this young man had created quite a stir and some of these stories such as 'Indur' (The Rat), and 'Saṅket' (The Signal) are available in English translation. One of the positive achievements of the Progressive Writers' movement was that it united, though for a short while, authors with divergent political views and temperaments such as Sudhindranath Dutta (1901–60), Tarasankar, Abu Sayeed Ayyub (b. 1906), Buddhadeva Basu, and Sailajananda for a common cause. Authors like Swarnakamal Bhattacharya (1908–64) and Nani Bhowmik (b. 1921) were the direct products of the movement.

It was indeed very difficult for our auhors to remain indifferent to the political turmoil and the social changes since the Second World War broke out in 1939. The impact of the 'Quit India' movement (1942), the Great Bengal Famine of 1943, the communal riots and finally the partition of India shortly after, increased this political awareness. Social upheavals occasionally bring compensations along with them. Some of our most powerful story writers emerged during this period. Subodh Ghosh (1909—?) created a literary sensation by publishing his first story 'Ajāntrik' (Non-Mechanical, 1940), in which the main character is a vintage car, symbolic of the breakdown of the family. The wide experience of this author ranges from tribal people to the former maharajahs. Starting as a class-conscious writer, he later became more interested in psycho-analysis.

Narayan Ganguli (Gangopādhyāy 1918–70) was often regarded as the successor of Tarasankar for the documentation of regional life in his writings. Both ideologically and temperamentally, however, they were different. Whether the theme is political or amorous, Narayan Ganguli relies more on the element of surprise than on the

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exposition of characters. Another politically conscious writer of the period was Nabendu Ghosh (b. 1916).

The war and the famine shattered the traditional values of the Bengali middle class. Writers of the older generation wrote many significant stories about the situation, but it has been explored in depth by younger writers like Jyotirindra Nandi (b. 1915), Narendranath Mitra (1918–75) and Santosh Kumar Ghosh (b. 1920). Their chief concern has been the middle-class family life, and not even for novelty do they stray beyond. Jyotirindra Nandi usually explores the decadent class through sexual overtones, making sex symptomatic of power or frustation. It is unfortunte that this powerful writer though well-known is not widely read. Santosh Kumar Ghosh depicts the devaluation of love in society. His 'Kānākaḍi' (in English translation, 'Worth a Penny') is representative of his attitude to love and sex. Narendranath Mitra, the third author of the group, was less cynical and more rooted in his class. He spins his stories with the trifles of everyday life and very few authors could excel him in this. His widely acclaimed stories include 'Headmaster,' 'Head mistress', 'Ras' (The Sap) and 'Abotaranika' (made into a film, *Mahānagar*, by Satyajit Ray). Experiences of middle-class family life is also the main concern of writers like Ramesh Chandra Sen (1894–1969), Ashapurna Devi (b. 1909) and Prativa Basu (b. 1915).

Samaresh Basu (b. 1921) first arrived with a story on communal disturbances. Unlike the writers mentioned above, he was a 'declassed' writer by choice. Despite his middle-class background, he understood the jute workers, the vendors, and the low caste village folk better than the people of his own class. He has also written fairly significant political stories. One of our major short story writers, though of late he has taken interest in portraying the urban elite, his real forte is portraying the oppressed class.

Though temperamentally unlike, both Bimal Kar (b.1921) and Ramapada Choudhuri (b. 1922), have tried to extend the topographical scope of the Bengali short story. The latter still likes to experiment with new themes. 'Bhāratvarṣa' (India) by Ramapada Choudhuri is a good document of how local people were corrupted by the foreign soldiers during the last war. Bimal Kar is happy to experiment with the form. In fact, he started a formalist movement in the late fifties (not dated, probably 1958–59) through a magazine called *Choto Galpa, Nūtan Rīti* (Short Story, New Form) and advocated a narrowing down of the difference between the lyric and the short story. He attracted many young poets and fiction writers to this movement. Who knows whether the poet Sunil Gangopadhyay's (b. 1934) emergence as a fiction writer was not hastened by it? For *Kṛthivās*, a poetry journal edited by Sunil and other young poets, propagated the same view. Anyway, it is no mean achievement for the initiator of the movement to attract authors of different outlooks such as Dipendranath Banerji (Dipendranāth Bandyopādhyāy, 1933–79), and Sandipan Chatterji (Sandīpan Chattopādhyāy, b. 1933). Among the communist writers of the fifties, Dipendranath seems to be the most well-known. He successfully adapted myths and legends to contemporary reality (in 'Jaṭāyu' for instance). Individuals cannot afford to remain in isolation. People struggle and suffer in the hope of creating a new world. In spite of all the frustrations in everyday life they seldom lose faith in love or other human values. 'Asvamedher Ghoḍā' (The Horse for the Asvamedha Yajna), 'Hawā nā Hawā' (To Be or Not To Be) and 'Utsarga' (Dedication) are some of his representative stories. Debesh Ray (b. 1936) who is also another committed writer experiments with both form and content. His novel *Mānuṣ Khun Kare Kano* (Why Does Man Commit Murder?) is a significant contribution to Bengali fiction.

It may appear somewhat paradoxical that the Marxist writers should be so concerned about form apart from the content. But from Nani Bhowmik onwards the trend remains unchanged among some communist writers. Perhaps that accounts for some of the Marxist writers' admiration for Kamal Kumar Majumdar (1914–79) who deliberately chose an obscure, artificial and pedantic style in the name of purity of language. Kamal Kumar wrote many remarkable short stories, but his style generally alienates the common readers. For a patient reader, however, stories like 'Nim Annapurna' (The Bitter Annapurna), 'Motilal Padri' (Motilal the Padre) or 'Jal' (Water) will be a rewarding experience. Another tireless experimentalist is Amiyabhushan Majumdar (b. 1918), though he prefers futurist themes to obscurantist ideas.

New Experiments

Although Sandipan Chatterji's style is not obscure, he too depends on *tour de force*, and is admired more by young writers than the readers. Moti Nandi (b. 1932) faithfully documents the different aspects of middle-class life but his main concern seems to be the alienation of the individual, The partition of Bengal created a void in the mind of the writer resulting in a serious crisis of identity. Some of the best stories of Sunil Gangopadhyay and Sirshendu Mukherji (b. 1935) use this theme though Sunil is more popular for his love stories. The crisis of identity has been excellently treated by Sirshendu in his story 'Amake Dekhun' (Look at Me). To escape from the absurdities of today's life. Syamal Gangopadhyay (b. 1933) often creates a bizarre world where man lives by primitive instincts. He is very nostalgic about nature and village life. To him it is an escape into life rather than from life.

Different authors have reacted in their own ways to such political movements as that of the Naxalites. Some treated it as a problem of generation gap. To others the gap was of communication. For still others it was a misdirected movement which ended up in chaos and frustration. Gaurkishore

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Ghosh (b. 1921), Mahasveta Devi (b. 1926), Asim Ray (b. 1927), Baren Gangopadhyay (b. 1930) and many others have written on this theme. Gaurkishore generally writes under the pen-name 'Rupadarshi'. His social sketches and Brajabuli stories are widely read, and his political stories, though controversial, are acclaimed for their boldness. Mahasveta Devi acquainted us with the problems of tribal world where the people are politically conscious and socially aware. Some of her stories like 'Draupadi' and 'Stanadāyini' (Wet Nurse) created a stir in recent times. Amalendu Chakravarti (b. 1934) feels out of place everywhere. One of his stories *Abirata Chenamukh* (Endless Known Faces) has been made into a film by Mrinal Sen (*Ekdin Pratidin:* English subtitle: *And Quiet Flows the Day*). Although the authors are different in temperament, with Bani Ray (b. 1919) and Kabita Sinha, (b. 1931) confrontation with the male world was once a favourite theme. Among other significant writers of the period, mention may be made of Atin Bandyopadhyay (b. 1934) and Prafulla Ray (b. 1934).

The short story as a genre is widely practised by the Bengali authors, but less patronized by the general readers. Short-story books do not sell as well as the novels do. Perhaps that is the reason why commercially successful popular writers like Bimal Mitra (b. 1912), Asutosh Mukhopadhyay (b. 1920) and 'Sankar' (Maṇiśaṅkar Mukhopādhyāy, b. 1933) have written comparatively fewer stories. When they wrote some at all they were later pursuaded by the publishers to enlarge them into short novels which have a wider readership. Sayed Mujtaba Ali (1904–74) was perhaps an exception. His *Cāca Kāhini* (Uncle's Tales, 1953) made, for once, a steady sell.

The short-story writers of Bangladesh are outside the scope of this article. Although writers like Syed Waliullah (1919–71), Shamsuddin Abu Kalam (b. 1926) and Abu Ishaque (b. 1927) gained reputation as short-story writers before the partition of the country, they are recognized today as Bangladesi writers.

During the last two decades at least a dozen new writers have appeared on the scene. But one noticeable feature is that they are patronized more by the 'little magazines' than the commercially successful big journals. The 'little magazines' are, therefore, still playing a positive role in the development of the Bengali short story.

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Gujarati

CHANDRAKANT MEHTA

Medieval Gujarati literature abounds in both prose and poetry short stories, which had their origins in the rich Sanskrit and *Apabhramsa* short stories of the *Hitopadeśa*, *Pañcatantra*, *Kathāsaritsāgara*, *Brihatkathā*, *Daśakumāracarita* and other works. These stories, however, are quite different in content and form from the genre of short stories known in modern Gujarati literature. The modern short story is definitely a product of western literary influence.

The Beginnings

Some translations of European short stories gave the people of Gujarat some idea of this genre in the first half of the 19th century. In 1828, Bapushastri Pandya translated *Aesop's Fables* verbatim. In 1840, the Bombay Education Society prepared *Gujarāti Pañcopākhyāna*, a direct translation of Vishnu Sharma's Sanskrit work *Pañcopākhyāna*. Curiously enough, these two translations were of the most famous fables of the East and the West, but both books were of little importance.

Dalpatram's (1820–98) four collections of short stories, *Bāidini Mulākātnun Varnan* (Description of an Interview with Gujarati Women, 1856), *Tārkik Bodh* (Logical Advice, 1870), *Daivagnya Darpaṇ* (Mirror of Fate, 1872) and *Gujarātnān Ketlāk Aitihāsik Prasaṅgo Ane Vārtao* (Some Historical Incidents and Stories of Gujarat, 1876) contain some elements of the modern short story. Though the elements are not properly integrated, the stories give an inkling of a genre in the making and were different in form from anything preceding them. The characters develop through their dialogue. The author, for the most part, keeps himself at a distance. The beginning is direct and there is no attempt to sermonize at the end. It is because of these qualities that Dhumketu (pseud. of Gaurishankar Joshi, 1892–1965) a well-known short story writer, feels that the first attempt at writing imaginary stories in modern Gujarati literature was made by Dalpatram.

In 1866, Ranchhodbhai Udayram (1839–88) collected traditional folk stories and narrated them in a traditional style. Later, Smt. Shrungar translated some of Chamber's short stories under the title *Tunki Kahānio* (Short-stories, 1885) and demonstrated a group of the short-story form. Hence, Navalram Pandya (Navalrām Pāṇḍyā, 1836–88), one of the foremost critics of the 19th century, considered her the writer who presented the short story form in Gujarati for the first time.

Up to 1885, the short story compilations which were published were either compilations of Gujarati folk-tales or translations and adaptations of stories from foreign lands. Only a few attempts were made at original short story writing. But all these together contributed to the evolution of the short story form in Gujarati literature.

Contribution of Periodicals. Several periodicals were also responsible for the growth and development of the short story form in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. As the number of periodicals in Gujarat grew, demand for short stories also increased. To meet the demand, translations of Indian folk-tales and European short stories, and some legends and humorous anecdotes were written in the early days. But soon original short stories were attempted. It was mainly the Parsees who wrote such literary material. Having taken more readily to English education and become conversant with modern trends in European literature, they had a clearer conception of this new genre than other Gujarati writers.

The first Gujarati monthly was *Gnān Prasārak* (Propagation of Knowledge) which appeared in 1848. In 1857 another monthly, *Strī Bodh* (Women's Advice), began publication and concentrated on presenting legends, humorous anecdotes and fables. *Sundari Subodh* (Good Advice for Women, 1857) was another monthly that played an important role in developing the short story form. *Budhhi Prakāś* (Light of the Intellect, 1850) was yet another monthly to publish stories in each issue. Translations and adaptations of European short stories were the first stories to appear in these periodicals, but gradually social themes, based on the problems of contemporary life, began to appear. These themes related to love triangles, the mental agony of widows and the curse of the joint family system. The story 'Bhul' (Mistake) by Dahyābhāī Patel, published in the February 1878 issue of *Budhhi Prakāś*, is specially noteworthy because of the departure from the traditional narrative form and the adoption of the letter form in the story which comprises three letters from the hero, heroine and the hero's friend.

Jñānsudhā (Nectar of Knowledge, 1886), a monthly edited by Ramanbhai Nilkanth (Ramaṇbhāī Nīlkaṇṭh, 1808–1928), also made an important contribution to the evolution of the short story. Ramanbhai himself wrote satirical, humorous stories and started a trend that was followed by Dhanśukhlāl Mehtā (1890–1974). Ramanbhai also wrote suspense and crime stories. Besides these contributions, the monthly regularly publi-

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shed translations of the best European stories, thus keeping readers and prospective writers in touch with the latest trends in the West. In the March 1916 issue, translations of the Bengali stories of Prabhat Kumar Mukhopadhyaya and Sudhindranath Tagore were published, giving readers some idea of the development of this genre in Bengal.

A monthly *Vidyāvāridhi* (Ocean of Knowledge), devoted entirely to short stories, was launched in 1899. It published stories on a variety of themes written in several different styles. The love themes, however, were the most popular. The writers were mainly from the urban elite and most of their themes pertained only to the problems of that class. The range was thus limited, yet there was abundant variety, mainly through mode of expression, in the publication. The publication also showed that the short story form was slowly but steadily developing, though its inspiration was mainly from the West.

The First Short Stories. The first original Gujarati short story which satisfied all the requirements of the modern short story was 'Śāntidās', written by Ambalal Shakerlal Desai (Ambālāl Sākerlāl Desāi, 1844–1944) in 1900. The story is based on the plight of village artisans, as the craze for imported goods crept into rural areas. Though the writer wants to convey a message, the artistic form does not suffer and the narrative is maintained throughout. All the characters have distinguishable identities and their language is according to their status in rural society. Wit and satire at appropriate places also enhance the literary value of the story. It is interesting that a Swadeshi theme was chosen for this Gujarati story five years ahead of the Bengal Swadeshi movement.

Formation of Concept

Narayan Hemchandra (Nārāyaṇ Hemcndra, 1855–1909) regularly provided translations of the best short stories from Europe and Bengal in the monthly *Sāhitya* (Literature). This helped to improve by example the quality of Gujarati short stories. Another important contribution of Narayan was a book on the short-story form. In *Navalkathā Viṣe Ek Vicār* (A Discussion about the Novel, 1904) he elaborately discussed the short-story form in a chapter entitled 'Nāni Vārtā' (Short Story). While emphasizing the independent form of the short story he says:

> The short story is certainly not a concise form of a novel; from the point of view of literary art, the short story is entirely different from the novel. Some stories are of different types. An anecdote, a fairy-tale, a character sketch, an incident in the daily life of the people from the lower strata of society, any of them can provide a theme for the short story. The difference between a short story and a novel is just like the difference between a sonnet and an epic. In a short story, dialogue which is commonly in vogue in daily life is being used. The importance of each dialogue should be established. In a novel some important dialogues might be used but in a short story such dialogues are redundant. (p. 89)

Narayan's elucidation of the short story genre was a significant event as it finally established the status of the short story as an important literary form.

Reform-oriented Stories. The monthly magazine *Sundari Subodh*, which contributed greatly towards putting the short story on a firm footing, continued its activities in the first two decades of the 20th century also. It was taken over by the Bandhu Samāj—an association founded for the propagation of social reform—in 1903. Thereafter, the short stories published in the magazine carried the message of social reform and were based on such themes as the education of women, widow remarriage, the evils of drink, extramarital relations, etc. Though stories were written with the objective of social reform, it was not done at the cost of the literary art. On the contrary, the stories made an impact on the educated class. There was, in the magazine, a separate section for short stories called 'Vārtālahari' (Waves of Story). This section gave an opportunity to many young writers. Many women writers also contributed to it, because the magazine created a wave of awareness amongst women about their rights and status in society. The prominent women writers included Sumati, Urmila, Vijayalaxmi Trivedi, Shardaben Mehta, Pramila, Arvinda and Vidyaben Nilkanth. They wrote of women's problems and the social injustice they faced in a male-dominated society, but some times overdid it. In 1909, an anthology of selected short stories, *Tuṅki Kahānio*, was published in the monthly. It was edited by Pramila and Arvinda, who in their preface wrote, 'These stories are new, both in content and form and they present a picture of contemporary society. The collections of old types of stories are available, but this is the first compilation of a new type of story.' Most of the stories in this anthology urge women to rise in revolt against the unjust social system. In 'Sulocana' by Rammohanray Desai, the style is autobiographical, each character in the story narrating a chain of incidents from his or her own angle. It makes interesting reading, as one is able to get various versions of a single incident. This was a style found in Bengali novels and short stories of the 19th century. Another story, 'Vidvanmani' (tr. by Laxmanbhāi Patel) is a psychological story in which the psychiatrist unfolds the subconscious mind of his patient. The writer had read a paper in the annual session of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad (Gujarati Literary Conference) in 1908 on 'Sāhityaman Tuṅki Vārtā' (The Short Story in Literature) in which he discussed the form of the short story from different angles

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and the process of development of the form in Gujarati literature. This would indicate that the short story form had gained recognition as an important literary genre by 1908.

Other short story writers who made a mark through *Sundari Subodh* are Bhogindrarão Divetia (Bhogīndrarao Divetṭā, 1875–1975) and Ranjitram Mehta (Ranjitrām Mehtā, 1882–1917). Divetia, besides writing original stories to suit the policies of *Bandhu Samāj*, also introduced Tolstoy to Gujarati readers by translating his short stories. Ranjitram, on the other hand, made use of the themes of well-known folk stories and wrote similar imaginary folk stories in a new form. 'Hīrā', (1909) which became very popular, was one such well-chiselled story. Dhansukhlal Mehta calls it the first Gujarati modern short story, but the story is based on the Punjabi folk-tale 'Sohini-Mahiwāl'. Though the romantic element is well developed, it cannot claim to be original. Ranjitram also made a mark with his original short stories, in which his revolutionary zeal is apparent. In 'Ahmad-Rupānḍe' (1908) the heroine, Rupānḍe, a Hindu girl, marries a Muslim boy Ahmad, as Ranjitram tries to establish the supremacy of love over the communal barrier. Ranjitram's stories accelerated the pace of development of the Gujarati short story.

By and large, the short stories in the first decade of the 20th century were reformist and depicted the rapidly changing values of society. But by introducing letter writing, diary and autobiographical styles, new forms of the story were introduced to Gujarati readers.

The Period 1911–23. A gradual evolution of the short story form becomes evident from 1911. The main writers of the second decade of the 20th century are Dhansukalal Mehta, Narad (pseud. of Matubhai Kantawālā, 1885–1931), Malayānil (pseud. of Kanchanlāl Mehtā, 1857–1919), Kanaiyalal M. Munshi (1887–1971) and Lilawati Munshi (1899–1977). Dhansukhlal Mehta freed the Gujarati short story from its descriptive and narrative style and introduced the refined form of the English short story. Though he wrote stories of several different types, he is at his best in his satirical and humorous stories. His humour is refined and polished; created out of situations and never sarcastic or satirical. He always moves on the plinth of probability. In his *Pratibimb Ane Chhāyā* (Reflection and a Shadow, 1914), he successfully uses symbols. He jolts traditional ethical values in such stories as *Pavitratāni Vedipar* (On the Altar of Purity, 1934), *Parivartan* (Change, 1920) and *Chhabi Padi* (The fall of a Photograph, 1920) by openly advocating extra-marital love. He has also written powerful tragedies, like *Ba* (Mother, 1940), in which the agony of an old widow, whose sons leave her one by one, when they get married, is effectively developed until it reaches a tragic climax.

Kanaiyalāl M. Munshi began writing short stories in 1911. Because of his biting sarcasm and pungent satire, he succeeded for a while, but the improbabilities he introduced and the crudeness and diversions found in his stories repelled the intellectuals till he switched from short stories to novels. Yet some of his short stories, like *Sākuntalā ane Durvāsā* (Shakuntala and Durvasa, 1924), in which he makes use of a myth to depict the evils of individualism, and *Svapnadeśni Sundari* (Lady of the Dreamland, 1923), in which he uses a dream to throw light on the subconscious mind, are noteworthy because of his successful experiment with technique.

Malayanil began writing in various periodicals from 1913. His story *Govālaṇi* (The Milkmaid), which was published in the monthly *Vismisadi* (The 20th Century), was acclaimed as the model Gujarati short story. Malayanil during the six years of his career as a writer wrote 16 short stories, but 'Govālaṇi' (1918) was his last and best. All the elements of the short story are so artistically moulded with such flawless coherence that, till recently, some critics considered *Govālaṇi* as the real beginning of the Gujarati short story. The story, in autobiographical style, is about a man who is so enchanted by a milkmaid that he follows her to her hut and makes overtures to her. She makes an excuse and slips away asking her admirer to wait. When she returns, she has with her the wife of the smitten man.

Narad, who was the editor of the monthly *Sāhitya*, wrote 17 stories between 1913 and 1931. All of them have social themes and present a picture of contemporary life. Of them, two deserve special mention: *Lochopocho Matino* (Lump of Soft Clay, 1918) and *Jantulīlā* (The Play of Insects, 1924). In the former, the locale is London and the heroine is an Englishwoman, Miss Manning. She meets a Gujarati, is impressed by Hindu culture, adopts the Hindu religion, comes to India and propagates Hinduism. The writer must have had in his mind the story of Sister Niveditā. The novelty here is in the atmosphere and theme. The second story is based on scientific research and is the first story of its kind in Gujarati.

Lilavati Munshi, in her stories, championed the cause of the Gujarati women of the second and third decades of the 20th century. She presents the agony of women in a male-dominated Hindu society, but her female characters neither shed tears nor blame Fate; they fight back and rise in revolt against society. The writer has shown great insight in depicting the complexes generated in women by the social do's and don'ts imposed upon them. In *Vanmālāni Dāirymānthi Ketlāk Utārā* (Some Abstracts from Vanmala's Diary, 1926), she uses a diary form, an innovative form in the Gujarati short story.

The Gandhian Era. Mahatma Gandhi returned from South Africa in 1915. By 1920, his impact on all fields of life was evident. In the short story form, his influence is seen in the stories of Dhumketu who earned fame with his very first story, *Post Office*, which was published in *Sāhitya* in 1923.

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This story is considered to have ushered in an era of the Gujarati short story. Thereafter, the short story made tremendous strides both in content and form. Till then, plots were related to urban areas and the characters were educated people of the middle or upper classes.

Dhumketu's first collection to be published was called *Taṇkhā* (Sparks, 1926). All the stories in this collection had previously appeared in different magazines. In them are drawn, for the first time in Gujarati short stories, the tragic impact of the rapid industrialization, the holocaust of the machine age and the dehumanization process started by a heartless bureaucratic regime. The upper and middle class characters of the preceding era are replaced by people from the lowest strata of society, cobblers, and vegetable-vendors, hunters, woodcutters, prostitutes, etc. Their tales of woe are vividly presented, encompassing a variety of themes and characters and ranging far and wide in time and place. The widely travelled writer has chosen his locales from the Himalayan ranges to the Narmada valley, from Assam to the Punjab. Timewise, he has written of the Vedic period in *Svarga ane Pṛthvi* (Heaven and Earth) and of the 21st century in *Ekiṣmi Sadinun Prabhāt* (A Morning in the 21st Century).

In *Sarayunadine Kināre* (On the Banks of Sarayu), Dhumketu depicts the mental reaction of a neglected child and narrates how his mental development is curbed and how this affects him physically. It is the first full-fledged psychological story in Gujarati. Elsewhere, Dhumketu depicts with genuine sympathy the poetic part of rural life. He admittedly idealizes rural life and depicts the exploited villagers as ideal human beings. This is due to the impact of Gandhian ideology. Dhumketu is at his best depicting tragic sentiments. His characters are highly emotional, and often appear unrealistic. But because he has adopted so many different styles, Mansukhlāl Jhaveri says in his *History of Gujarati Literature* (p. 170), 'For the first time in Gujarati literature, he brought us gems of stories in ample measure'. Dhumketu's 20 collections of short stories have been published, but the freshness and effectiveness of his earlier stories are absent in the stories written after 1930, when he begins to repeat himself.

Dwiref (pseud. of Rāmnārāyan Pāthak, 1887–1955) began writing short stories in 1924 for the monthlies *Yuga Dharma* (Duty of the Era) and *Prasthān* (Forward March). He was the editor of the latter. His first collection of short stories, *Dwirefni Vāto* (Stories of Dwiref), was published in 1928. Two other collections of his short stories were later published under the same name. Dwiref appeared on the literary scene when readers wanted some relief from the sentimentality of Dhumketu and his imitators. Dwiref was a philosopher and a logician and there is a restraint on emotional expression in his stories. He is more rational and logical than Dhumketu and, as such, he dispassionately depicts incidents while his characters accept the miseries of life in a philosophical manner.

Dwiref delves deep into the inner recesses of the human mind. In *Ek Prasna* (A Question, 1928), he has shown how an insignificant incident creates different reactions in different persons. In several of his other short stories, he has portrayed the complexities of the human mind. As he was also an eminent critic, he took every step in a calculated manner, thus satisfying the intellectuals as well as his fellow critics. He introduced the element of criticism in the short story by incorporating a new feature called *Mehfile Fasaneguyan* (A Meeting of Story Lovers). He created an imaginary association of short-story writers who met weekly. At these meetings, one of the members would read a story written by him and the others would discuss the story in detail. Thus the story presented in this form included its criticism also.

Dwiref also wrote stories relating to sex. In *Jakṣaṇi* (A Lady of the Higher World, 1930), he divides his story into three parts. The first part is narrated by the heroine, the second by the hero, and the third again by the heroine. Dwiref is as much at home in his humorous and satirical stories as he is in his serious stories. He maintains an intellectual level in his satirical and humorous stories. Dwiref, a Gandhian, has written several stories about Harijans and about the evils of drinking. Some of his stories, like *Khemi* (tr.), are considered amongst the best stories in Gujarati literature. In this critical essays on the short story he has given a clear idea about the nature of the short story and its ingredients.

Ramanlal Desai (Ramaṇlāl Desai, 1887–1954) was a prominent novelist of the Gandhian era who wrote idealistic short stories. His *Vṛddha Sneh* (Love in Old Age, 1940) depicts the intense love of a couple old enough to have grandchildren. Theirs is a love which is based on sacrifice for each other. He has also written stories, like *Hodi* (A Boat), in which he makes fun of the bureaucracy.

Folk and Regional Elements. Jhaverchand Meghani (1897–1947), by his strenuous efforts to revive folk literature and attract the elite to its grandeur and beauty, brought to Gujarati stories the folk element. He fully exploited the folk story—its telling style and beauty of the spoken language—to enrich Gujarati short stories. He was the pioneer in writing regional short stories, providing them with a richness of expression. He was followed by Sundaram (pseud. of Tribhuvandas Purushottamdas Luhar, b. 1909), Umashankar Joshi (b. 1911), Panalal Patel (b. 1913), Iswar Petliker (b. 1918) and Chunilal Madia (1922–69) among others. All of them have portrayed in their stories the beauty of different regions and the dialects of the areas. Panalal Patel's *Pithinun Padikun* (A Packet of Tamarind, 1949) has depicted north Gujarat; Iswar Petlikar's *Lohini Sagai* (Blood Relation, 1954), the region of Charutar, and

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Madia, the region of Saurashtra. They have presented in detail the fairs and festivals, the dress, the folk-songs and life-styles of the regions they have chosen. Panalal Patel has specialized in writing about the aboriginal Bhils.

Marxist Influence. Meghani has also propagated Marxist ideology through his short stories. Marxism was just taking root in Gujarat in Meghani's day and the Progressive Writers Association was formed around 1935–36. In 'Burāinan Dwārparthi' (From the Doors of Wickedness, 1938), Meghani depicts the plight of vegetable growers, who are exploited by the rich and the police. One of them, realizing that after hard labour he does not get even two square meals, decides to join the dacoits. This was a theme successfully used by Sundaram also in such stories as *Pekārdno Pravās* (The Journey in a Packard, 1936), *Majāvelānun Mṛtyu* (The Death of Majavela, 1937), *Gopi* and *Lunterā* (The Bandits). In *Pekārdno Pravās*, he scoffs at the living standards of the rich, and in *Lunterā*, when a moneylender is attacked by bandits, Sundaram describes the person who is looted as the real looter. Umashanker Joshi has also written stories on similar themes. In his *Śrāvni Meḷo* (The Fair in the Month of Shravan, 1936), the hero, a farmer, is unable to bear the tortures of the landlord and kills him; and in *Mārun Hatun ne men Lidhun* (It was Mine and I have Taken it, 1941) a farmer, out of sheer necessity, takes some grain from the field he has tilled and for this 'crime' is prosecuted. Jitubhāi Mehtā (b. 1905) and Bakulesh (1910–57), two committed writers, have, in almost all their short stories, advocated with missionary zeal, a class war. Panalal Patel, whose speciality is village life, was also prompted by the association of Progressive Writers, and in such stories as *Pithinun Padikun* (The Packet of Turmeric) and *National Saving* (1943), has propagated the Marxist ideology. Jayanti Dalal, a socialist, advocated class war in his *Andhārigai* (The Removal of the Blindfold, 1939) and 'Citraguptnān Darbārmān' (In the Court of Chitragupta, 1950).

Political Short Stories. Meghani was also a pioneer in selecting themes from contemporary events. Many of his stories deal with Gandhiji's Satyagraha campaigns and the Second World War. In 'Hun' (I, 1935), he describes in diary form the hypocrisy of a freedom fighter; and in 'Māro Kain Vank Nathi' (It is Not My Fault, 1943), he depicts the hardships and the plight of the common man during the War. Gulabdas Broker (b. 1909) has depicted in stories like 'Ramā Ane Jayant' (Ramā and Jayant) and 'Prabhuno Pād' (God's Grace, 1943), the jail life of Satyagrahis and the tragedy of political differences which result in breaking the ties of love. Jayanti Dalāl (1909–69), in stories like 'Junun Chhapun' (Old Newspaper, 1939), uses the background of the Satyagraha movement. He has also depicted the misery and the pathetic situations created by War conditions in stories like 'Agiarne Pañce' (Five Past Eleven, 1944). It must be noted that all these writers had taken part in the Satyagraha movement.

Some Gujarati short story writers have also depicted the effects of post-Partition genocide. Kishansingh Chāvdā (1904–79) in 'Asmat' (1949) and Jayanti Dalāl in 'Luntāylā' (tr. Those who are Looted, 1949) depict the courage of estranged couples and the break-up of their marriages because of Partition. After Independence, most story writers have vividly written on the misrule, the rampant corruption in all walks of life and the anti-social behaviour of the members of the ruling class. Jayanti Dalal's collection of short stories, *Kathrutmān Gangā* (Ganges in a Big Dish, 1950), deals exclusively with these themes. Shivkumār Joshi (b. 1916) in his 'Tāmrapatra' (a copper memorial plate given to freedom fighters, 1977) mocks the freedom fighters' craze for the copper plates. Dhiruben Patel (b. 1926), in 'Lipstick', (1978) uses the Satyagraha movement as her backdrop.

Sex and Psychology. Though Dwiref wrote stories about sex life, the credit for fully exploiting the theme and presenting it in a wider perspective on Freudian lines and in an artistic manner goes to Sundaram. His collection of short stories *Kholki Ane Nāgrikā* (Female Young of a Donkey and the City Woman, 1936) contains five stories on sex life, including homosexuality. Each story is written in a different style. A subject which was abhorrent was raised by him to the level of art and Sundaram won total acclaim for his effort. Though many who followed him have dealt with this theme, few have been able to reach his heights. As for Sundaram, after writing these stories he joined the Aurobindo Ashram, and from there his output has been about spiritual experience, writing on which diametrically opposite themes he shows the same excellence. Umashankar Joshi's 'Māri Champāno Var' (My Champa's Husband, 1936), Jayant Khatri's (1909–68) 'Lohinun Tipun' (Drop of Blood, 1946) and 'Hīro Khunt' (Hiro, the Bull, 1949), Chunilal Madia's 'Kamau Dikro' (Earning Son, 1953) and Mohamad Mankad's (b. 1931) 'Kabutar' (A Pigeon, 1967) are some of the artistic short stories dealing with the theme of sex.

Psychological stories came in with Dwiref and Sundaram. Umashankar and Snehrasmi (pseud. of Jhinabhai Ratanji Desai, b. 1903) also delved into the recesses of the human mind; but the best developed form of the psychological story has been written by Gulabdas Broker. He picks up trifling incidents and reveals different layers of the human mind, bringing out all its complexities and subtleties in a convincing manner. Most of the conflicts are over the protagonists' sex lives, which have been affected by suppression, social taboos and fear of blasphemy. In 'Nilinun Bhut' (Ghost of Nili, 1947), Broker bares the inner and outer layers of consciousness of Shashi who, in order to hide his sexual guilt, curses the woman who is his victim. But when he is alone, his real self takes revenge on

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him and he is afraid. In 'Ubhi Vāte' (On the Main Street, 1949), Broker deals with a moment in the life of a rich merchant when his suppressed finer instincts suddenly erupt and he loses contact with the present. Thus, the writer takes the reader from the conscious to the subconscious. 'Dhumraser' (Clouds of Smoke, 1959) deals with the guilt complex of a person whose son has been martyred. The protagonist feels that he sacrificed his son in order to get fame and the reader journeys with him from the conscious to the subconscious. In 'Surabhi', the mental state of a woman who has received a letter about her clandestine love-affair is depicted vividly by Broker, most of whose psychological short stories are based on the Freudian concept of sex. Because of his able and artistic handling of themes, many of Broker's stories have been translated into regional as well as foreign languages.

Panalal Patel is another writer who, in 'Manhar' (1949), probes the minds of his characters. Jayanti Dalal, in 'Ek-Be-Ne-Trāṇ' (One, Two and Three 1952), describes past memories and in the process reveals the sub-conscious working of the mind of a prisoner who has been condemned to death. In 'Ā Gher Pele Gher' (Between This House and That, 1956), he depicts the instincts of love and hate that simultaneously occupy the mind of a woman deserted by her husband. In the post-Independence period there has been a spurt in such psychological stories. Saroj Pathak (b. 1927), in 'Na-Kaunsmān Na Kauns Bahār' (Neither in the Bracket nor Outside it, 1966), portrays the mental state of a woman whose well-settled state in life is unexpectedly upset by a letter she gets from her lover saying that he is coming to her. Dhiruben Patel (b. 1926), in 'Tādh' (Cold, 1978), depicts the mental agony of a boy who feels that he is responsible for the death of his friend. Her story 'Darpaṇ' (Mirror, 1977) deals with a para-psychological incident in which the heroine sees in the mirror the image of a person who is non-existent. Meenal Dixit (b. 1935), in 'Pag Nicheni Dhārti' (The Ground under the Feet, 1979), depicts the mental reactions of a girl who learns by accident that she is not the daughter of her father. Others who have experimented successfully with the delineation of different levels of consciousness and split personality are Shivkumar Joshi (b. 1916), Mohmad Mankad (b. 1936) and Kundanika Kapadia (b. 1927).

Influence of Existentialism. The influence of existentialist philosophy is to be found as early as 1944 in the Gujarati short story. In Jayanti Dalal's 'Jivan Jāgyun' (Life Awakened), the hero sees an abandoned new-born and is in two minds as to whether he should kill it or let it live. After moments of conflict, he concludes, 'There is only one way of making you happy and that is not to keep you alive. That is the highest happiness. That is the only patent form of mercy', and kills the child. In 'Ek-Be-Ane Trāṇ' (1948), a prisoner condemned to death wonders, 'Am I really a culprit? But my real offence is that I was born. The punishment for such an offence should be nothing but death'.

Existentialism, however, became artistically integrated in the short story form only with the work of Jayant Khatri (1909–68), whose stories are considered a milestone in the evolutionary history of the Gujarati short story. He has effectively depicted the purposelessness of life and related the happenings in life in which the individual has no say. In his 'Ame Budhimāno' (We the Intellectuals, 1944) some intellectuals who dream of forming a new society meet to discuss the suicide of one of their group. Later, one of them escapes to the U. K., another joins a non-violent revolutionary group and a third joins the Bhūdān movement. Thus, when confronted with the reality of life, they break down. Jayant Khatri has also made several experiments in form. In his 'Yād ane Hun' (Memory and I, 1948), he narrates a story in three dimensions. He was the first to sidetrack the incident and concentrate on form. Atmosphere plays a more important part than character in his stories. He uses hitherto-unknown imageries symbols, and parables.

Experiments in Short Story. Several experiments in the form of the short story were made during the fourth and fifth decades of this century. Jayant Khatri in 'Yād ane Hun' and Gulābdās Broker in 'Ubhi Vāte' (On the Main Street) adopted the stream-of-consciousness technique. Jayanti Dalāl has chosen fantasy as a form of expression in 'Ek Divas' (A Day) and reportage in 'Mohan Dhuḷāni History Ticket' (History Ticket of Mohan Dhula), while in 'Citraguptanan Chopdāmān' (In the Record of Chitragupta) and 'Yudhiṣṭira' he has used myth. A folk tale style is adopted by Chunilal Madia in stories like 'Gal Cantā Vakh' (Sweet Poison, 1953), while in 'Parājayni Vijaygāthā' (The Story of Victory in Defeat, 1953), he has used the language of advertising, letter writing and telephone conversation in a complex medium of expression. In his collection of short stories, *Kṣaṇārdha* (Half a Moment, 1962), no story is longer than a page. Dalal also made a valuable contribution to the short story when he started a monthly, *Rekhā* (Line) in 1939. This periodical, which opened new avenues in theme and style became the meeting ground of progressive and existentialist short story writers. It also propagated a new concept of short story through regular articles on criticism of the genre. The periodical was responsible for the emergence of several short story writers of note like Durgesh Shukla (b. 1911), Panalal Patel, Neeru Desai (b. 1912), among others.

The New Story

The beautiful dreams of pre-Independence were shattered with Partition and the moral decline that followed. All this was reflected in the stories written in the post-Independence

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period. But soon story-lovers got tired of the note of pessimism in most of those short stories. To maintain interest in creative literature, something new was needed. This was when Suresh Joshi (Sureś Joṣi, b. 1921) came on the scene and presented a revolutionary concept of the short story. In the preface to his book of short stories *Gṛhapṛaveś* (Entry into a New Home, 1956), he said that the theme of the short story was not important; what was important was its form. He also advocated sidetracking the incident. His stories 'Gṛhapṛaveś' and 'Biji Thodik' (Some More, 1961) are experiments based on this new theory. Incident receding into background, there was no attempt to develop character on the basis of incident. In the new short story, the outer world was replaced by the inner world of the mind, and the social man by the inner man. The story writer hence had to explore a world hitherto unknown. The language of the old story became redundant. Again, as the entire burden of the short story fell on form, the writer had to evolve an entirely new technique of presentation. Suresh Joshi made the task easy for his successors by making several experiments. He used myths, new symbols like demons, new images, and parables. His story 'Ek Mulākāt' (An Interview, 1956) depicts the fear complex that grips a person presenting himself for an interview. The experience is related in the first person. The changing phases of his mind are expressed through symbols and images. Often, words spoken do not have a rational meaning, but what the speaker wants to convey is the loss of his identity.

Several talented young writers followed Joshi's lead and commendable progress has since been made. Several seminars have been held on the modern short story and two anthologies of modern short stories, *Navivarta* (New Story, 1972) and *Sureshjoshithi Satyajit Sharma* (From Suresh Joshi to Satyajit Sharma, 1977) have been published. The anthologies give a clear idea of the full range of the new wave. In Ghansyam Desai's (b. 1946) 'Toḷun' (Crowd, 1978), a person in a crowd describes the movement of the crowd which acts according to the orders of some unseen power. There is no definite time or place because the crowd is eternal and universal. The person who narrates the movement of the crowd does not merge his identity with it though he, in a way, belongs to it. Kishor Jadav's (b. 1942) story 'Labyrinth' (1976) has recourse to the Greek word to portray the psychic process of a person who is elose to death. He does so with innumerable word images. Rajiv Patel (1944–68) in 'Chabildāsno Bejo Pag' (The Other Foot of Chabil Uncle, 1964), deals with the homosexual relationship of an old man with his boy servant and the boy's developing consciousness of his manhood. The writer implies most of this by using suggestive symbols. Madhu Rāi (b.1946), in 'Harmonica' (1967), depicts his hero slipping into infantile regression upon seeing a crow. The narrative starts in the rhythmic manner of a child's story. In his 'Saral Ane Sampā' (Saral and Sampa, 1969), Rai portrays a hero who lives in a dream world and suddenly finds that the world he is living in, is a fake one. He then gradually begins to lose his identity. Rai's first collection of short stories *Bānsināmni Ek Chokari* (A Girl Named Bansi, 1965) earned him accolades as a first-rate story writer.

Jyotish Jani's (b. 1926) 'Be Jagjīwanramno Sāksātkār' (A Meeting of Two Jagjiwanrams, 1970) describes the split personality of a man through the dialogue between his two personalities. 'Dhrujāri' (Shivering, 1970) by Radhesyām Sharmā (b. 1936) depicts, through a recurring image of shivering, the guilt complex of a person who has had affairs with persons of his own as well as of the opposite sex. While indulging in a homosexual act, he received a telegram informing him of his father's death and this causes the recurrent shivering. Chandrakānt Baxi's (b. 1932) stories like 'Ek Sānjni Mulākāt' (Interview One Evening, 1969) and 'Tame Āvso' (Will you come?) are illustrative examples of stories in the stream-of-consciousness style. He later switched from incidentless stories to eventful stories in which he was equally proficient. He is the only writer who has written stories based on the Indo-Pakistan war.

The writers of modern Gujarati short stories, though dealing with sex, do not resort to pornographic descriptions. Through images and symbols taken from the perceptual world, they decipher congruity and meaningfulness from outward incongruity and absurdity. Seminars have brought more and more elucidation of the new trends in the genre and this has enabled a larger number of readers to be attracted to this form. Several young story writers are now coming forward and the new story has its roots firm in the soil. Among these writers are Evā Dev (pseud. of Prafulla Dave, b. 1942), Raghuvir Chaudhuri (b. 1938), Chinu Mody (b. 1939), Prabodh Parikh (b. 1946), Mahesh Dave (b. 1950) and Suvarnā Rai (b. 1942).

The new story writing, however, has not in any way affected the traditional form of story writing. There is not only a peaceful coexistence between the traditional and new story writers, but traditional writers have also successfully experimented in new story writing and vice versa.

There has been in the post-Independence period several translations of short stories from European and other Indian languages. Translations of the Russian stories of Chekhov and Tolstoy, the French stories of Maupassant, the Marathi stories of Khandekar, the Bengali stories of Tagore and Sarat Chandra and the Hindi stories of Premchand were done in the third and fourth decades of this century. In the post-Independence period, stories from great European and American writers like Saroyan, Hemingway, Dostoevsky, Kāfka, Pirandello, Moravia and others have been made by Gulabdas Broker and Vijay Shastri. Bengali writers like Banaful, Tarashanker Bandopadhyaya, Narayan Gangopadhyaya and others and Marathi writers like Gangadhar Gadgil and Arvind Gokhale were trans-

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lated by Gopalrao Vidwans. The National Book Trust has made available to Gujarati readers short stories from Tamilnadu, Kerala, Punjab and Orissa.

Thus, Gujarati fiction, though a product of western short story literature, has developed its own identity and is now firmly rooted in the soil of Gujarat.

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Hindi

BHISHAM SAHNI

In about 1911 the first regular short story in Hindi appeared. Researchers and scholars usually give this pride of place to three stories, *Us ne Kahā Thā* (She Had Said So) by Chandradhar Sharma Guleri (1884–1922), *Dulāī Vālī* (The Bride) by Banga Mahila and *Indumatī* by Kishorilal Goswami (1865–1932), which had appeared roughly at the same time. They are all love stories, characterized by tender emotion, and what is most important, they move in a recognizable sphere of human relations. The clap-trap of fantastic incidents and contrived situations is absent.

But before the regular Hindi short story appeared there had been a period of preparation, one might say, during which a change in outlook had gradually come about in respect of prose fiction and the purpose of literature. This period can roughly be said to begin with the seventies of the 19th century. There was then a growing dissatisfaction with the kind of 'romances' that were popular among the readers, and voices had begun to be heard, demanding a better kind of literature.

In his famous address of 1884 Bharatendu Harischandra (1850–85) said:

> Give up the old. Do not ruin your boys by placing in their hands Mīr Hasan's *Masnavī* and *Indar Sabhā*.....
>
> Adopt that which is in the interests of the country and the nation....

This was the new voice of social concern heard in Hindi literature at that time.

The kind of books that were popular at the time Bharatendu raised his voice were tales of magic and wonder, the Persian and Arabian romances, novels on mythological themes, detective novels, etc. full of adventure and fantastic situations, calculated to provide idle entertainment. There were love-episodes too but with little of reality about them. Kishorilal Goswami was a prolific writer of such romances, full of love-intrigue with manipulated plots in which adopted daughters of prostitutes turned out to be princesses, and old doorkeepers turned out to be kings.

Even while these tales of magic and romance were being written, a new kind of story had begun to appear, written with the conscious purpose of imparting moral instruction. Various influences were at work then, to give a social orientation to literature. There was the movement for social and religious reforms notably the Arya Samaj and the Brahmo Samaj, in northern India; there was the rising national consciousness leading to the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1880; there was the emergence of an

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enterprising middle class in our society which aspired to develop industry and agriculture and which had been much impressed by the examples of western countries: there was also the impact of western literature, notably 19th century English literature, on our new intelligentsia which laid stress on a more realistic portrayal of life.

The stories of this orientation might be called novelettes because structurally they were more like small novels than like short stories. They spotlighted social evils—ignorance, lethargy, self-indulgence, prostitution, and the like, and laid stress on personal integrity of character, efficiency, honesty of purpose, etc.—qualities which were dear to the rising middle class which associated progress with enterprise.

As literature, most of these 'novelettes' were rather dull and insipid. The characters were not individualized, little effort was made to go into the complexities of human nature or of social situations; the plots were invariably contrived; and there was a strong tendency to exhort and sermonize in them. Nevertheless they clearly reflect the turn towards social consciousness in Hindi literature. Hindi fiction writing at this time was also strongly influenced by Bengali literature, notably the writings of Bankim Chandra Chatterji (1838–94). Although the quality of such writing was mediocre, its idealism exercised considerable influence.

Another notable feature at that time was the adoption of Khariboli as the medium of literary expression. Urban by birth, Khariboli had as yet lacked the richness of nuances in diction. The lyrical flavour was missing no doubt, but in the Khariboli that was adopted much of the high-flown, pedantic and rather artificial diction was also done away with. The language became direct, clear and logical, although it was still somewhat bare and colourless. Such was the situation preceding the appearance of the Hindi short story on the literary scene.

Premchand. Premchand (Premcand, 1880–1936) appeared on the literary horizon at about the same time, namely the first decade of the 20th century. Till 1916 he wrote in Urdu, thereafter in Hindi. He had been deeply influenced in his early years by the Arya Samaj—a movement of religious and social reform in Hindu society; later, he fell under the spell of Mahatma Gandhi, so much so that in 1921, after nearly 21 years of government service as an Assistant Inspector of Schools he resigned his post; and close to his last years turned enthusiastically towards socialist ideology. In all Premchand wrote about 300 short stories, besides twelve novels and two plays and numerous articles, translations, etc.

Premchand's appearance proved momentous. With his dynamism and deep social and political commitment, he at once broadened the range and scope of the Hindi story. In many ways he was a traditionalist. He adopted what is called the narrative style of telling a story, largely under the influence of the Urdu writers whom he had read copiously, each story moving in a relaxed, free and easy way, beginning with a long introduction which generally prepared the reader emotionally and psychologically for what was to come and interspersed with the author's comments and moral reflections. His language was sprightly, close to the spoken language of the people, with an easy flow, drawing heavily on the popular idiom and turn of phrase. At one place Premchand wrote, 'Those who love the people also love the language of the people.' He made little difference between Hindi and Urdu, and wrote in what is called the Hindustani language.

With his intense sympathy for the underdog, many of his stories are about the poorer sections of society. His hold on rural life is stronger than on urban life and therefore he has given very vivid, moving and authentic pictures of the life of the lower strata of society. He literally brought the little forsaken man, particularly the peasant, on to the centre of the literary stage. He identified himself largely with contemporary life, and gave voice to the dreams and aspirations of the common people. His sensibility was deeply moved by the movements for social reform and the struggle for India's Independence.

With Premchand, the Hindi short story moved out of the narrow sphere of personal relations and entered the larger sphere of social life, of social problems and of the destiny of a people as a whole. Many of his stories gain their significance at the point where the personal and the social meet and fuse with each other. Premchand said, in his presidential address at the first All India Progressive Writers' Conference in 1936:

> The search for a new beauty in life will impel writers to uproot a social system where one individual can tyrannize over thousands of men; human self-respect will impel us to raise a banner of revolt against capitalism, militarism and imperialism....

He added:

> Further, we should not be content only by expressing on paper our disapproval to all this—we should actively work for the establishment of a social order which does not negate beauty and good taste and human dignity.

Thus, Premchand infused into the Hindi short story a strong social content and viewed the writer not as a detached observer of life's drama, but as an active participant, on the side of the deprived and the downtrodden. Thus, we find his short stories charged with great moral fervour and idealism. The marked stress on moral precepts could have rendered his stories odious, but for his lively and colourful language, authentic portrayals, intense involvement with the objectives of the national movement and sincerity of purpose.

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The gist of a few of his stories will give some idea of the nature of Premchand's preoccupation with social reality.

In the *Śatrañj ke Khilāḍī* (Chess Players) two nawabs of later Moghul times are so absorbed in playing chess—which is their only occupation in life—that they turn a blind eye to the arrival of the British army in their State. They continue to play, even when the State has been overrun. And they die at each other's hands over a petty quarrel over chess moves, while their State is being annexed by the British.

In *Kafan* (Coffin, 1936), two low-caste peasants, father and son, are sitting outside their hut, roasting and eating potatoes, while the son's wife is inside enduring labour pain. Neither of the men goes in to attend on her for fear that the other might eat the remaining potatoes. The woman dies. The two of them find that they have no money to cremate her. They go to the market to beg for some monetary help; and when they have eventually collected a a few rupees, they spend the amount on eating and drinking. It is a grim story on the one hand of stark poverty, and on the other of the dehumanization that attends such deprivation.

In another story *Naśā* (Intoxication), a poor boy goes to spend a few days of his vacation in the house of a rich classmate. The boy, at first startled and embarrassed by the lavish living in his friend's house, soon begins to imitate his friend and grows arrogant till ultimately he is shown his place by one of the household servants.

In still another story *Īdgāh*, a young Muslim boy goes out to enjoy the festival of Id, with only one paisa in his pocket. He goes through the crowded lanes, with shops filled with colourful toys and sweets, each more tempting than the other. While his friends spend money on all kinds of knick-knacks, he spends the only paisa he has on buying a *cimṭī* for his mother (*cimṭī* is used in the kitchen to remove burning coals from the fire).

Premchand's creative work on the short story divides easily into three periods. During the first period (1907–20) his plots are usually contrived and even fantastic, but his stories are charged with patriotic fervour and high idealism; during the second period (1920–30), which was the richest in output, he draws from scenes of life around him, particularly rural life; characters and situations become more authentic and varied, but the tendency to comment and underline, to exhort and sermonize is strong; during the third period (1930–36) his stories become direct and simple, almost free from editorial comment and frills of language, and gain in poignancy and artistic excellence.

Among his most widely read stories are, besides those mentioned above, *Ṭhākur kā Kuān* (The Thakur's Well, 1932), *Pūs kī Rāt* (One January Night, 1930), *Sadgati* (Deliverance, 1931), *Tagāḍā* (A Day in the Life of a Debt-Collector, 1930), etc.

There is zest for life, deep optimism and intense human sympathy which make Premchand's stories eminently readable. His influence on story writing in Hindi has been significant. It is his literary personality, at once warm and radiant and full of fellow-feeling, sensitive to all kinds of injustice and brutality, that sustains the inspiration.

Contemporaries of Premchand. Premchand's contemporaries included quite a few stalwarts of Hindi literature. Jayashankar Prasad (Jayaśaṅkara Prasāda, 1890–1937), predominantly a poet and playwright, has also left behind two novels and about fifty short stories published in five collections, titled *Chāyā* (1922), *Āndhī* (Storm) *Pratidhvani* (1926), *Ākāśadīpa* (1929) and *Indrajāla* (1936). He drew his inspiration largely from India's past which again was the outcome of the new renascent outlook that was developing in our country at that time—and concerned himself less with matters of social change. Nevertheless he wrote quite a few stories, *Ākāśadīpa*, *Mamatā*, *Madhuā*, etc. in which realistic portrayal of life is blended with high idealism. His short stories dealing with the life of the common people are marked by deep human sympathy and understanding. Vishwambharnath Kaushik (Viśvambharanātha Kauśika, 1892–1945) and Sudarshan (Sudarśana, 1896–1972) are among the other notable writers of the time. They deal largely with urban life, and their stories are infused with national aspirations. *Maṇimālā* (1919), *Citraśālā* (in 2 Vols, 1924) and *Kallola* (1933) are Kaushik's representative short story collections. He is known for the authentic portrayals of the different social types in Indian society and for his concern for social reforms, like child-marriage, female education and the like. *Pāpa kā Phala* (Fruits of Sin), *Mātā kā Hṛdaya* (The Heart of a Mother) and *Rakṣābandhana* are some of his well-known stories.

Sudarshan (original name, Badrī Nātha Bhaṭṭa) has left behind twelve collections of stories, published between 1919 and 1940. There is a good deal of similarity between his outlook and that of Premchand. In humour and liveliness of language too, they are similar. In one of his well-known stories, *Hār kī Jīt* (Defeat turned into Victory), a *sādhu* owns a horse, which he is keeping with great love and care. A stranger comes to borrow his horse for a little while. The stranger has evil intentions, which the *sādhu* realises only when the stranger is running away with the horse. He runs after him and begs him to stop. When the brigand stops the horse, the *sādhu* comes over and tells him, 'You may take away the horse but do not speak of this to anyone because people will then stop trusting one another'.

New Trends

After Premchand, the Hindi short story has undergone many changes. The idealistic note soon began to subside; and the didactic tone also became outmoded. The manner of telling the story too changed, from the narrative to the

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dramatic. Despite these changes, Premchand retains his relevance even today. In range and breadth of outlook he still remains unsurpassed. No one after him has so far given so authentic and graphic a picture of village life. And since the social scene, despite Independence and much else, still largely remains the same, particularly in rural India, what he depicted fifty years ago is easily recognizable even to-day. But even if the social scene had undergone a radical change, Premchand's stories would still remain a precious human document of the life of his times.

In the thirties the influence of two powerful currents begins to be felt in Hindi short story writing. One was Marxist ideology and the other, the post-war writings in western literature. The Marxist ideology which highlighted the importance of the socio-economic factor in social life and defined social phenomenon in terms of class-struggle and brought to the fore the need to use literature as a weapon of social change, was very much in line with the general course of development in the socially oriented short story. It gave it a new dimension. Socially oriented writing now began to reflect a marked Marxist understanding of social phenomena. For instance, the idealistic 'change of heart' solutions to social questions, very much in vogue earlier, began to disappear; the earlier concept of good and evil and of society as one entity, began to be given up. Premchand's later works also begin to reflect this change in outlook. At one place he wrote, 'I have come to believe in the Bolshevik principles myself' (tr., Letter to Dayā Nārāin Nigam).

Thus the new dimension that Marxist ideology gave to socially-oriented short story was in terms of class-character and class-conflict and of the shift in emphasis from an attitude of changing the individual to that of changing the system. More stories began to be written about social injustices and the exploitation of the poor, etc.

Among the writers who exercised considerable influence on the Indian mind in this regard was the Russian writer, Maxim Gorky, whose stories were read with avid interest.

In the mid-thirties the impact of another powerful influence was felt on our educated, urban intelligentsia, and that was of post-war Western, notably English, literature. The English literature that came to Indian hands during the thirties was of a markedly different kind, from the earlier 19th-century literature. Emerging from the terrible experiences of the First World War, it was a literature of despair and scepticism and a sharp questioning of the traditional social values and norms. In one word, it was a literature of the loss of faith.

Both these currents, though very different from each other, had something in common too. Both were dissatisfied with the state of affairs, both felt the need for change; but whereas one put its finger on the root cause of human suffering and sought to overcome it through struggle and the establishment of socialist society, the other was bewildered at the sense of pain and shock, and sought refuge in metaphysics or the individual strivings for spiritual peace, etc. The one induced the writer to approach social reality while for the other there were no clear-cut solutions to life's probiems, effort was proving futile, man was losing his moorings and a kind of fatality hung round human existence. While one instilled a new faith in human endeavour, the other instilled greater loss of faith.

However powerful the currents of such influences might be, the Hindi writer was still living and breathing in his own environment. Despite all the complexities of our situation, and the all-round suffering of our people, there was still a fervour and growing sense of concern for the nation-wide struggle that was taking place. It was well-nigh impossible for any writer to equate the conditions prevailing in our country with those prevailing in Europe and draw the same inferences of despair and disillusionment.

Thus we find that where the attitudes, emanating from these influences, were adopted superficially the result was naturalistic writing on the one side and slogan-mongering on the other. But where these influences did not sweep us off our feet, we find a more searching interest in human personality, a more authentic understanding of human psychology and of the inner world of man; and in socially oriented writing, a widening of experience, a better blending of the type and the individual, a firmer grasp of the inner contradictions of society, and greater sincerity of passion and involvement.

It was in the midst of the interplay of these cross-currents of influences that the Hindi short story continued to develop.

New Avenues

After Premchand we find the Hindi short story, both a continuation of the earlier traditions, and a search for new avenues of expression. Jainendra, 'Ajñeya' and Yashpal are three of the notable writers of this period besides Ilachandra Joshi, Upendranath Ashk, Bhagvati Charan Varma, Chandra Gupta Vidyalankar and others. Some of them, like Jainendra and Ajñeya cared less for the social man and more for the individual man and sought to reveal his inner world. Jainendra's short stories are largely illustrative of his life's philosophy which centres round the inherent suffering in life and which is often presented as an end in itself. His characters often become types in constant conversation with themselves. With 'Ajñeya' too the individual lives largely within himself. In his stories we sense—what was to become more pronounced years later in the stories of others—a haunting questioning about the meaning of things, a sense of things falling apart, etc. It would not be wrong to call his stories atmospheric, presenting a nebulous world in which a wandering soul is in constant quest.

There were some, like Ilachandra Joshi (b. 1902) who,

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under Freudian influence, dealt with man-woman relationships, in terms of the 'libido', keeping the social factor largely on the periphery. There were also those like Upendranath Ashk (b. 1910), Chandra Gupta Vidyalankar (b. 1906) and Bhagwati Charan Verma (b. 1903), who kept the social perspective in view but did not necessarily take into account the inner contradictions of society. Among those whose stories were socially oriented, Yashpal (1903–76) largely carried on Premchand's tradition, with this difference that whereas Premchand dealt largely with rural life and the life of the lower middle class, Yashpal dealt with the urban. He has left behind about 150 short stories collected in about 15 volumes. He laid greater stress on the class contradictions in society, and his stories, dealing with objective reality, became an instrument in imparting social awareness. There is the ironic little tale of a young girl (*Phūlan kā Kurtā*; Phulan's Shirt) who, barely a child, plays about with dolls and runs about with only a *kurtā* (shirt) on her body, who, when told of her betrothal, feels so shy that she picks up the front part of her *kurtā* to hide her face.

Thus the short story had begun to explore different regions of human existence and to develop in differnt directions. To a certain extent, the stories of this period, had some romantic colouring also. If 'Ajneya' romanticised the wanderer's quest, and Jainendra glorified inner suffering, Yashpal glamourized the struggling man who on the one hand broke away from fossilized conventions and on the other presented a somewhat visionary picture of the future. Structurally, the story became more compact although its general framework remained the same. With 'Ajneya' it became more autobiographical and personal and less incident-oriented. The stories gain in poignancy and depth, even though not much in range. Ajñeya's first collection of stories, *Vipathagā* (The woman who treads the wrong path, 1937) was followed by *Paramparā* (Tradition, 1944), *Koṭhrī kī Bāt* (Affairs of the Chamber, 1945) *Śaraṇārthī* (The refugee, 1948), *Jayadol* (1951), etc. A kind of non-conformism is reflected in his stories, which at one end sees the futility of nonviolent struggle for freedom, and at the other the hopelessness and ennui that result from submission to a tradition-bound way of life. *Roz* (Every Day; the name was later changed to 'Gangrene') describes the hopelessness of the life of a girl, married into a humdrum traditional household, where one day follows another with an appalling sense of boredom and futility. Jainendra's stories are now made available in about ten volumes. His first collection *phāṁsī* (The Gallows, 1929) was followed in quick succession by *Vātāyana* (The Window, 1930), *Nīlam Deś ki Rājakanyā* (The Princess of Nilam, 1933), *Ek Rāt* (One Night, 1934) *Do Chiriyi* (1935), *Pazil* (1941), *Jaya Sandhi* (1949), etc.

Post-Independence Period

If Independence and the years following produced any marked change in the sphere of short-story writing it came from the pens of younger writers who emerged on the literary scene after Independence. There is little change to be noticed in the writings of the older generation, who continued to write largely adhering to their earlier, individual approach.

It is wrong to think that the writers nursed many illusions about the new dispensation, and that when they were disenchanted a new note appeared in their writing. This is simplifying things too much. Even as the National Flag was being unfurled over Independent India, the streets of many a town and village were bespattered with blood due to communal riots: freedom had come surrounded by a thick fog of confusion, apprehension and uncertainty about the future. Like the people, the writers too knew that free India was inheriting a legacy of many problems—social, economic and political as also poverty, disease, and overpopulation. Corruption in public life too was not a new problem but had existed all along. It is when the situation began to deteriorate instead of improving, that a kind of dissatisfaction began to grow, when decent, patriotic men were pushed out of public life and rank opportunists took their place; when there was a scramble for licences, quotas, currying for favours and jobs, when personal benefits began to have precedence over public interest that people began to lose faith. But perhaps the one single factor that contributed most to this disenchantment was when the common man realized that he was nowhere in the body-politic of India. Before Independence, it had been the common people who had filled the British jails in millions to win freedom. They had actively participated in the struggle for freedom. That sense of participation was gone now. It was either the politician, the minister or the bureaucrat who mattered now. Of course some striking changes also were taking place. But the life of the common people was not affected by them. A kind of critical note began to be heard more and more in the Hindi short story from the early fifties onward.

More and more writers began to gravitate towards big cities, in search of better prospects of publication. Hindi periodicals, notably *Dharma Yuga* and *Sāptāhik Hindustān* —two weeklies with a large circulation—and short-story magazines, like *Kahānī*, *Sārikā*, *Naī Kahāniāṁ*, etc. were brought out from big towns. A spurt of small magazines also grew, whose contributors were mostly young writers who wanted their voice to be heard. Prospects of better income and wider literary contacts drew them towards urban centres like Delhi, Bombay, etc. Besides, most of the writers took up jobs in the colleges and schools, or with the All India Radio and the literary journals, since living solely by the pen was out of the question.

Consequently the writer moved more and more among city-folk and his area of experience and observation became increasingly urban. The stories began to deal more with the middle- and lower middle-class urban life and less with rural life. Some conscious serious effort was made by some writers,

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notably leftist writers like Mārkaṇḍeya Rāṅgeya Rāghava, Shekhar Joshi, etc. to write about village life, but their contact with village life gradually became less. It is a notable fact that the later Hindi short story has not dealt with village life with that confidence and ease with which Premchand had dealt with it. It was urban writers, reminiscing about their early experiences of village life, writing such stories, rather than stories emerging directly from village life itself. Nevertheless, even though a comprehensive picture of village life did not emerge from them, they spotlighted some aspects of rural life with considerable effect. Mārkaṇḍeya, Reṇu, Shekhar Joshi, Ṭhakur Prasad Singh, Nāgārjun and others were to focus attention on the village as time passed.

The story moved largely in the urban sphere dealing with the changes that were being effected in the life of the middle- and lower middle-class families. The question of unemployment among educated youth loomed large; the strain on the joint family life caused by the high cost of living and restricted accommodation; the weakening of human ties under stress of life in a competitive society, the strain on husband-wife relationships where both the husband and the wife are working and the consequent effect on children; the confusion and loss of grip on concrete reality natural in a transitional phase; these and many more were the subjects with which the short story began to deal, and the attitude of the writer, as reflected in them, was increasingly critical and sceptical. Some writers, shocked by the mere fact of change, presented the situation in a negative, depressing manner, reflecting frustration. Some, while describing the increase in extramarital relations, took almost pornographic delight in describing them, some others presented defeated, cigarette-smoking, brooding young men, with whom the world was too much, who were full of self-pity and were living in the dark world of despair; with some others who had a more positive outlook, the satirical vein became more pronounced as in the writings of Hari Śaṅkar Parsāī and Sharad Joshi. One of Hari Saṅkar Parsāī's satirical stories *Khambe* (Uprooted Poles) runs thus: It is announced one morning by the authorities that black marketeers would be hung from two poles. Next morning when the time comes for hanging, the poles are found missing: they had been uprooted during the night and had found their way into the blackmarket. In another story *Bholā Rām kī Ātmā* (The Soul of Bhola Ram), Bhola Ram, a clerk, has died but his soul has neither reached Heaven nor Hell; it is caught in that file in which the matters of his pension lay pending a decision.

The satirical vein is manifested in many other stories written by other writers. In one of Amarkānt's stories ('Communist') a Ṭhākur family is described in which the head of the family has three sons, one a Gandhian, another a Hindu nationalist and the third a national socialist respectively. The three sons have little regard for one another and keep quarrelling all the time. But when the Ṭhākur, the head of the family, is bent upon molesting the wife of one of his tenants, and the tenant protests and talks sharply to the Ṭhākur, all the three brothers in a spirit of 'supreme brotherhood' throw themselves upon the tenant.

Side by side with these are stories of deep human interest full of pathos, dealing with the life of the common people, and their predicaments. On the one hand they reveal dehumanization and the distortion of human values, the creation of false ones, etc. throw light on the degradation of the individual, the family and of society, reveal poverty and unemployment, and the increasingly regressive role played by the state organs of the police, the army, the law courts and the bureaucracy and the exploitation at the hands of the landlords, the capitalists and the money bags; on the other hand they show an intense sense of concern and sympathy for suffering humanity. Such stories were in the tradition of humanistic writing, only they have a sharper edge when dealing with the administrative machinery and the custodians of power. The theme of communal riots and their effect on the life of the common people also brought forth some very poignant stories. In one of Amarkānt's very touching stories *Dopahar kā Bhojan* (Midday Meal), the members of a poor, lower middle-class family assemble for the midday meal. There is some *dāl* and a few *capātīs* for a family of five—three grown-up sons and their parents. Each one of them plays at deception. The mother keeps protesting that there is a lot of food, while every other member, sensing the reality, eats a few morsels and on one pretext or the other— complaining of lack of appetite, deranged stomach and the like—gets up from the meal. Despite all this consideration, the mother has to content herself with a bare glass of water at the end of the meal.

Curiously enough, though much was written on different aspects of city life, precious little was written about the life of the worker in the factory or about factory life. Most writers were preoccupied with the middle-class or urban middle-class situations. The farthest that they could go was to deal with situations involving the domestic servant. There were few stories too, dealing with groups of people or communities.

New Experiments

The scepticism of the fifties later developed into an increasing sense of alienation and futility of human existence. There was a further loss of faith in life, in human relations and in social causes. A kind of cold-blooded story began to appear in the early sixties giving expression to such attitudes. Even though exaggerated out of proportion to the existing middle-class reality, this could be termed as a new trend, largely influenced, in its outlook and philosophy, by the existentialists very dominant in the West. New terms began to be heard, such as 'bearing one's cross', 'death, the only reality', 'man in the blind alley', etc. Camus, Sartre, Faulkner, Dost-

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oevsky and others became favourite authors. Life came to be presented as rudderless and without any meaning or purpose, the past, with all its traditions and values was looked upon as of no help or guidance, the future held no hope or promise. Such an attitude was bound to become indifferent to social questions and the struggle for a better life, and therefore, with some, the story reverted to the individual who was more and more preoccupied with his subjective self and who in order to forget the oppressive burden of life sought refuge either in the arms of a woman or in drink.

The story became more personal in character, very much like a confession, a diary; its diction became rich with the nuances of inner life, the language more lyrical and reflective with a pensive quality about it; changing moods and fleeting shades of joys and sorrows, enveloped in a kind of twilight atmosphere. But below it all was a feeling of futility and nothingness.

Such stories however seldom emerged from life itself. More often than not, the writer transposed himself into a mood, through which he viewed reality and spun a story. Because, except for certain sectors of middle class life, where the sense of alienation and loneliness were produced by the big-town character of urban life, generally, the pattern of life in India had not undergone any radical change. By and large, the population was still clinging to old values and ways of life and was resisting radical changes. Stories of ennui, despair and alienation where they emerged from life, proved to be authentic and convincing. But where they had little relation with life and were the product of that concept of ennui and despair of which the writer was only intellectually convinced, it very often proved to be an exercise in futility.

So far this kind of short story has not struck root in Hindi literature its impact has been on the wane, and the general atmosphere prevailing in our country has not been very conducive to its growth. The ominous developments which have produced the existentialist outlook, such as the technological developments which have, on the one hand reduced the individual to a nonentity, and on the other led to the stockpiling of the dreadful weapons of war etc., are a reality no doubt but one which has so far not come directly within our range of experience. Hence such stories lacked what is an essential element in the short story, *bhogā huā jīvan*—the authenticity of experience, the ring of life's truth.

Nevertheless, as stated above, this kind of writing has made its own contribution to the development of the Hindi short story. It has certainly made the short story more sensitive, its experimentation with form has saved the story from falling into any grooves. It has also given a new edge to aesthetic appreciation, made us more aware of the complexity of life and of the inner responses of the individual to external reality. Nirmal Varma's is a notable example of such writing.

There were thus two main trends during the sixties in Hindi short story writing, the socially oriented story and the story of alienation. The socially oriented story was a further extension of the earlier humanistic story minus its stress on idealistic solutions and its didactic overtones and with a sharper criticism of social institutions and greater stress on the inner contradictions of social life, with a vehement demand for change.

The Movements in Short Story

Our discussion would be incomplete without an account of the different 'movements' in the sphere of the short story which have been taking place from time to time, from the mid-fifties onwards. They reflect not so much the courses of development of the short story itself as the different attitudes that their sponsors have been taking towards the concepts of the short story, or what a short story should be. And since quite a few notable short story writers have been associated with them, they merit attention.

Naī Kahānī (The New Story) is usually associated with three short story writers, namely Mohan Rakesh (1925–70), Rajendra Yadav (b. 1929) and Kamaleshwar. The first series of articles began to appear in 1954 when Kamaleshwar, assisted by Mohan Rakesh, was editing the short story journal *Naī Kahāniān* from Delhi. Kamaleshwar has written most about the attributes of the *naī kahānī*.

Finding fault with the earlier story they assert that it was idealistic, didactic and even romantic; that it viewed life through the spectacles of preconceived notions, whereas the New Story goes straight to life, and gives precedence to life's experience. The earlier story moved from literature to life, whereas the New Story reversed the process. For the protagonists of the New Story, the 'new' did not connote modernity or any speciality. To keep in step with changing reality is to be ever new, they said. It is also not an effort to evolve new styles in technique but an effort to tap new substances, new subject matters. Hence again the emphasis on experience. The New Story is not the presentation of any 'slice of life', it must present that which is meaningful, has value and significance and lays stress on the social purposefulness of the story. The New Story is centred round man, and is committed to man. The commitment to 'man' is not induced by any political 'ism', but is induced by the central character itself. A story can be as political as the central character is political—beyond that, to deduce political conclusions, etc. is to tie it to an 'ism'. The New Story has nothing to do with it.

Such, briefly, was the thinking of the protagonists of the New Story, which received considerable attention during the late fifties and early sixties.

If the protagonists of the 'New Story' laid primary stress on experience, those of *Sañcetana* story emphasized the primacy of 'awareness'. In 1964, in a special issue of short

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stories edited by Dr. Mahīp Singh, the main tenets of this 'story of awareness'—or *Sacetana Kahānī* were spelt out. Mostly the names of Mahip Singh, Narendra Mohan, Devendra Issar, etc., are associated with this' movement' of the 'Story of Awareness' or the 'Conscious Story'.

The protagonists would argue thus: whether we like the times in which we are living or not our attachment to life, nevertheless, remains undiminished. Man by nature is attached to life; he never runs away from it. When such is his destiny the question arises: how should he live this life? The answer would be: with a vision charged with awareness. The 'conscious' story is the story of active, conscious acceptance of life. There is no tendency in it—either as a result of a blind aping of the West or as induced by self-exhibitionism—to talk of the futility of life or of loneliness.

Finding fault with the earlier movement of the 'New Story' the protagonists say that the New Story emphasized the individual and also individualism and as such tended towards formalism. Further, that in the New Story the unity between intellect and emotion was broken and what remained was a mere 'mist of emotionality'. The 'conscious' view is the 'modern' view. And modernity is a dynamic condition which depends on our awareness of life. The earlier writers took a romantic pleasure in enduring the pain of falling standards, the 'conscious' writer on the other hand tries to understand, assess and portray the dialectics of taking the position of an insider from that of an outsider, to experience both the joy of its pain and of its victory.

In respect of the technique of the short story, the protagonists of the 'conscious' story assert that they stand for the fullest freedom of making experiments in technique. Those who stand for the freedom of thought, they would say, cannot demand that the story must be written in such and such a form, for that would deprive the writer of his freedom to create.

The *Samāntara Kahānī* (or the Parallel Story) is the story of the common man which induces him to struggle for his rights and for a better life. The *Samāntara* story was initiated again by Kamaleshwar who had earlier been one of the initiators of the New Story movement. As editor of *Sārikā* in about 1974 he began to formulate his view on the *Samāntara* story. It is also called the story of the 'common man's context': the story that is involved in the common man's struggle for survival.

Such were the different definitions given of the different trends. More often than not they stressed what a story should be rather than what it actually was. An anthologist of stories once jocularly cited the example of a story in order to show how it answered all the different definitions given by the different protagonists. And yet the protagonists of each trend have been very vehement in finding fault with the earlier trends.

Generally, in the Hindi short story, a new trend appears every ten years. Whether a new trend actually emerges is a different matter, but the protagonists of a new trend certainly appear. This is borne out by examples of the above three trends: the 'New Story' trend appeared in 1954, that of the 'conscious' story in 1964, and again, that of the 'Parallel Story' in 1974 or thereabouts, each such trend was initiated through a periodical, the chief protagonist having been the editor of that periodical at that time. Still again, fiery polemics accompanied the initiation of the trend, accusing the earlier protagonists of not only of lack of understanding, but also of such ulterior motives as seeking personal publicity, etc.

But if we take the common denominator of all these trends, they all emphasize the need to come closer to life, to social reality, their involvement with the human condition is undoubted, and they all stress the need to take into account the environment in which the individual is living, to enlarge the area of awareness, to take into account all those forces which produce that environment, and they all exhort the writer not to remain a mere spectator of life's drama, but to become an active participant in it, on the side of the common man. They are all opposed to escapism of all kinds, and stress the need to confront life. In other words, each trend was critical of the other for not doing enough to bring the short story closer to life.

The predominant trend, however, is, in some form or the other, the same which had been initiated by Premchand. Since authenticity of experience is much emphasized, the range and variety of situations that form the subject matter of the story have also expanded. The writer has also become bolder in drawing on the local dialects in his writing as a consequence of which the diction, terminology and idiom of the Hindi story is being much enriched. For instance, in the stories of a Hindi writer from Rajasthan, there is a sprinkling of Rajasthani idiom which lends the story local colour and enriches the Hindi vocabulary. In Renu's stories, which draw heavily on the local dialect of a particular area in Bihar, the idiom is refreshingly new and revealing. One reason why there is uninhibited use of local idiom in the Hindi short story is that the centre of Hindi writing and publishing has shifted from a predominantly Hindi speaking area like Allahabad to such towns as Delhi and Bombay. Had Allahabad continued to remain the centre of Hindi writing—after all Hindi is said to be the language of (U P) Uttar Pradesh—this exercise of personal freedom in the choice of diction would have been less uninhibited. Be it as it may, the Hindi short story has greatly benefitted by it. Already there was a liberal tradition in respect of the use of Urdu words and idioms in the Hindi story, ever since the time of Premchand, that tradition has become even more liberal, with the passage of time. The Hindi short story, presents an eloquent example of how people from different regions engaged in a common creative pursuit,

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lose sight of petty geographical boundaries and develop a sense of kinship and regard for one another.

Women Writers. The contribution of women writers in the sphere of short story is significant. Like men, three generations of women writers have contributed to the enrichment of the story in Hindi. Subhadrā Kumārī Cauhān (1904–48), Satyavati Malik (b. 1097) Manū Bhaṇḍārī, Kṛṣṇā Sobtī, Uṣā Priyamvadā Śivānī, Mañjulā Bhagat, Dīptī Khaṇḍelval, Mridula Garg Mehrunnīssā Parvez, Sudhā Arorā, Nirupamā Sevtī and Sūrya Bālā are only some of those who have done notable work. In the treatment of domestic situations and man-woman relationships in the fast changing conditions of today, the short stories written by women writers reflect great insight and understanding. In one of Mannū Bhaṇḍarī's stories, *Kṣaya* (Tuberculosis), a young working woman from a lower middle-class family, whose father is suffering from tuberculosis, assumes the heavy burden of running the entire household, till she develops tuberculosis herself. In still another story titled *Rānī Mā kā Cabūtrā* (The Memorial to the Queen-Mother), she portrays the memorable character of a deserted wife, who, despite all privations, with acute difficulty brings up her two children, and though extremely sharp-tongued and unsociable, carries within her breast all the tenderness of a mother's heart. It is also a notable fact that few women writers lapse into sentimentality or resort to conventional attitudes in their writings; almost all of them wield their pens boldly and maintain a very contemporary attitude towards the subjects of their stories.

The changing situation threw up new subjects and in their treatment, new attitudes and new perspectives came into play. Soon after freedom a kind of morbid assertion of individual freedom was noticeable, in some places, which reflected itself in sex oriented stories. There was a sudden spurt of such stoies in Hindi, caused as much by the diminishing glow of hope and faith that had been roused earlier, as by the assertion of individual freedom to break taboos and barriers. But the short story was not hindered by it. The writer turned towards social reality. The influx of thousands of refugees as a result of the Partition of the country; the increasing economic pressures; women in urban areas taking to professions, which affected the domestic situation in different ways at times adding to her loneliness and mental suffering; increasing unemployment and the humiliations faced by the educated youth particularly of the lower middle class families, involving compromises with conscience; the disintegration of the joint family system, and its effect on age-old emotional ties; the corruption in social life, affecting ethical values and norms; the increase in bureaucratic behaviour etc, etc. were some of the themes that interested the Hindi short story writer. Stories have been written, at times sad, full of a sense of desolation and helplessness, at times highly critical of institutions and of the system; and at other times, full of angry protest, etc. Both in range and sensibility the Hindi story has advanced considerably. There is an increasing awareness of the socio-economic factor operating behind social phenomena, and its crippling influence on the individual. Though moving primarily in urban areas, the short story has also dealt with the changing landscape of rural life and relationships. During the seventies there has been a rapid development in the range and scope of the Hindi short story. A greater variety of styles has come up. And what is significant is the writer's individual view of contemporary reality. There is little effort now at the glorification of one's frustrations. There is a greater sense of concern for and commitment to social reality, and consequently the story has become more purposeful.

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Kannada

GIRADDI GOVINDARAJ

The Short Story: Ancient and Modern

The short story is one of the literary genres that emerged in modern Kannada literature under the influence of western literature at the turn of this century. In fact, the Kannada expression 'saṇṇa kate/kathe' is a literal translation of its English counterpart (short=saṇṇa, story=kate/kathe). But, the form of the prose story as such was not quite new to Kannada literature. Shivakotyacharya's (Śivakōṭyācārya) *Vaḍḍārādhane* (10th century) is the earliest collection of prose stories in Kannada. The stories were meant to illustrate some tenets of Jainism. There are 19 stories of the spiritual fulfilment of great souls. It was followed by Durgasimha's *Pañcatantra* (11th century) and Nayasena's (Nayasēna 12th century) *Dharmāmṛta* (12th century). But the modern short story differs from these stories in a fundamental way both in matter and technique. It grew as a new form under the direct influence of the Western short story having writers like O. Henry, Edgar Allen Poe, Maugham, Chekhov, Tolstoy, Maupassant as its models. And in a few years it made rapid progress in Kannada.

The development of the Kannada short story can be traced in all the four distinct phases of modern Kannada literature. The first is the *Navōdaya Yuga* (The Age of the Renaissance), the second, The *Pragatiśīla Yuga* (The Age of the Progressive Movement), the third, The *Navya Yuga* (The Age of Modernism). The main features of the fourth phase have not yet become clear.

The Navodaya Age

The Navodaya age of the Kannada short story begins with this century and covers the first four decades. Periodicals which were to play a vital role in the growth of the Kannada short story were associated with it from its beginning. Panje Mangesh Rao's (Pañje Maṅgēś Rāv, 1874–1937) *Nanna Cikka Tāyi* (My Aunt), *Bhārata-Śravaṇa* (The Recitation of the Bharata) and *Kamalapurada Hōṭlinalli* (At the Kamalapura Hotel), published in 1900 in a monthly, *Suvāsini*, were the earliest examples of the modern Kannada short story. Still uncertain in their form, most of them narrate some humorous incident. Realism, which was to become an important tenet of the Navodaya fiction, can be traced in these stories.

After Panje, M. N. Kamat (Kāmat, 1883–1940) from Mangalore and Kerur Vasudevacharya, (Kerūr Vāsudēvācārya, 1866–1921) from North Karnataka, began writing stories at the same time. Of the two, Kerur is a more significant writer. He wrote a variety of stories—social, historical, mythological and detective. Technically, his stories differ from modern short stories. They have neither the arresting beginning nor the unexpected end, and resemble folk tales in their structure with their elaborate beginning and end. Yet his prose is racy and colloquial.

The stories of these three early writers were first published in periodicals and were then forgotten, for none of them had any significant vision of life to express. Therefore, their position in the development of the Kannada short story is of historical importance only.

Masti Venkatesha Iyengar. It was in the hands of Masti Venkatesha Iyengar (Māsti Vēṅkaṭēśa Ayyaṅgār, pseud. 'Śrīnivāsa', b. 1891) who started writing almost at the same time as Kamat and Kerur that the short story became a clearly defined literary form. His first stories appeared in 1911 in a periodical *Madhuravāṇi* and his first collection of stories *Kelavu Saṇṇa Kategaḷu* (Some Short Stories) in 1920. This was the first collection of short stories in Kannada and with this the Kannada short story may be said to have truly arrived on the scene. Even in these early stories there is no uncertainty of a beginner. Both in technique and attitude, they already show the signs of a mature mind. Thereafter Masti grew from strength to strength and published twelve more collections. Even in the seventies he is busy writing stories in his old age.

It is said that as a literary form the short story allows an essentially minor talent to fulfil itself. But here is a major writer who took both life and literature seriously and made the short story his main medium of expression though he employs also other forms like the novel, poetry and drama. More than a dozen of his stories can stand comparison with the best in any language. His stories, in their bulk, variety and quality, express a mature vision of life.

Masti brought into his stories a variety of characters and themes. His characters range from ordinary men like Jogi Anjappa and Venkatiga to Napoleon and Goethe, and his themes from household quarrels to crises of salvation. This richness of material is matched by his method of narration which is apparently simple, but is rich and varied in texture. Behind all this variety, there is Masti's constant concern for portraying characters in the process of ripening as they pass through their experiences and crises. Whether they be ordinary men or the enlightened, they all come through

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successfully mainly on the strength of their own personal greatness.

Venkatiga of *Vēṅkaṭigana Heṇḍati* (Venkatiga's wife) is an ordinary labourer. In a moment of weakness, his beautiful young wife deserts him for a rich young man. His mother-in-law asks him either to bring back his wife forcibly or to marry another girl. His wife, too, sends him a similar message. Venkatiga, however, thinks that his wife is still in love with him and hopes that one day she will realize her mistake and come back to him. As expected, she finally realizes her mistake and comes back to him with a child. He accepts both without any question. The narrator, to whom Venkatiga tells his story, tries to find out if the child is Venkatiga's. However, the magnanimous husband, not wishing to wound his wife's feelings, had not questioned her about the child's parentage. The narrator soon realizes that he has no right to investigate what the husband himself had not cared to. Here Masti depicts the strong love and compassion of an ordinary man which are not the result of any weakness but of mature understanding. It is this aspect of man's inner strength which attracts Masti. The story also gains in complexity as it is retold by a sophisticated city man who narrates it from his own angle thus providing a framework in which one set of values is contrasted with another.

This is the most favourite technical device with Masti. By this method he distances the time of action from the time of narration. Usually, his stories are in the form of moments recollected in tranquillity. In *Gautami Hēḷida Kate* (Gautami Tells a Story), Gautami, an old woman, narrates the story of her own youth to Shakuntala and her friends. She tells of the uncontrollable passion of youth and how Kanva and Gautami succeeded in conquering it. Gautami is now able to narrate this story with detachment, in her mature wisdom, as if it had taken place in some one else's life.

Masti has been charged with being a simple traditionalist. It is true that he has abiding faith in the values of his culture. But his vision is neither simple nor one of blind acceptance. The simplicity of his art and the quiet tone of his narration are often misleading. He appreciates the inadequacies of life which cause misery and suffering in individual lives. But he does not blame the system for this. Savitramma of *Ondu Kāmana Habbada Kate* (A Story of the Holi Festival), Girijawwe of *Nijagallina Rāṇi* (The Queen of Nijagal), Venkatashami of *Vēṅkaṭaśāmiya Praṇaya* (Venkatashami's Love)—all are characters who have developed their inner greatness within the accepted system of values. They do not protest but find their own ways of facing the inadequacies through suffering and sacrifice. Masti has great respect for such individuals. This accounts for the classical quality of most of his successful stories.

Thus, with his consistent and unifying vision of life, mature humour, unsentimental seriousness, quiet narrative art and passionate search for man's innate greatness, Masti brought richness and purpose to the Kannada short story. In this sense, he has rightly been called the father of the Kannada short story. It was he who established the form and perfected it. *Masumatti*, *Mosarina Maṅgamma* (Mangamma, the Curds-seller), *Ondu Haḷeya Kate* (An Old Story), *Hēmakūṭadinda Bandamēle* (After the Return from Hemakuta), *Subbaṇṇa* and *Jōgyōra Añjappana Kōḷi Kate* (The Story of Jogi Anjappa's Hen)—are some of his best stories that are a credit to any literature.

The Masti Tradition. The most important among Masti's immediate successors are 'Ananda' and K. Gopalakrishnarao. Like Masti, they too concentrated mainly on the short story, but they did not have his penetrating and unifying vision of life.

'Ananda' (Ajjampur Sītārām, 1902–63) has been popular with his delightful 'love' stories with a young couple as their main characters. His dialogues have an irresistible charm and create their own pleasant world of love, teasing, wit and humour. But these stories, though clever and full of suspense, lack depth.

He also wrote some stories with serious themes, but they are rather heavy and often sentimental. However, his *Nānu Koṇḍa Huḍugi* (The Girl I Killed, 1931) is one of the best products of his generation. It is much more complex and ambitious than any of the stories of Masti. The story presents an interesting encounter of two different cultures representing two sets of values. The narrator stands for the educated urban middle class culture and Chenni, the simple rustic culture. Chenni is a *Dēvadāsi* (bride of God) devoted to serve the guests of her family by offering herself. When she comes to the narrator, with this intention, he is repelled by this superstitious practice. He pities her plight and convinces her that what she had been doing was a sin, a kind of prostitution. He succeeds in destroying her innocent religious belief. The next day she commits suicide. The narrator feels that morally he is responsible for her death. What right had he to judge her? This is the point of realization in the story. But at this vital point the writer becomes clumsy and the story sentimental. However, the story succeeds in symbolizing a wider issue. It points out the folly of the self-righteous modern cultures judging primitive cultures and destroying them under the pretext of reformation.

K. Gopalakrishnarao (Gōpālakṛṣṇarāv, 1906–1967) is artistically less satisfying than 'Ananda'. Structurally, his stories are a little loose and do not give the impression of a consistent reflective mind working behind them.

Among the less known followers of Masti the names of 'Bharatipriya' (S. Venkata Rao, b. 1911), 'Shree Swamy' (Rangaswamy Iyengarya, b. 1911) C. K. Venkataramaiah (1896–1973) and M. V. Seetharamaiah (Sītārāmayya, b. 1912) may be mentioned. 'Aśwattha' (K. A. N. Rao, b. 1912) ranks

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high among Masti's younger followers. He is the most prolific writer of short stories in Kannada. His writing is sophisticated and he can turn any subject into a short story quite competently. Like Masti, he too seems to be open to all kinds of experiences. But he does not have that unifying vision of life which alone can hold one's writing together.

Outside this Tradition. Thus, the gains of Masti's tradition were consolidated in the hands of several writers. But there were many writers outside this tradition who were trying to explore new possibilities. The name of A. R. Krishnashastri (Kṛṣṇaśāstri, 1890–1968) comes to mind. All his stories have been published in one slender volume titled *Śrīpatiya Kathegaḷu* (1948).

Among his stories *Gurugaḷa Mahime* (The Master's Greatness) occupies a unique place. Technically, the entire story is narrated in dialogue form, in two scenes and between two characters. On the one side there is a guru who has understood God's ways of dispensation; on the other, there is a simple, ignorant woman. The story presents the process of the initiation of the woman through her own experiences. The woman approaches the guru with a request for a son. The guru tries to convince her that God has given her substitutes and that she should be satisfied with them. However, she is adamant and in the end she gets a son, but not in the way she had expected. Her only daughter gives birth to a son and dies. The woman is thus forced to become his mother. She then realizes that God is what we make of Him. If we treat Him as a businessman, He too becomes a hard bargainer. This, of course, is traditional wisdom. But what is remarkable in the story is the dramatization of the woman's realization which comes through suffering.

Another important writer who falls outside Masti's tradition is Gorur Ramaswamy Iyengar (Gorūru Rāmasvāmi Ayyaṅgār, b. 1904). Gorur is a prolific writer who depicts rural life with genuine sympathy and understanding as an insider. His main forte is sympathetic laughter; laughter in all its shades like fun, irony and satire, but without sting or bitterness. As for variety of characters, here is God's plenty. But Gorur is not always careful about the structure of his stories. More often than not, his stories turn into humorous character-sketches. Sometimes, they are simply episodes loosely strung together without a central design. This, in fact, adds to the natural ease of his writing. But when he manages to combine humour and artistic structure around a central theme, he achieves unusual success. *Nāya Bāla* (The Dog's Tail) is an apt example of this combination. The story begins loosely as a character-sketch but slowly develops into a significant theme. This is the story of a cowherd boy who every one thinks is a useless lad. His duty is to take the cattle of the village out to the grazing ground and bring them back safely. He does it with unfailing regularity and no one considers it a skilled work worthy of appreciation. But when all of a sudden he falls ill, and fails to turn up, the very life of the village goes off the rails. The people now realize how important the boy's work was. The boy finally recovers from illness and resumes his duty to the relief of everyone. But the people again relapse into their earlier indifference and forget the boy. The story, in which irony, humour and pathos blend together, presents the picture of innocent people, who are unjustly exploited. But the irony is, that neither the exploiters nor the exploited are aware of this injustice.

North Karnataka Writers

All the writers mentioned so far belong to the Old Mysore area, and it is in this region that the influence of Masti's tradition was more pronounced. But the writers coming from other areas, especially from North Karnataka, who started writing stories almost at the same time, found their own ways, but, unfortunately, none of them had either the capacity or the tenacity to build an independent tradition.

The most important short story writer from this region is 'Ānandakanda' (Beṭagēri Kṛṣṇaśarma, b.1900). Like Gorur, he too specialized in the presentation of rural life, but he does not have Gorur's humour. His presentation is realistic and often prosaic. He was one of the earliest writers of North Karnataka who tried to reproduce the spoken language in dialogues. In many of his stories, such as *Jāḍara Jānappa* (Janappa, the Weaver), Anandakanda has focussed on the internal conflicts of village life and the external forces leading to its decay. *Huḷu Hattida Haḷḷi* (The Decaying Village, 1955) shows the decay of a village due to changes in the values.

However, his most characteristic stories are those of a legendary nature connected with village life. A stone, tree or hill, and the ritualistic practices in vogue among villagers lead to an interesting research by the inquisitive narrator and finally he comes out with a story connected with them. These stories are, in fact, folk-tales in a realistic framework, but there is no interaction between the two. There is no attempt either at evaluation or at comparison between the modern world of the narrator and the old world of the story. This limits their significance in a serious way. Yet, as re-creations of a lost culture they have their value.

Many young writers in this area like Krishnakumar (Kṛṣṇakumār Kallūr, b. 1907), Tengse Govindrao (Tēṅgse Gōvindarāv) and H. P. Joshi (Ha. Pī. Jōśi, 1898–1941) showed early promise but stopped writing when still young.

Some poets have occasionally strayed into this form, K. V. Puttappa (K. V. Puṭṭappa: 'Kuvempu', b. 1904), P. T. Narasimhachar (Pu. Ti. Narasiṁhācār: 'Pu. Ti. Na'. b. 1905) and D. R. Bendre (Da. Rā. Bēndre, 1896–1981) being important among them. Puttappa has combined in his stories poetry and intense realistic consciousness. His *Yārū Ariyāda Vīra* (The Unnoticed Hero) recognizes the heroism inherent in the lives of ordinary men. His social-purpose story *Dhan-*

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vantariya Cikitse (Dhanvantari's Treatment) is a biting satire on the all-round exploitation of the farmer. P. T. N.'s stories are reflective, while Bendre's rely mostly on emotions.

There are some others who deserve mention, S. G. Shastri, Navaratna Ramarao, Bagalodi Devaraya, Padakone Ramanandarao, Gouramma, Ramachandra Kottalgi, and Mevundi Mallari being some among them.

Though the Navodaya age closes formally around 1950, it has not really come to a close. Even today there are writers who have kept the tradition alive.

Features and Achievement. The Navodaya writers had no accepted creed or preplanned programme as such. But at this distance of time, some common features become apparent.

The Navodaya age in Kannada corresponds with the time when India rediscovered herself as a nation, as a culture. The country was then engaged in a fierce battle for freedom. Freedom at that time seemed to promise the dawn of a golden age. Naturally, the writing of this period was mainly optimistic and idealistic. Humanism became a pervading philosophy. A kind of romantic conception of man's essential nobility and heroism became the dominant motif. The joys and sorrows of the common man's life came to be reflected in the short stories of this period. Most of these values had their roots in the Western type of liberal education. The writers realized that some time-worn Indian values of life had lost their relevance, but mostly they adopted the attitude of reformation and adjustment. The writers did not go to the root of the matter and question the very validity of the issues. In other words, theirs was not revolutionary writing. It was against this complacency that the *Pragatiśīla* writers expressed their dissatisfaction.

The Pragatiśīla Movement

The *Pragatiśīlas* (Progressives) organised themselves into an association under the leadership of A. N. Krishnarao (A. Na. Kṛṣṇarāv, 1908–71) in 1943. This association was affiliated to the All India Progressive Writers' Association. Unlike the *Navodaya* writers, the *Pragatiśīlas* started with a clear-cut policy which was formulated elsewhere. They attacked Navodaya literature as the aesthetic euphoria of the educated urban middle class and charged that it had lost touch with the hard realities of life. They insisted that the writer should accept his social responsibilities and urged him to be the voice of the downtrodden and to expose the ugly truth of exploitation lurking behind the so-called great culture. In other words, they wanted the writer to be instrumental in bringing about a social revolution. Obviously, Russian communist literature was the main source of inspiration for this movement.

A. N. Krishna Rao. Once on the crest of unprecedented popularity, A. N. Krishna Rao provided an inspiring but controversial leadership to the movement through his charming prose style and persuasive oratory. He interpreted its philosophy and provided the creative models of the progressive writing.

But the violent progressive stance so apparent in Krishna Rao's intellectual writings does not appear so much in his stories. There are many obvious contradictions, too, in him. Sometimes he writes boldly about explosive subjects like prostitution, communalism, hunger and exploitation, sometimes about woman's unselfish sacrifice, mother's love and other such conventional tear-jerking subjects. His attractive style became an object of extensive imitation.

He edited a magazine the *Kathāñjali* and the first important anthology of Kannada stories *Kāmana Billu* (The Rainbow, 1933). Through them he brought many writers to light and gave them timely encouragement. But his importance is mainly historical.

Three Writers. 'Niranjana' (Kuḷakunda Śivarāya, b. 1923), Basavaraj Kattimani (Basavarāja Kaṭṭimani, b. 1919) and 'Ta. Rā. Su.' (T. R. Subbarao, b. 1920) are among the most important writers who were attracted to the Progressive Movement under the influence of A. N. Krishna Rao. They all started as short story writers and then became popular as novelists.

'Niranjana's earlier collections of stories—*Raktasarōvara* (The Lake of Blood, 1947) and *Sandhikāla* (The Transition, 1943) are full of violent protest and uncontrolled anger against exploitation, poverty, social imbalances and vested interests, but he mellowed with years.

In a way, his *Koneya Girāki* (The Last Customer, 1953) can be considered the most representative example of the Progressive School of writing, though in some respects it approaches the modern style. The central character of the story is a dumb girl, an object of shameless exploitation by unscrupulous sex-hungry men. She is a symbol of the oppressed millions whose suffering finds no expression in this cruel and unjust world. She is used by men and left on the road. When she finally dies, still young, as the result of hunger, exploitation and disease, there is seen an eagle circling above her body, the last customer, waiting to prey on her body and eat what is left of her flesh. This is a grim picture of exploitation that does not end even with death. 'Niranjana' has succeeded in this story in extending its meaning through symbolic representation. Rarely do we come across such poetic devices in *Pragatiśīla* writing. But, like the typical *Pragatiśīla* writing, the story is charged with emotion and there is smouldering anger pervading the whole story.

Kattimani's progressivism is more violent and his leanings more pronounced. He is a close observer of life and knows poverty and hunger at close quarters. He has an intimate knowledge of village life and its idiom which he uses in piling up realistic details, but he lacks the magic of turning this knowledge into art. Instead, there is an unsophisticated

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rawness about his writing. He delights in exposing the hypocrisies, corruption and injustice in society, and in doing this he is always loud and outspoken.

Kattimani's world—like that of most Progressives—is a world of black and white. Often, this world is deliberately contrived to prove a point. *Girijā Kaṇḍa Sinemā* (Girija sees a Cinema) is one of his typical stories. Girija is a simple young girl nursing youthful dreams. She wants her husband to take her to a cinema show in Bangalore. He takes her to Bangalore, but shows her a series of pictures of poverty, misery and suffering. She realizes that there are thousands of people more unfortunte than herself, and that it is a sin to live in luxury when so many are suffering. The sight moves her deeply and she decides to help her husband fight the system that led to this misery. The purpose of the story is quite obvious. As Girija's husband educates her, Kattimani wants to educate his readers and expects a similar change of heart. But the contrasts in the story are so contrived and the partiality of the writer's vision so pronounced that it fails to carry conviction.

In the literary career of Ta. Rā. Su., progressivism came only as a passing phase. There are many similarities between the themes of A. Na. Kri. and Ta. Rā. Su., but the latter paid sufficient attention to form as well. He experimented with technique and handled his subjects with control even when he wrote about explosive subjects like prostitution and liberation of women. He was the first writer to introduce the stream-of-consciousness technique in Kannada fiction. From this point of view, his favourite anthology piece, 'O—O=O', is nearer to the modern style than to the progressive in both matter and treatment.

Among others who wrote in the wake of the *Pragatiśīla* movement are 'Chaduranga' (Subrahmaṇya Rāj Ars, b.1916), Ko. Chennabassappa (b. 1922), Hiremallur Ishwaran and Patil Puttappa (b. 1921).

Viewed as a whole, the contribution of the *Pragatiśīla* movement to the development of the Kannada short story in about a decade does not seem to be very impressive. Most of its stories cannot stand the test of rigorous evaluation. It is difficult to say whether this failure was due to the lack of talent or to the unresolved ancient conflict between art and ideology. Perhaps it was due to both. For the Progressives relied too much on realism and rhetoric and lost poetic sensibility. Besides, they did not develop the necessary technical sophistication to express their newly acquired social concern. Unfortunately, there was no good literary criticism during the period to guide the writer. The *Pragatiśīla* writers confined themselves to the subject of the common man's life, but they actually concentrated only on its economic aspect.

In spite of all these limitations, the *Pragatiśīlas* left some marks on the Kannada short story. The movement sharpened the social consciousness of the writer and the reader. Realism extended its influence. The use of the spoken idiom became more extensive. Details became denser. Subjects like the common man's joys and sorrows became dominant and the note of protest was sounded for the first time. Yet, there was no fundamental change in the form of the short story. Thus the *Pragatiśīla* movement came and went like a storm. In the early fifties it was overtaken by the *Navya* movement before it could consolidate its gains.

The Navya Age

The question whether the *Navya* movement in Kannada originated in the internal necessities or in the love of experimentation of some writers, or in the social changes of post-independence India is still being debated hotly among critics. But it is impossible to deny the emergence of a different kind of social ethos after Independence which manifested itself in the fall of values and the general disillusionment. This ethos must have inspired those who were looking for a change to write differently.

It was in 1950 that the clarion call of the Navya movement was first sounded by V. K. Gokak (Vi. Kṛ. Gōkāk, b.1909). The movement found its effective expression first in poetry. The short story was the next to come under its influence. In fact, the major successes of the movement were scored mainly in these two forms.

In the beginning, modernism in the short story appeared mostly as an experimentation in technique. But this desire for technical experimentation was closely connected with the fundamental changes in themes and sensibility. The world of the *Navōdaya* and *Pragatiśīla* writers was a solid one with its clearly defined values, and the writers had an easy choice of either accepting or rejecting them. In accordance with the conception of this solid world, they accepted realism as a way of expression. Their stories were made of concrete external events with a well-defined beginning, a middle and an end, and presented conflicts which were neatly resolved at the end. This kind of technique presupposes that there are commonly acceptable values and that life can be neatly structured. But the Navyas question this very basic assumption. Their centre of interest is not man in society, but man in isolation and in search of values, desperately trying to come to terms with himself and the world around him. They believe that such individual problems assume universal significance through their intensity and authenticity. They explore the inner world of man, his mind, his soul and his secret conflicts. Their main aim is to catch the precarious states of man's consciousness. As a result, the story becomes more and more introspective. At every step there are doubts, dilemmas, ambiguities, hesitations and indecisions. The story becomes a search for the meaning of life. If the *Pragatiśīla* story is characterized by social consciousness, the *Navya* story is characterized by philosophical introspection.

In accordance with these changes in the purpose of the

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story, the *Navya* writing became increasingly complex and delicate. Particularly, the story lost its traditional 'storiness', its external structure and its suspenseful narration. Character was no longer a bundle of easily recognizable traits but of flexible and complex forces held in delicate balance. The purpose of the story was not to evoke clearly defined attitudes but to reveal the very process of the exploration of the experience. To suit these new purposes, the language and technique of the *Navya* writing underwent a thorough change and became rich and complex. With the new belief in the simultaneous existence of the past, the present and the future in the consciousness, the technique of direct chronologial narration and logical development of plot had to give way to the stream-of-consciousness technique. Attempts were made to use events and details symbolically and thus widen the significance of the central experience. On the whole, the short story came nearer to poetry.

In this attempt to give a new form to the Kannada short story, the *Navya* writers were influenced by several western writers like Lawrence, Camus, Kafka and Sartre. But, in spite of these influences, the movement was able to produce several good writers and stories, and some of the best creative minds in Kannada today are associated with this form.

U. R. Ananthamurthy. The most significant writer to emerge in this period is U. R. Ananthamurthy (Anantamūrti, b. 1932). The credit for giving a new turn to the Kannada short story both in form and content must go to him. In Masti's stories the writer's vision comes as an unspoken understanding of life, whereas in Ananthamurthy's stories experience becomes an object of experiment in a deliberate search for the meaning of life. For the expression of this complex exploration, Ananthamurthy recreated the form of the short story. In almost all his stories he has portrayed intensely sensitive individuals involved in moral and spiritual crises. As he made free use of poetic devices for the expression of abstract ideation, his prose developed new potentialities.

In his earlier stories there is a deliberate attempt to achieve modernism, but later he made serious attempts at extending the possibilities of the short story to make it an effective medium for the new sensibility. From this point of view, his second and third collections are important. These stories can be classified into two groups: (a) those which are predominantly introspective and reflective, and (b) those which look like simple narratives. *Praśne* (The Question), *Kārtīka* and *Clip Joint* belong to the first group, and *Prakṛti* (The Nature), *Ghaṭaśrāddha* (gist given later) *Prasta* (The Nuptial) and *Mauni* (The Silent Man) belong to the second. The stories of the second group do not display any overt reflection on the central experience, but the experience is presented in its varied aspects, each one enriching others through contrasts and parallels. However, the most characteristic of his stories belong to the first group, *Clip Joint* being its mature representative.

In *Clip Joint* (1964) Ananthamurthy has presented a moral problem of the modern young man, his existential predicament. Keshava has come to England with the hope of forgetting his Indian past, and of being spiritually reborn in the liberating atmosphere of an alien land. His British friend Stuart, who is a foil to him in the story, on the other hand, is disillusioned with his own modern culture and looks hopefully towards the spiritual culture of India. Keshava finds it impossible to experience anything new in England as he fails to resolve his own internal conflicts. In his intense desire to experience the western way of life, he comes to a night-club and tries to use it as a laboratory to put his beliefs to test. But his experience with the strip-tease girl there, ends in frustration and humiliation. His sexual frustration symbolizes his spiritual frustration. The story thus becomes a disturbing record of the deep spiritual unrest of modern youth.

Ghaṭaśrāddha (1962) belongs to the second group. *Śrāddha* is a funeral rite performed, after the death of a Brahmin by his family members. *Ghaṭaśrāddha* is a similar ritual performed when the person is alive but considered as dead for committing a serious sin. A young widow in this story becomes pregnant, for which she is excommunicated. Her father performs the said rite and regards her as dead.

Ananthamurthy soon became a powerful influence on young writers. The image of the anti-hero, the vascillating introspection, the modernist vision of life, and themes like existential anguish, frustration and rootlessness which were first established in these stories were widely imitated and became readymade types. But the important contemporaries of Ananthamurthy wrote independently of each other's influence and the *Navya* story therefore had the opportunity of developing from different angles.

Other Important Writers. One such angle was provided by Yashavanth Chittal (Yaśavant Cittāl, b. 1928). Chittal wrote some Kafka-like fantasies, and is known as a consummate artist. But it is unfair to dismiss him either as a mere imitator of Kafka or as an aesthete. One theme that has haunted him throughout is 'death'. In stories like *Payaṇa* (The Journey, 1964), *Adṛṣṭa* (The Unseen/Fate, 1964) and *Āṭa* (The Game, 1966) he has given very effective expression to this theme against the background of a mysterious atmosphere appropriate to it. Background and atmosphere are of vital importance in his stories. He has written stories which have taken the art of narration to its heights. But this artistic pre-occupation is not an end in itself. No art can be significant and complex unless there are significant and complex concerns to deal with, and Chittal has them in good measure. Besides, there is another dimension of psychological analysis too to his stories. *Sere* (Imprisonment,

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1964), *Chala* (Determination, 1968) and *Payaṇa* are important from this point of view.

Sere has the urge for sexual expression as its theme. The attempts of the protagonist to control the urge, the unnaturalness of his attempts, various temptations from within, the futility of it all and the final acceptance of the natural urge—all go to make this story a rare artistic success. Its unobstrusive symbolism combined with psychological realism is richly satisfying. *Adṛṣṭa* is another complex story. It is narrated from the viewpoint of a boy who is vascillating between life and death. Through this strange state of half-consciousness, unable to see anything, he receives his impressions as in a dream from the stray words he hears now and then. Outwardly the story looks like an illustration of the conventional concept of fate. But it stands for our limited understanding of death through the few words which in turn are merely hearsay. Chittal's ability to create an atmosphere is amply demonstrated in this story.

In Chittal's stories there is no overt idea. He only recreates the experience and arranges it in a meaningful pattern so that we can understand its significance on our own. But his heroes are extremely sensitive, sometimes to the point of morbidity.

Lankesh (Laṅkēś, b. 1935) is another important writer. He brought lyrical intensity and delicacy to the Kannada short story. His stories try to capture the inexpressible feelings in the consciousness of characters involved in moral crises. His language is so transparent and the meaning of his stories so delicate that sometimes it is difficult to summarise them into 'stories'. Story for him is a means of exploring the meaning of an experience, and the exploration itself is a story in him. This is revealed most effectively in his earlier stories like *Nivṛttaru* (The Retired) and *Vāmana*. In these stories Lankesh exposes man's fundamental weaknesses like meanness and vanity. Most of his characters suffer from a sense of shame and insult, but by eschewing them they try to acquire the moral strength necessary to face life. There is an attempt to capture those emotional states in the consciousness which lie hidden in its inner layers and which surprise or hurt people by revealing themselves at the the most unexpected moments. The title of one of his collections is *Nānalla* (Not I, 1970). Another characteristic of his stories is the use of violence as a touchstone to reveal the true nature of his characters. As Ananthamurthy uses sex, Lankesh uses violence as a means of exploration.

Lankesh's stories resemble lyric poetry in their simplicity and intensity, with its limitations too. As Gopalakrishna Adiga has pointed out, this kind of writing succeeds in achieving depth but lacks breadth. In spite of this limitation, *Roṭṭi* (Bread) achieves significant success. The theme of the story is the common conflict between the haves and the have-nots. Though it resembles the favourite theme of the Progressives, it works on a very different level. In a deceptively simple style, the story expresses a complex revolutionary attitude towards property. The woman who represents the haves in the story is not a rich woman, but has a piece of bread which she is about to eat on a railway platform. A poorer man, who seems to have been hungry for days, stares at the bread with hungry eyes and finally snatches it away from her and begins to eat. The woman, afraid, screams and calls for help. The situation and the woman's attitude towards the thief keep changing from moment to moment, with the mob getting excited on the arrival of the police. The author in this story does not take sides with any of the characters as the Progressives do, but succeeds in presenting a complex social situation. In his later writings Lankesh appears to go back to the Navodaya style of narration without sacrificing the gains of the Navya school.

Shantinath Desai (Śāntināth Dēsāi, b. 1929) has tried in his stories to extend the horizons of traditional morality. His sympathies are always on the side of life especially in matters concerning the relationships between men and women. The question of fulfilment in life appears again and again in his stories. Though he is dissatisfied with the traditional values in this regard, his dissatisfaction does not take the form of angry rebellion. He has deep respect for life and an equally deep understanding of it. This leads him to plead for meaningful adjustments in life.

Kṣitija (The Horizon, 1964), in this respect stands as one of the best representatives of the spirit of modernism. Miss Bhate, brought up in an orthodox Hindu family, is an unmarried working woman about to cross her youth. When she travels in a ship bound for England, she enters an entirely different world of experience. It is a world suspended in water away from both the suffocating atmosphere of India and the free atmosphere of the West. The new world is inviting her to partake of the experience. She is tempted. But her inhibitions prevent her from enjoying life, both mentally and physically. Like the horizon that keeps moving away as one approaches it, her desires go on eluding her. When finally the land of England appears in sight, every one on board the ship welcomes it cheerfully. The eluding horizon at last has been reached. But Miss Bhate has no interest in it as it promises no new life. MacCarthy, her new-found friend, once again encourages her. She gathers herself and becomes ready to welcome the new world. The horizon of England, cleared of its mist, gives her new hopes. Desai has succeeded in using various elements in the story both realistically and symbolically—the sea, the ship, the horizon, the gala night, different people and situations that Miss Bhate encounters—all have their appropriate place in the story. Desai is an objective artist, and his stories have purposefully structured plots.

These four writers are chosen for discussion here because they possess what can be called a consistent and unifying vision of life. Others who do not have this vision, but have written some successful stories in the Navya style are K. Sadashiva ('Rāmana Savāri Santege Hōdaddu'—Rama goes

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to the fair), B. C. Ramachandra Sharma ('Seragina Keṇḍa' —Live Coal on the Edge of the Garment), G. S. Sadashiva, Giraddi Govindaraj ('Hangu'—The obligation), T. G. Raghava ('Śrāddha'—The Funeral rite), Sumateendra Nadig, K. V. Rajagopal, Raghavendra Khasnis and a few others and two women writers—Rajalakshmi N. Rao and Veena Shantheshwar ('Atithi'—The Guest)—deserve special mention.

This first generation of the Navyas was followed by a large number of enthusiastic young writers who started writing under the influence of Ananthamurthy, Chittal and Lankesh. Ananthamurthy's influence, especially, was widespread. This group includes some competent writers like Shreekrishna Alanhalli, S. Ramakant, Ramachandradeva and Rajasekhar Neeramanvi.

However, there remain some writers who cannot be classified either as Navodaya writers or as Navya writers. They can be called transitional writers combining the characteristics of both. Vyasarao Ballal (Vyāsarāya Ballāḷ, b.1923) belongs to this group. His stories give expression to the bewilderment and loneliness that life inflicts, but his values are those of Navodaya.

The Achievement and the Winds of Change

The total achievement of the Navya writers, on the whole, is quite impressive. They brought to their language a new vigour and poetry which in turn filled in their writing with richness of meaning, delicacy and complexity. In regard to experience also they tried to conquer new areas. Thus, the Kannada short story acquired a new dimension in their hands.

But the very complexity of experience and the sophisticated technique of the Navya story made it difficult for the common readers to understand it. Consequently, the story lost a large reading public. And, in the hands of lesser writers some of the characteristics of the Navya story like introspection and sensitivity went to their extremes, and new limitations began to develop. Sex became an obsession with many a young writer. As the Navya style was suited to some typical themes, other themes were kept outside its scope, and it resulted in the repetition of the same themes. The younger writers separated single threads from the earlier complex patterns and went on simplifying them. As a result, some of the major practioners of the Navya school themselves began to feel that it was necessary to abandon this style and write differently.

Recent Trends

By this time voices began to be heard here and there against Navya literature. It was argued that it was only an intellectual exercise of the middle-class intelligentsia, and that in its extreme introspection it had lost touch with life itself. The political changes, the emergence of the oppressed classes as a new force and the growing interest taken by young people in socialist ideology influenced literature. Young people with socialist leanings declared that instead of glorifying their own 'imaginary' intellectual problems, writers should try to awaken the exploited millions and fight for social justice through their writings. By simplifying their writing they hoped to regain the reading public lost to Navya literature. Thus, they refixed the priorities in literature and held content to be more important than art. As for the content, it was to be, again, exploitation, poverty, social injustice, the arrogance of the rich, the innocence of the poor, and the upliftment of the downtrodden.

The aims of this new trend, therefore, are not very different from those of the *Pragatiśīla* movement. Writers coming from the oppressed classes have also joined the fray. The air is ringing with revolutionary slogans.

The important exponents of this creed in the short story may be mentioned here. Poorna Chandra Tejaswi (Pūrnacandra Tējasvi, b. 1939) started his literary career as a modernist, but, dissatisfied with its 'complex and mechanical technique' and 'Brahmin-oriented ideology' he pleaded for a different kind of writing. He gave up the hero-centred narrative point of view, introspection, symbolic structure and stream-of-consciousness technique of the Navya story in favour of the simple omniscient narrator's style reminiscent of the Navodaya style. In the Navya writing, usually the author himself becomes the hero, and when the author analyses the consciousness of the hero, he actually analyses his own. This has sometimes led to a kind of narcissistic writing. Tejaswi avoids this by adopting a broader social point of view.

Kubi mattu Iyāla (Kubi and Iyala), *Abacūrina Pōstāphīsu* (The Post Office at Abachur) and *Tabarana Kate* (The Story of Tabara) are some of Tejaswi's successful stories written in this new style. *Kubi Mattu Iyāla* depicts the frustrating experience of a doctor who tries to inculcate a scientific outlook among the ignorant and superstitious villagers, but finds to his dismay even scientific facts taking the colour of superstitious beliefs. In these stories Tejaswi has succeeded in adopting a neutral and quiet tone of narration which is often enlivened by flashes of humour. But the sweep of this style is narrow. As it uses narrative summary as its main technique, it lacks dramatic quality. It is true that this technique prevents the writer from involving himself in the story, but it keeps the reader also at a distance.

Devanoor Mahadeva (Dēvanūr Mahādēva, b. 1949) is another promising writer who accepts the social commitments of the writer. He is the first Harijan writer in modern Kannada. Coming from the most oppressed class of our society, he is naturally influenced by the arguments of 'Dalit Panthers' and similar groups. Though he is not so vociferous as the progressives, he has depicted in his stories

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different aspects of the continuous exploitation to which his community is subjected. *Mārikoṇḍavaru* (The Sold Ones) is a story of those who have sold to their masters not only their labour but their honour as well for the sake of bread. The oppressed people who have lost their freedom to express themselves ask a fundamental question to themselves in *Grastaru* (The Eclipsed): 'Are we living now?' *Mūḍala Sīmēli Kole-gile Muntāgi* (Murder, etc. in the Eastern Region) reveals another picture of exploitation in which the upper classes thrive on the labour of the working classes but subject them to hunger and slow death which amounts to the secret murder of innumerable lives but which is not recognized as such either by law or by society. *Amāsa* (1973) shows how the process of exploitation is perpetuated from one generation to another without the knowledge of either the exploiters or the exploited. With an unusual insight Mahadeva has succeeded in capturing the rhythm of the tragedy inherent in the lives of these unfortunate people. They have all accepted exploitation as a fact of life. The spirit of protest is dead in them, though it finds feeble expression when they are drunk or half-conscious. Obviously, Mahadeva deals with explosive subjects, but he has exercised judicious restraint in his expression. Yet his subdued tone is powerful enough to carry conviction. It is chiefly in this artistic subtlety and restraint that Mahadeva parts company with the Pragatiśīla writers. In fact, basically he is a modernist.

There are others who only want to be simple, outspoken and passionate like the progressives. Besagarahalli Ramanna and Baragur Ramachandrappa are the main advocates of this style.

A clear picture of these new developments is yet to emerge. The new trend is sometimes called *Bāṇḍāya Sāhitya* (The Literature of Protest) or *Dalita Sāhitya* (The Literature of the Oppressed). There is a universal feeling that deliberate and conscious theories are detrimental to creative freedom and artistic success. Will the writers of the new school prove this feeling wrong? It is a challenge worth taking.

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Kashmiri

R. L. SHANT

The Background

The Kashmiri short story is hardly 30 years old. Considering the fact that prose writing in Kashmiri started only about 50 years ago, *i.e.*, in the thirties, the short story does not seem to have lagged far behind.

The year 1947 has a two-fold significance for Kashmir. Firstly, it marked the end of the despotic rule of the Dogra dynasty and, secondly, it saw the state of Jammu and Kashmir acceding to secular India despite Pakistan's aggressive claim to the territory on the ground that Muslims form the majority community there. The people of the state, however, had already been enthused by a programme of socialistic reconstruction of society in terms of a plan called *Nayā Kaśmīr* (New Kashmir), drawn up by the National Conference which had led the people's struggle for independence. The progressive ideas of the New Kashmir movement inevitably influenced Kashmiri literature. The urge for freedom from the oppressors and exploiters and the struggle for social and economic justice became part of the literary consciousness.

The so-called 'progressive' thought started taking root in Kashmir a few years before the advent of freedom. The movement started soon after the Lucknow session of the

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Progressive Writers' Union (in 1936). Some writers in Kashmir were also influenced by such poets and short story writers as Premchand, Sajjad Zaheer, Yashpal, Krishen Chander, Faiz, Dinkar and Josh. 'Azad' (1903–48), the renowned poet of the revolution, was influenced by the radical humanism of M. N. Roy. 'Mahjoor' (1884–1953), senior contemporary of 'Azad', was closely associated with the 'New Kashmir Movement'. Among Urdu prose writers, Premnath 'Pardesi' (1910–54) reflected the revolutionary urge in his Urdu short stories. Some plays like *Grīsti Sund garu* (Farmer's House), *Vidvā* (The Widow), *S'ahīd* (The Martyr) and *Nayā Kaśmir* (New Kashmir), which were written and played at that time, reveal the inroads made by revolutionary ideas into Kashmiri literature before the short story was born.

The First Phase

Kāśur Afsanu (the Kashmiri short story) was born only after the progressive movement in Kashmir took the concrete shape of an organization, namely, the 'Cultural Congress' and literary meetings began to be held. In fact, the first story *Yeli Phol Gāṣ* (When the Sun Rose) was read out by Somnath Zutshi (b. 1922) at one such meeting in February 1950. About the same time, Dinanath 'Nadim' (b. 1916) read out his *Jawābī Kārd* (The Reply Card). Both these short stories, however, appeared in the same issue of the *Kvang Poeṣ* (Saffron Flower), the official organ of the 'Cultural Congress'. The role of this magazine in bringing prose writers to the forefront has been most significant.

The short story writers of this period highlighted the need to fill the wide gap between the rich and poor sections of society. They presented a realistic picture of social backwardness and revealed a lurking desire to overthrow the decadent social order. They portrayed a gloomy picture of the bygone days of slavery to keep their readers wide awake and vigilant against the class of neo-exploiters. The advent of freedom had yet to solve the many problems of ill-paid labour and those brought on by such calamities as flood and drought on the one hand—Kashmir had one of the worst floods of the century in 1950—and the age-old slavish mentality of the illiterate masses on the other.

While portraying the social and economic conditions obtaining at the time, the early short story writers, however, could not produce any remarkable works of art. It is regrettable that though they borrowed their viewpoint from a comprehensive ideological concept, they failed to present it through convincing situations and characters. Short story writing thus became merely an ideological expression rather than a natural one, the stories being preponderantly formulistic and not effectively reflecting genuine experience. Both dialogue and description were vitiated by clichés born of socialistic jargon. For instance, in *Ray* (The Withered Crops) by D. N. Nadim, an old man and his son, talking about their rice fields being stricken by drought because a big landlord had diverted the waters of the only rivulet in the village to his own fields, say:

> 'What will happen now?'
>
> 'We will be doomed. Just that, is it?....Is there anything new in it?' answered the old man in rage and despair.
>
> 'You don't know that it is our destiny that our fields should get ravaged. We have to rest content with wild paddy.'
>
> The young man pleaded loudly, 'But what is our fault? Do the fields not grow crops? The plants grow, seeds take shape; why should they get destroyed for want of water? Is there no remedy?' (tr.)

The writer has presumed the remedy. His revolutionary farmers rise in arms against the landlord, stop the flow of water to his fields and divert it to their own. Not content with this, they cut his standing crops and carry them home.

Such writers did not care to have first-hand experience of the situations they sought to portray. Their 'socialist-realism' was remotely derivative for them. Their writings sound more like the declaration of a manifesto than the mirror of real human situations. To quote a critic who has himself contributed to the progressive movement, 'The concept of socialism had captured the thinking of a Kashmiri writer so much so that he forgot the obligations of art and trampled upon them irrespective of whether he wrote prose or verse....He had to look for typical characters in order to present revolutionary realism....He dreamt of a tomorrow, a distant alien tomorrow, without taking into consideration the social and political conditions of his times....[Noor Mohd. Bhat in the *Soen Adab* (Our Literature), 1959, p. 253 (tr.).]

However, the part played by the early short story writers in introducing this new genre is admirable. Whatever the preoccupation of the writers, a firm foundation was laid. Technically, these stories had well-laid plots. Incidents developed to a predetermined climax. Even though characters lacked the variety and warmth of genuine experience, they were drawn with precision. The style was mostly narrative.

It is also important to record the contribution made by the translators of some Russian short stories which appeared between 1950 and 1955. Of their works, Anton Chekhov's *Stravya*, translated by Aziz Haroon, and Maxim Gorki's *When He Was Born*, translated by Rahman Rahi, are noteworthy.

It is ironic that those who started writing short stories in Kashmiri for the mere love of the language, did not perservere with this form. This was, because the genre did not help them as much as other genres did in expressing themselves. Dinanath Nadim, the author of such early short

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stories like '*Jāwābī Kārd* (The Reply Card), *Ṣīnā Pyatoe*! *Pyatoe*! (Fall! O Snow), *Ray* (The Blight) etc. thereafter preoccupied himself with writing poetry only. Somnath Zutshi wrote short stories for some time longer but turned to writing plays for the radio. Arjundev Majboor, the author of *Kvaluvān* (Desilting of the Stream), and Rahman Rahi concentrated on poetic compositions. Noor Mohd. Bhat who wrote *Tūr* (The Thief) later mainly wrote criticism. Only a few writers like Ali Mohd. Lone (b. 1927) and Sofi Ghulam Mohd. (b. 1929) continued to write short stories.

The Second Phase

The second phase of the development of the Kashmiri short story begins with Akhtar Mohi-ud-Din's (b. 1928) *Danduvazun* (Bickerings). This short story appeared along with six others in his first selection—incidentally, the first collection in Kashmiri—*Sath Sangar* (The Seven Pinnacles) in 1955. These stories opened new vistas of observation and experiment hitherto unknown to the short story writers in Kashmiri. He presented a variety of people—simple and crooked, innocent and villainous, upstart and noble—sinking and swimming in the sea of circumstances. His study of the behaviour of his characters is authentic. They are mostly from the professional strata of society, but their portrayal is not guided by any preconceived notion or political ideology. Thus, in *Danduvazun*, a brawl over money between a sweeper and his wife ends in a comic incident, when the prized dish of pay-day, lamb's legs, is removed from the hearth by one of the jurors, a neighbour, under cover of darkness. The attention of all those who are present, especially the quarrelling couple, is instantaneously diverted and tension dissolved. Here is a picture of the quarrel at its peak:

> 'Shall I shut my mouth now? I will get you dragged all around.'
>
> 'Who do you talk of?' Breesty was full of anger. He caught hold of a tattered shoe to beat her (his wife Ashum) with. Nooru Kamāl and Gulu Badmāsh intervened and pacified him.
>
> Breesty was out of breath. His face turned pale like saffron and he perspired all over. His hands trembled. He was furious....The pipe of the 'hookah' was broken, the bowl lay shattered. Small children had raised a hue and cry. No one listened to what others said. What one could make out was that Breesty and Ashum were hurling abuses at each other.... (tr.)

This story about sweepers was not written to bring to light their class character and drag them to anu nnatural and contrived end. Similarly, in *Daryāyi Hund Yēzāru* (The Silken Trousers), an old tailor and his wife, when alone, relive a moment of their young love. The old man does not allow the unwarranted appearance of his son-in-law to mar his nostalgic moment.

> Khotan shied away. She had tried to hide it (her bridal silken trousers) from her husband's eye but the colour and shine couldn't be concealed. Khotan's cheeks were red hot with bashfulness. Fear like that of a virgin gripped her heart. As if she were a bride and Nabir Shal her young groom. As if her foster mother had left her room just now and she was pushed near Nabir Shal for the first time .... (tr.)

Intimate incidents from workmen's lives are taken but no ideological twist is given. In *Zath* (The Entangled Tresses), a weaver cannot secure a husband for his daughter. Chances appear and recede, so that it seems to her father that her luck, like her hair, has been entangled. In this story the entangled tresses are symbolic of the girl's fate. The same symbolic touch is there in *Kachuvu* (The Tortoise). A young man, influenced too much by his education and knowledge, worries over a news item that states that America has tested a hydrogen bomb and that soon the world may be destroyed. People around him go about, 'tortoise-like' oblivious of the oncoming 'tragedy'. His mother too brushes aside what he fears, calling it an impossibility. The next day, he reads another news item that states that many people, including writers, leaders etc., have protested against the U.S. This relieves him and reveals that he himself is a 'tortoise'. In this story, the writer has a dig at the self-styled and so-called intellectuals who reduce the happenings in the world to formulae. Akhtar's satirical pen does not spare the faulty working of the popular government as in *Chu nā Sapdān* (The Coincidence). The myopic eyes of the earlier short story writers had not been able to differentiate between the genuine and fake zeal of the politicians of the newly freed state.

The New Consciousness

With Akhar a new consciousness of storycraft starts. He initiates the precise and suggestive use of language to describe characters and situations. His descriptions are brief and apt and he has the special gift of creating humorous situations.

Akhtar's impact may be discerned in the later short stories of some earlier writers, such as Sofi Ghulam Mohd. For instance, his *Māldyad* (Mala, the Granny, 1962) appears more mature than his *Tsuni Tsūr* (The Condemned, 1954). In the latter, the author is overconscious of proving the title and subjects the situation to it. The natural development of the story is hampered. In *Māldyad*, on the other hand, narration and characterization are richer. This may be seen in this passage:

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Maldyad was not at home in her trade alone. Just as she knew how much crop of *hāk* (a peculiar leafy vegetable of Kashmir which is a favourite as it is so cheap—Skr. Shākah) a particular field grew and where to sow the seed in order to get a delicious crop, similarly she knew how to treat each kind of customer. She acted young in the company of the young. She would look like a man amongst men and a woman among women. She would talk like a noble lady while delivering *hāk* to a *khwāja* family and like a quarrelsome woman in a captious family. Never was there a complaint against her by any of her customers over disparity of prices or anything else.... (tr.)

During the second phase, there blossomed a host of other short story writers, such as Umesh Koul (b. 1929), H. K. Bharati (b. 1937) Taj Begum (b. 1931), Amin Kamil (b. 1924), Bansi Nirdosh (b. 1930), A. K. Rahbar (b. 1933), G. R. Santosh (b. 1929) and Deepak Kaul (b. 1932). Their writings are, by and large, characterized by an imaginative exploration of the surroundings. A striking feature of the short story of this period is that it attains a distinct Kashmiri colour, rich in details about the beautiful countryside. Custom, creed and convention are appropriately woven into the fabric of the story, as for instance:

This mohalla!

This mohalla of Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir! How ignorant this mohalla of the poor, the rich, the starving, the extravagant and the hawkers is. It has not been able to wash the blemish of shame off its forehead during the last twenty-two long years, (since freedom). People forgot Subhan the barber and his agitation against the brothels and this mohalla bears the bad name still. As if 'beauty shops' were being decorated after nightfall today, as they were in those days.

[Ali Mohd. Lone's *Yim Lūkh* (These People)] (tr.)

Realism and Romanticism

Themes were culled from various areas of experience and observation. Human helplessness in the face of cruel destiny was the subject of many short stories. Nirdosh's collection *Ādam Chu Yithay badnām* (Man is No Sinner) is a representative example. It mainly includes such stories as deal with the innocence of man in the face of hard luck. In order to save a child from a dreadful fire, a woman puts him unwittingly into a box that proves to be a death trap. (*Kas chu taksīr*?, 'Who is at Fault?', 1962). Woodcutters in the jungle take shelter in an old woman's hut. Seeing that the lightning is striking everything around the hut, they resolve to go out one by one and thus offer the life of the one who is wanted by Death. Finally, the hut is crushed by lightning soon after they throw out the son of the old woman (*Barāth*—Destiny). Similarly, a college girl enticing her innocent friend, to fulfil the amorous designs of a neo-rich woman-baiter, discovers that the friend has been a prey to the man much earlier (*Nov Tāvan*—A Usual Affair by Amin Kamil).

Though realism is the main plank of the short story of this period, the writer does not commit himself to any particular ideology. Nevertheless, it is a fact that even after 'progressivism' faded away as a movement, writers continued to take a realistic view of the happenings in society. The neglected and backward sections were sympathetically represented in such stories that depicted the lives of sweepers (*Danduvazun*, 1955), tailors (*Daryāyi Hund Yezār*), oilmen (*Me Ti Tog Nu Kenh*—I too was helpless: Akhtar), Bakers (*Tsuni Tsūr*), tongawallahs (*Teh*—Hauteur: H. K. Bharati), pigeonkeepers (*Kānsi Mo Rāvin Shūre Pān*—The Lost childhood: Nirdosh), sadhus (*Saphar Tu Sūti Vāli*; fellow travellers: Deepak Kaul, 1957). Subjects especially from Kashmiri Pandit families were chosen by Nirdosh and Deepak, while those from Muslim families were worked out by Abbas Tabish and G. M. Baba. Values such as humanitarianism, communal amity and tolerance were highlighted by some of the short stories of Ali Mohd. Lone. His *Lvakchi Baji Kathu* (Important and Unimportant Things) upholds these values in a situation that depicts the tension generated by the 1965 Indo-Pak War.

Courage and an idealism bordering on the romantic are the dominant themes of the short stories of Dr. Shankar Raina (1939–75). His world of amorous nurses, intelligent doctors and fretful patients in a hospital ward tends to be romanticized. There is, in his stories, a wide range of human behaviour to be found in depressing conditions. But his romanticism is apparent when his characters and situations assume the colours of his own imaginative and idealistic personality. He is overpresent in his stories, making them less credible at times. In *Vany Kahanz Chi Vāry* (Who Next?), for instance, patients in a ward waiting for inevitable death share each other's stories of jilted love—every one of them has been in love and left a sweetheart behind—and develop a pseudo-philosophic attitude to things. Their understanding of heartless, beautiful women becomes shaded by the romantic attitude of their author. They venture to prolong the life of a young dying patient by describing the scene of an imaginary snowfall (that he had longed to see the previous night) and his sweetheart coming to greet him, trampling the fresh snows. The author seems to forget the limitations of language and expression that illiterate workmen are likely to face. One of them, a tailor, reminisces:

While stitching the suit, his finger touched it. The suit seemed hot, as if the heat of Jamila's body had gone into it. He couldn't help thinking of it even after he vowed not to do so....

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A 'spark' touched cotton sheafs and 'fire' smouldered within and he continued stitching similar suits—white, brown, striped, emerald, rainbow-coloured—so skin-tight that one couldn't pick them off one's skin even with the help of forceps. Suits of beautiful damsels, virgins and brides; the touch of which brought a shiver down his spine.

(tr. from *Zitni Zūl* [Illuminations])

Character Domination

To the author of the post-'55 short story, character becomes more important than anything else. Some stories bear the names of the dominant characters as titles *e.g. Māldyad, Tunzu Khor* (Tunza, the Loafer, 1962) and *Ahmad Reṣ* by Sofi Ghulam Mohammad, *Ashu* by A. K. Rahbar, *Qudu Jū* (1961) and *Qāsim Sāb* by Akhtar, *Farzu Tuj* (The Slim Farza) by A. M. Lone and *Jāphar Khān* by Nirdosh. In such character-dominated stories, a variety of characters comes alive. A simpleton of a farmer, a corruptible government servant, an ambitious roadside Romeo, a villainous mother-in-law, an obedient bride, a gossiping shopkeeper, the characteristic professional, they all appear in their true colours for the first time in these short stories.

In *Dil* (The Heart), the character of a milkman's daughter is introduced with a flourish by the rise and fall of her emotionally charged feelings, which are analyzed. Mehru detests her clumsy cousin Fateh, to whom she is ultimately married because his robust body and submissive behaviour are what her father needs to help him. As time passes, small acts of favour generate a feeling of love in Mehru's heart. Finally, she resists her father's suggestion to divorce Fateh.

> Mehru could not express herself, but her heart, like a torch bearer, showed to her that Fateh is like a spark in a heap of ash, a wild flower in hay, a butterfly on a dunghill, living only for her, laughing only for her. And if he deserts her, she'll sink in mud and marshes. He is the same shadow which, she dreamed, would lead her to her nuptial palanquin. (tr.)

The short story writers of this period were fascinated by the classical technique. The plot passes through several stages namely, exposition, conflict, climax and denouement. The writer introduces twists at expected and unexpected places. In this, he is influenced by such western writers of the last century as Maupassant and O. Henry. It was in 1955 that Akhtar adapted Maupassant's *A Piece of String* and included it in his collection *Sath Sangar*. The Maupassant technique of giving his stories an abrupt twist at the end or providing the reader a last shock became popular with such Kashmiri writers as Nirdosh, Rahbar and Deepak Kaul. In Nirdosh's *Tulur* (The Bee), a man-hating nurse bows before her love-lorn colleague as a result of an inexplicable turn her mind takes; in Rahbar's *Tachun* (The Itch), a woman promised to be faithful to her husband and never to remarry, but when the husband dies, she remarries. In order to free herself from the haunting fear of a secret message her late husband left her, she breaks open the container but finds only blank paper; and in Deepak Kaul's *Rādi Kākuni Brār* (Radhey Uncle's Cat) a curious old woman invites home the newly-wed daughter-in-law of one of her neighbours, but slips into their house to find out what 'presents' they have been getting without her 'rightful' knowledge. It is in these circumstances that she falls down dead when the house owners hunt the 'thief'!

The Third Phase

The 'modern' period commences from 1967 when a special short story issue of *Ṣirāzu* (The magazine of the Jammu & Kashmir Cultural Academy) appeared. The editor, Amin Kami, felt that the literary situation at that time had qualitatively changed, though some critics were critical of the 'stagnation' of the Kashmiri short story. Rejecting this view, he identified new writers and the experiments they were doing. Four of these new names were Harikrishna Koul (b. 1935), Ghulam Nabi Shakir (b. 1935), Farooq Masoodi (b. 1949) and Ratanlal Shant (b. 1938). Koul uncovered a new vista of experiences in his *Tāph* (Sunny Days); Shakir treated a traditional subject, a woman's love, in new language in *Avuli Sontuki Poeṣ* (Early Spring Flowers); Masoodi successfully used a refreshing new idiom in *Sethāh Moemūlī* (Just Ordinary); and Shant in *Tṣāyi Giti* (Shadows), laid bare the inner layers of human consciousness in the present-day social context. Besides these newcomers, earlier writers like Akhtar (*Gahae Tāph Gahae Ṣihul*—Sunny Days, Dark Days), Lone (*Ṣiny*—Vacuum), Bharati (*Abnūsuk Ruler*—Ebony Ruler), and Nirdosh (*Myon Marun*—My Death) too showed that the short story had taken a definite and different direction.

New themes depicting a neo-realistic view of the times were chosen by all these authors. Instead of providing cut and dried solutions, suggestions about situations and characters were hinted at. The diction became less ornamental and more relevant to an artistic approach. Thus, in *Sethāh Moemūlī*, the narrator is haunted by a negroid face while he polishes his shoes. Then come the association of pearls and gold-bedecked shoes with the Czar, the Turk Khāqān and the Dogra Ruler of Kashmir, who 'purchased' the valley with British blessings. Then follows his reaction to martyrs like Christ and Sherwani (a Kashmiri soldier of the Jammu and Kashmir military who fought to the last against the Pakistani invaders in 1947. He was nailed and shot continuously till he died crying 'New Kashmir for ever!) who bore the nails hammered into their bare feet:

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My mind thinks of blood—my mind is full of blood—dipped in blood end to end. Oh God! when will this negative meaning of blood cease to be? When shall I rise above the bloody waters?

God!

It was actually a nail piercing my foot—a thorn in a foot that tried to race with the times.... (tr.)

In *Tṣāyi Giti*, jumbled ideas and queer associations haunt Manohar, while he is sitting at a window brooding over his deprivations. He has been exploited by 'selfish' seniors and pushed back by 'mediocre' contemporaries:

Manohar could stand first in General Knowledge but he never passed in General English.

Mano? What are you doing?

And those swine? They can't read even the Alphabet...I must drag Raghu into a discussion. Existentialism in the Vedas. The Holy Vedas. I bet I can beat him hollow, else I'll change my name.

Kaka! let me carry my seventy pounds myself—that's my latest weight.... (tr.)

The writer could indulge in all sorts of mystifying experiences in a life that was not preconditioned. While taking his environment into consideration, the writer nevertheless sought to portray situations rather than events and gave expression to the wanderings of the human mind. Thus, for instance, *Jang* (The Conflict) is the story of a clerk whose 'case' has been pending in office. He passes through strange traumatic experiences. He has hallucinations, imagined encounters with officials and colleagues in office. Finally, he is 'packed', 'filled' and 'placed' in a tray.

Bhakhtāvar sat in his chair all day. Neither did he demand a file from anybody nor was he offered one.... The Head Clerk looked at him as if he were trying to recollect who he was. After a while he said, 'Ghulam Rasool, I do not know what you are guilty of. The Section Officer, however, says that your case is complicated. You may not worry.' Bhakhtāvar was surprised and said, 'I am not Ghulam Rasool. I am Bhaktāvar, the bill-clerk'. 'O.K., you are Bhakhtāvar. But if your papers say that you are Ghulam Rasool, how can you deny the fact?'

(*Jang* by Chamanlal Hakhoo) (tr.)

Helplessness in the face of a destiny that man creates for himself is the theme of many short stories of the Third Phase. In *Jang*, this creates a confused state of mind. Nevertheless, this confusion is more present in the written structures than it is reflected in the human mind.

The new consciousness of fast-changing values expressed itself in a search for new techniques. Attempts were made to give new meanings to traditional concepts and motifs. For example, Autarkrishna Rahbar's *Nirvāṇ* (Liberation) illustrates how the author could not help breaking with his own style. Gautam, the son of business magnate Shuddhodan, witnesses heart-rending scenes of starving beggars, desperate young men etc. and concludes that the world is a painful place to live in. He is informed, at the end of his long walk, that his wife has decided to marry the manager of a mill. This might sound a commonplace story, if it weren't for the fact that the author has given his characters well known historical names. Among the new writers, Ratanlal Mujoo presents Menakā and Viswāmitra in a modern context in *Traēś* (Thirst, 1975) and Bharati has a 'modern' Abhimanyu in his Chakravyuh. Kaul's *Baṭan Hundi Khātru Darmukathā* (A Dharmakathā for Kashmiri Hindus) depicts the conflict between the successful hypocrite and the honest worker who is pushed back. Viswāmitra, Vasishta, Sheshnāg, Nārad all figure in their new roles of college teachers and officers busy in maintaining an establishment of hypocrisy and sycophancy. In the same context, mention should be made of Bashir Akhtar's *Sindbādsund ūthim Saphar* (Sindbad's Eighth Voyage). This short story paints Sindbad as a contemporary political leader embarking on a voyage of far-reaching political consequence.

Stylistic Excursions

Doubtless, symbolism helped story writers a good deal in ensuring the use of a creative language, but other experimental devices were also used. Farooq Masoodi makes use of an impressionistic style to create a greater impact with his dominant interest, the search in the subconscious. His *Khwadzāth Nāmu* (Autobiography) and *Jin Parī tu Hīroe Kohi Kāfas Peth Sazu Langis Gindān* (Djinn, Fairy and Hero playing 'stoep' on Mt. Caucasus) illustrate this. These stories point to a new mystique in experience. In *Jin*, there is a blend of five parallel motifs. A Djinn, a fairy and her lover-hero play the game of 'stoep' and soon the hero is 'out'; the fairy then bears the Djinn a child. The narrator next tells the breathtaking story of a hero calling his heroine from the gallows and fixing his teeth on her breast. The distributor and the director of a film company are bewitched by the melodramatic scene. Then, there is the story of the tribals attacking and ravaging women. And, finally, there is an anecdote of how a 'girl-seeking' tourist is beheaded by a Kashmiri boatman. The five seemingly different tales have been woven into one, thus presenting a picture of the superficial values of the society we live in. The story presents a juxtaposition of images:

Playing-stoep on Mt. Caucasus, the Hero turned his back to the Djinn and with his eyes shut cast away a potsherd. He called out, 'Āyam Goea (I am go)?' The Djinn saw that the Hero had put his foot on a line between 'hell'

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and 'heaven'. He kicked him in the ass and said, 'You are out'.

This style is reminiscent of the Joycean, Woolfean and Kafkan traditions.

Ratanlal Shant's *Thor* (The Impediment) provides another example. A teacher, on his way to school, is abruptly stopped by a policeman raising his arm. To save himself from the onslaught of the vehicles behind him, he climbs on to the policeman's stand but is held up throughout the day by the policeman raising his arm. In his attempts to escape, the hook of his belt breaks. His absence provokes the schoolboys to strike and take out a procession, which passes in front of him without paying heed to his pleas.

> He would stay motionless but he found that his loose trousers had slipped down while he lifted the policeman physically in order to turn his arm and stop the procession of the boys....
>
> He untied the red band from the left arm of the uniform of the policeman, made a noose of it and hung himself from the same raised arm of the policeman. (tr.)

Other contemporary short stories show that attempts are being made to portray a situation in terms of imagery. The language becomes poetic and emphasis shifts from plot and characterization to the depiction of a psychological state. Some writers turn to using fantasies. In *Akh Uriyān Kath* (A Naked Story), H. K. Kaul depicts how a teacher while delivering his morning lecture discovers that he has forgotten to put on his pants. In yet another story of his, *Pagāh* (Tomorrow), two backbenchers stop growing, while their classmates progress in this nepotistic society of ours. Language, in such situations, inevitably attains a different idiom and expression tends to become obscure, but the author is more intent on answering his feelings than on communicating. Iqbal Fahim's *Kuni Zāth* (The Lonely Self) tries to mould language with adept hands and thus unravels its hidden potentialities. The narrator presents a mental situation wherein monologue, self-appraisal and introspection become synonymous.

> Do I live inside myself or outside? If I live inside myself what exists outside me? Did he find me out because at that time I was outside myself? Does man die within or without himself? (tr.)

Younger writers such as Nasir Mansoor (*Anu*—The Mirror), Shamas-ud-Din Shamim (*Vachas tal Mazār*—The Grave Next Door) and Gulshan Majid (*Pot Kath*—Tail-piece) all struggling for expression are similarly preoccupied with a new exploration of experience.

[All translations in the article are by the author.]

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Malayalam

M. ACHUTHAN

The last decade of the 19th century witnessed the spread of general education and the birth of newspapers and magazines in Kerala. This enabled the Malayalam short story to develop as a popular literary form. Today, the short story is one of the richest branches of Malayalam literature.

Early writers such as Vengayil Kunjiraman Nayanar (Vēṅṅayil Kuṅṅirāman Nāyanār, 1861–1914), Ambadi Narayana Poduval (Āmpāḍi Nārāyaṇa Poduvāḷ, 1871–1936), Otuvil Kunjikrishna Menon (Oṭuvil Kuṅṅikṛṣṇa Mēnōn, 1870–1916), Ceṅkuḷattu Kuṅṅirāma Mēnōn (MRKC, 1882–1940), C. S. Gopala Panicker (Gōpāla Paṇikkar, 1872–1930), Moorkoth Kumaran (Mūrkkōttu Kumāran, 1874–1941), K. Sukumaran (Sukumāran, 1876–1956) and E. V. Krishna Pillai (Kṛṣṇa Piḷḷa, 1894–1938) had as models, stories by British and American authors, being unaware of the scope of the form. They were, for the most part interested in delighting readers with pleasant, plot-centred stories, each of which also had a moral. A skilfully woven plot, an element of suspense, and a happy ending was the formula for their stories. The essential character of the short story as a literary form is the unity of impression it creates. Some of the early Malayalam writers were not conscious of this. Strictly speaking, quite a number of stories written by them can not be included in the genre. They are really short novels.

Vāsanāvikṛti (The Mischief of Habit, 1891) by Kunjiraman Nayanar, and published in the monthly *Vidyāvinōdini*, marks the birth of the Malayalam short story. It narrates the adventures of a young man who has a tendency to steal. He unintentionally causes the death of a rich man during one of his escapades. The booty is hidden in the wife of his who expresses her love for him by presenting him with a golden ring, which is slightly loose. The young man then flees to Madras, where a crowd in front of a shop attracts him. He notices a man watching a beautiful whore. To teach the tout a lesson, he picks his pocket, but later discovers to his astonishment, that he has lost the ring. He foolishly registers a complaint with the police, who traces the ring which is ultimately used in evidence against the protagonist when he is charged with his previous crime. He is imprisoned. The entire story is narrated by him in a humourous vein and with repentance after he is released from jail. The moral of the story is to be found in the stress on 'Karmabandha'. The first person narration lends an autobiographical touch, which enables the reader to share in the experience.

Even though most of the stories of this early period are inclined to romantic escapism, the element of social criticism is quite often present, especially in some of the stories of Nayanar, Narayana Poduval, Krishna Pillai and Moorkoth Kumaran. The theme of *Jyēṣṭattiyammayuṭe Ābharaṇaṅṅaḷ* (The Ornaments of Sister-in-Law) by Kumaran, (*Mūrkōttinṭe Ceṛukathakaḷ*) is the weakness of women whose fascination for ornaments leads to family feuds and quarrels. In another story, *Oroṭṭa Nōṭṭam* (Just a Glance), he criticizes the worthless conventions prevailing in society by depicting the tragic end of a woman, whose marriage to an educated man is broken up by the obstinate orthodoxy of his domineering father.

Formal realism and a critical approach to social problems were already present in the novel *Indulēkha* (1889) written by O. Chandu Menon (Cantu Mēnon, 1847–89). In the short stories of Moorkoth Kumaran and E. V. Krishna Pillai the tradition is continued. Later, V. T. Bhattathiripad (Bhaṭṭatirippāḍu, 1896–1982), Bhavathrathan Nampoothiripad (Bhavatṛātan Nampūtirippāḍ, 1902–44) and M. R. Bhattathiripad (Bhaṭṭatirippāḍu, b. 1908) wrote stories exposing the decadence in the social and domestic life of the Nampoothiri Brahmins. Thus the short story form became more and more effective and popular in the propagation of progressive social ideas.

Social and Cultural Revival

The twenty-five years from about 1930 saw a remarkable change in the form and content of the Malayalam short story. Social, political and cultural forces were responsible for this Renaissance. The National Movement, the message of Mahatma Gandhi, the October Revolution in Russia (1917), the rapid spread of Marxism, the rise of trade unionism, the unhappy after-effects of the Second World War, the partition of India, and communal clashes were some of the major factors that influenced people all over India. In South Kerala, the oppressive rule of the Dewan in the Travancore State, the victory of the State Congress and the tensions generated by the communists are historic events that influenced the people of the State. Cultural life, meanwhile, developed mainly due to the spread of English education, which opened new vistas on world literature. The rapid growth of newspapers and journals helped propagate new social and political ideologies and encouraged literary creativity. The great scholar and eminent critic Kesari Balakrishna Pillai (Kēsari Bālakṛṣṇa Piḷḷa, 1889–1960) staunchly supported progressive ideas. During his

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career as an editor he introduced prominent European writers and trends in world literature to the reading public and to the up-coming young writers. He translated and published the stories of Maupassant and Chekhov as well as the plays of Pirandello and Ibsen. His patronage helped brilliant writers such as Thakazhi Sivasankara Pillai (Takaḻi Śivaśaṅkara Piḷḷa, b. 1911) and Kesava Dev (Kēśava Dēv, b. 1904), to blossom.

In 1937 the young writers of Kerala formed the *Jīvat-sāhitya Prasthanam*. Later, in 1944, they transformed the movement into the *Purōgamana Sāhityam* (Progressive Literature). The subject-matter of literature should be critical, the creative process purposeful, and the end, reform and the creation of a socialist society. Stress was now on these aspects in literature.

Familiarity with the works of great story-writers, such as Maupassant and Chekhov, opened the eyes of young writers to the need for artistic excellence and structural perfection in literary composition. The social and historical climate of the time provided ample material. Thus, the Malayalam short story achieved an unprecedented vigour and vitality especially with the advent of writers like Thakazhi, Kesava Dev, Ponkunnam Varkey (Ponkunnam Varki, b. 1908), Karoor Neelakanta Pillai (Kārūr Nīlakaṇṭha Piḷḷa, 1898–1975), Vaikom Muhammad Basheer (Vaikkom Muhammad Baṣīr, b. 1910), S. K. Pottekkat (Poṯṯekāṭṭu, 1913–83) and P. C. Kuttikrishnan (Kuṭṭikṛṣṇan, 1915–79).

Social Criticism and Interpretation of Life

Thakazhi. Thakazhi Sivasankara Pillai is the founder of the revolutionary realistic movement in the Malayalam short story. His early story *Veḷḷappokkaṭṭil* (In the Floods), is the first in Malayalam which shows the distinct marks of a proper form of short story. The story depicts the misery of a forsaken dog in the background of a village in flood He fearlessly exposed the iniquity and injustice prevailing in all spheres of life and unmasked a hypocritical society. Some of his stories are careful analyses of the strange working of human minds, others deal with sexual relationships. He has depicted the promiscuity of the haves bent on appeasing their hungers, as well as the sad plight of penniless women who are compelled to sell their bodies to earn their livelihood. As a result, he has incurred the displeasure of orthodox critics and readers. But it has never been his intention to stimulate the baser feelings of his readers.

Though by profession Thakazhi is a lawyer, in him we have a typical farmer. His pen is endowed with vigour and brilliance when it works on themes based on the peasant life of his native Kuttanad (Kuṭṭanāḍu). The stories *Tāśildāruṭe Acchan* (Tahsildar's Father, 1945), *Kṛṣikkāran* (The Agriculturist, 1965) and *Bhāgam* (Partition, 1965) are striking examples (written in the forties and compiled as *Tireññeṭutta Cerukathakaḷ* in 1965). The reform of Nayar Regulation entitled all the members of the family for equal right of property and it caused the ruin of collective families. The story named *Bhāgam* describes the ruin of a Nair family after partition, and also throws light on the various forces that disrupt the fabric of the social and domestic life of Nairs. *Tāśildāruṭe Acchan* presents the ethos of native peasant life through the delineation of the character of an illiterate, aged farmer, whose source of happiness and inspiration is his day's work in the paddy-fields. He is a true son of the soil, always one with the workers. He educates his only son, who becomes a tahsildar. The old man's life's ambition is realized when he comes to stay with his son for a few days. But the sophisticated, insolent daughter-in-law does not like the old man's ways. The grandfather proudly cuddles and kisses the grandchild, but the mother snatches away her baby. The rugged peasant stinks, she feels. The son, however, is full of love and regard for his father, but he is helpless in this situation. The old man senses the domestic atmosphere. In his loneliness he finds a companion in the servant and speaks of his pride and love for his son. But the next moment, he is shocked to hear that the servant has been entrusted with the duty of taking him back to his village the very next day. The Tahsildar spends a sleepless night of deep remorse and painful recollections. In the morning the old man is missing. The wife advises her husband: 'Keep the secret and tell them that the old man has gone home'. The tahsildar is stunned, and only then realizes how inhuman his wife is. This character story, expressing emotional conflict by creating dramatic situations, is a remarkable one of its kind in the Malayalam language.

Kesava Dev. In Thakazhi we have a blend of a realist-naturalist and a socialist-realist. Occasionally he also appears as a keen student of human psychology. Kesava Dev is primarily a socialist and a realist. In his early stories we perceive a combination of romanticism and idealism, but his later stories are enriched with the vitality of socialist realism. Dev is more familiar with the life of factory workers and labourers. He identifies himself with the working class and the have-nots of the lower strata, poignantly depicting their struggle for existence, their hopes and aspirations, their sorrows and joys. Stories such as *Pṛatijña* (The Oath), and *Ayalkkāri* (Woman of the Neighbourhood) written in the sixties, *Cool Drinks* and *Oḷivil* (Underground) are good examples (compiled in *Tireññeṭutta Ceṛukathakaḷ*, i.e. Selected Short Stories, 1965) of his works. Kesava Dev has a genuine sense of humour and drama. Some of his stories introduce unforgettable characters such as the protagonist Koran of *Mīnkāran Kōran* (Fisherman Koran), the cunning woman Madhavi in *Malakkaṛikkāri* (Vegetable Vendor) and the boy Kuññan in *Taskarasaṅgham* (Gang of Thieves). Dev had faith in communism, but later, during the second half of his career as a writer, he was disillusioned.

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Ponkunnam Varkey. The problems facing the humble and hard working peasants in the villages in and around Kottayam district provide the material for Ponkunnam Varkey's stories. The oppression and exploitation of the poor by the church and the priests, in the name of God, also furnish him with exciting themes. Many of Varkey's stories are rooted in such socio-political conditions as the reign of terror in the days of Dewan Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, the struggle for freedom, the foul atmosphere created by the inefficient rule and the inevitability and desirability of adopting communism. He mercilessly exposes and upbraids the hypocritical priesthood in stories such as *Anthōṇi Nīyum Accanāyōṭa* (Anthony, You Too Have Become a Priest?) and *Oru Piśācukūṭi* (One More Devil), written in the fifties and compiled in *Tireñjeṭutta Ceṟukathakaḷ*, 1964). Varkey has a deep understanding of the miseries and hardships of the children of the soil, well known for their diligence and industry, and his best stories such as *Śabdikkunna Kalappa* (The Plough that Speaks, 1956) and *Iṭivaṇṭi* (The Battering Van) are the result. *Śabdikkunna Kalappa* is a touching and powerful story, based on the relationship between man and animal in rural life. Writers such as Saratchandra Chatterjee, Tarasankar Banerji, and Premchand have been inspired by this theme. The relationship of the farmer with his ox is not merely an economic one. Varkey depicts it as a bond of selfless love and sympathy. Having no other means, a peasant sells his ox to meet the expenses of his daughter's marriage. But soon he is in trouble again. The daughter has to be sent back to her home after her first delivery. To satisfy the conventions, he has to make purchases. There are also many other household needs to be satisfied. His wife solves the problem by handing over him all that she has put away. In the market-place the peasant is dismayed to find with a butcher the poor animal he had sold, with tears in its eyes. Forgetting his mission, he purchases the ox with the money he has and brings home the sickly animal. His disheartened daughter sobs, but he consoles her; 'Dear, he is as you are to me.' But fate is such that the next day he finds the ox dead in the shed. His grief knows no bounds. He hears the chirping of a house lizard, sitting on the idle plough covered by cobwebs below the roof of the shed. Was the plough expressing its misery?

Muhammad Basheer. The momentous days of the pre-Independence struggle, British imperialism thriving on oppressive police rule, hunger and unemployment, and the secret conspiracies of opportunists are all part of the depressing world that provided Vaikom Muhammad Basheer with material for his stories. One of his early stories, *Tiger* (In *Janmadinam*, 1945), is an impressive exposition of the inhuman treatment jailbirds get from the police. Tiger is a fat dog, that lives near the sub-jail, pet of a police inspector. It is fed with a part of the prisoners' quota of food and has grown fat by licking the blood oozing from the wounds of tortured prisoners. One day, while the prisoners share the tasty food brought by their relatives, the dog appears at the door. One of the prisoners kicks it away. The inspector rushes in and in a fury throws away all the food. He then flogs the soles of the culprit and the dog quenches its thirst by licking the oozing blood. Basheer, even while describing the cruel methods of torture employed by the police, is sympathetic to them for their hard lot.

Many of the stories of Basheer present deeply moving pictures of destitution and hunger. *Viḍḍhikaḷuṭe Swargam* (Fool's Paradise, 1948) and *Pāvappeṭṭavaruṭe Vēśya* (The Prostitute of the Poor, 1952) are examples. A change of outlook is clearly discernible in his later stories. He becomes more cynical, withdraws from burning social problems, gives up the idea of lifelong celibacy and turns to the happiness of married life, even arguing in one of his stories, in his unique humorous vein, that it is a good thing to be a henpecked husband. Some of his stories portray happy scenes of married life with a delightful sense of humour. Stories such as *Viśvavikhyātamāya Mūkku* (The World-famous Nose, 1954), *Taṅka Mōtiram* (The Golden Ring) and *Radiogrām* are good examples. He laughs at the follies and foibles of women. In one of his stories, the heroine, Ayishakkutti, who is in the labour room, refuses to give birth to the child, and crying out that the doctor be brought, because they had brought the doctor when her sister-in-law gave birth. As husbands or as lovers, the protagonists in Basheer's stories show enterprise in countering the bewitching and annoying frailties of women. Bahseer's unique sense of humour pervades his dialogue and his descriptions of characters. His style of expression and characterization are inimitable.

Karoor Nilakanta Pillai. Karoor Neelakanta Pillai was a teacher in a primary school for a long time. Service conditions were miserable. Karoor wrote many stories giving a true picture of the tribe of teachers as well as of low-paid officials blighted by the curse of abject poverty. He evokes the reader's sympathy for the schoolmaster who steals the lunch packet of a student in *Poticcōṟu* (Lunch Packet, in *Kārūr Kathakaḷ*, 1946) and also the penniless postman Sankara Pillai who in *Tiruvātira* (The Day of Ardra), steals a small amount from the money order sent by a man to his wife. A policeman on escort duty is the character in another story, *Eḷuṇṇaḷḷat Duty* (duty in connection with the royal procession). His wife is about to give birth and one of their children is down with fever. He has no peace of mind, yet is compelled to report for duty. The poor man has no money to call in a doctor, so he threatens some cartmen and extracts money from them. Equally fascinating is the postman in a story named *Exchange*. He candidly declares that it is much better to be the husband

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of a barren woman than to be the father of starving children.

These stories illustrate the debasement of human values, often the result of the callousness of Man and his iniquitous social order. Many are compelled to turn to theft and prostitution, because of extreme poverty and the struggle for survival. *Cekuttān* (Satan, in *Kārūr Kathakaḷ*, 1946), a powerful story, narrates the heart-rending experience of a mother who, penurious and in dire need, sells her innocent daughter for a night to a lustful rich man. She has no money to provide medical treatment for her ailing husband. Arranging a match for the girl is another problem. Under these pressures she succumbs to the cunning plot of an old woman of the neighbourhood, sends her daughter to her hut, where a beast awaits his prey. Karoor has written a number of other fine stories on varied themes, several of which, like *Pūvanpaḷam* (The Golden Banana, 1949) and *Marappāvakaḷ* (Wooden Dolls, 1963), reflect his subtle insight into human psychology, his masterly skill in characterization and his refined sense of humour.

S. K. Pottekkat. S. K. Pottekkat is attracted by the infinite variety of human character. The mystery of this world is his inspiration. A keen observer of people, their inner urges and idiosyncrasies, Pottekat is adept at writing witty dialogue with a rustic sense of humour, and has a poet's imagination and often weaves sweet romantic dreams. *Strī* Woman, 1941), *Vidhi* (Fate, 1942), *Puḷḷimān* (Spotted) Deer, 1945), *Sandarśanam* (Visit, 1946) and *Niśāgandhi* (Night Queen, 1946) exemplify this trait. His romanticism lends an idealistic colour to human feelings.

Pottekat is not a revolutionary realist. However stories like *Bhrāntan Nāyə* (Mad Dog) and *Vēśyayuṭe Kattə* (The Letter of a Prostitute) sympathetically depict the sufferings of the have-nots and neglected souls. He never becomes eloquent on social injustice. In many of his stories Pottekat presents realistic pictures of the different faces of village life and strikingly singular characters. The story *Antakanṭe Tōṭṭi* (The Goad of Yama) is typical in this respect.

Among the few stories in Malayalam in which the play of supernatural elements is delineated, Pottekat's *Ātithēyan* (The Host) and *Tiruvātira* (Ardra) deserve special mention. As a globe-trotter Pottekat had acquired vast experience and the themes of some of his stories are rooted in Africa and other foreign countries. The story *Kaṭhāri* (The Dagger) throws light on the truth that human goodness prevails everywhere irrespective of caste and colour, in the white man as well as in the black. The story *Puḷavakkil* (On the River Bank) centres round a dramatic moment. A child is attracted by a butterfly resting on a plant. He moves to catch it disregarding the warning of his mother. She is bathing in the river unaware of what is happening. The next moment she comes to the scene and is horrified to see a cobra with its hood sprung ready to bite the child's finger on which glitters a gold ring studded with a precious red stone.

Pottekat is particular that his creations must entertain readers and open their eyes to the wonder that is man. He presents a gallery of portraits of men and women who possess attractive character traits. A perfectionist, he spares no effort on the technical finish of his stories. In many of them an unexpected brilliant twist at the end sheds new light on a character incident or atmosphere as in *Timepīcinṭe Katha* (The Story of a Time-piece).

P. C. Kuttikrishnan. P. C. Kuttikrishnan, popularly known as Uroob (Uṟūb), is a writer who studies human nature with the attitude of a philosopher who is emotional, liberal and optimistic. He is intoxicated with the sweetness of life and extracts the essence from his experiences both sweet and bitter. He is very much a man of the world, yet he loves the warmth of domestic atmosphere. He feels one with man in all his conditions, feelings and moods. We are reminded of the words of his hero in *Ārādhana* (Adoration) in the collection *Navōnmēṣam* (New Spirit, 1946), who fought in the struggle of freedom and became an idol of the masses: 'Let people have feelings of anger and envy or hatred for you. Even then you are fortunate; you are one among them. The biggest curse is to become an object of worship. You lose yourself and the world'. In one of his stories by name *Glass With Care* (1977) a maid servant asks the lady of the house, 'Is so much needed for the happiness of a tiny heart?' She gets the answer: 'The mind is bigger than the world. Will it ever get filled to the brim?' The author, who is witness to the happenings, is filled with wonder and ruminates, 'How much bigger than the world is the human mind?' The strong feeling of motherhood latent in every woman, and its sanctity, is one of Uroob's favourite themes. This is well exemplified in *Accanṭe Makan* (Son of the Father), *Poṅṅamma* and *Vēlakkāriyuṭe Cekkan* (The Lad of the Servant Maid) written in the fifties (*Tireññeṭutta Ceṟukathakaḷ*, 1967). The stories of Uroob portray an array of personalities with peculiar traits of character such as Moulavi, in the story *Paṭaccōnṭe Cōṟu* (The Bread of the Creator) from *Moulaviyum Caṅṅātimārum* (1954), who keeps mum when he starves and tom-toms when he gets something to eat. The miserly Velummān, in *Orupaṟa Kaṇṇunīr* (A Vessel of Tears, 1960), swears that he who spends a naya paisa unnecessarily will have to shed a large measure of tears when he reaches Heaven. And good-hearted Gopalan Nair, in *Gōpālan Nāyaruṭe Tāṭi* Gopalan Nayar'r, Beard 1963), who fosters love and sympathy for others, but has to bear his own cross.

In most of Uroob's stories one misses stark realism and naturalism. But Uroob is not just holding a mirror to life around him. He is creating characters and significant situations. The form and fine texture of his stories

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give them more meaning, enriching our understanding of human nature. Pottekkat comes close to Uroob in this respect.

Other Important Writers

Among the other important short-story writers of this period of Renaissance are two women, Lalithambika Antharjanam (Laḷitāmbika Antaṛjanam, b. 1909) and K. Saraswathi Amma (Saraswati Amma, 1919–75). Antharjanam's stories condemn the outworn conventions prevailing in Nampootiri society. Entering the inner recesses of the minds of her characters she skilfully analyzes in poetic language the complex phenomenon of woman, who has to play the different roles of mother, daughter and wife. Saraswathi Amma, on the other hand, is an ardent advocate of women's cause. She gives concrete shape to modern concepts regarding the liberation of women, pungently revealing the hypocrisy of men. E. M. Kovoor's (Kōvūr, 1906–83) main theme is the hardships faced by the meagrely paid employees in Government and other service. In a number of stories he laughs at hypocrisy and snobbery. The stories by Nagavalli R. S. Kurup (Nāgavaḷḷi R. S. Kuṛup, b. 1917) are critical of social injustice. He has also found themes in the achievements of modern science. Ponjikkara Rafi (Pōṅṅikkara Rāfi, b. 1924) is more at home picturing middle-class Christian family life, while P. A. Mohammed Koya (Mohammed Kōya, b. 1922) sheds light on Muslim domestic scenes, where often customs and conventions cause human suffering. Vettoor Raman Nair's (Veṭṭūr Rāman Nāyar, b. 1919) stories centre on the varied problems of Nair middle-class families, while T. K. C. Vaduthala's (Vaḍutala, b. 1921) stories mainly depict the life of the downtrodden community of Pulayas.

Malayattur Ramakrishnan's (Malayāṯṯūr Rāmakṛṣṇan, b. 1927) stories are realistic and critical of social evils. Some of them satirize Brahmin orthodoxy. N. P. Chellappan Nair (Cellappan Nāyar, 1903–72), Anandakkuttan (Ānandakuṭṭan, b. 1920), K. V. Joseph (pen-name. JKV, b. 1930) and Veloor Krishnan Kutty (Vēḷūr Kṛṣṇan Kuṭṭi, b. 1933) have written humorous stories about the faults and foibles of man.

V. K. N. (V. K. Nārāyaṇan Kuṭṭi, b. 1932) has an original sense of humour. Among his many stories replete with wit, humour and the sting of satire, those that have the Payyan (The Chap, 1964) as the hero are very popular (*Payyanṯe Yātṛakaḷ*, 1969). This chap (Payyan) is clever, cunning and shrewd. Given to luxurious living, he loses himself in the fashionable life of the cities, picks opportune moments to establish contacts with men and women in high circles, exploits them, laughs at their hypocrisy, wanders aimlessly, yet sometimes he finds himself penniless and starves. These stories also attack with devastating sarcasm all the evil forces that dominate the political and social life of modern times. It was V. K. N. who brought squibs into Malayalam stories.

Subjectivity and Poetic Realism

The next phase of the modernization of the Malayalam short story begins with the third group of writers, who include T. Padmanabhan and M. T. Vasudevan Nair, among others. Writers of this group, who reached their youth after the Second World War witnessed the collapse of values and ideals in the post-Independent period. Disillusioned, these young writers became introspective. Their art is the expression of subjective thoughts and the feelings and sensibilities of lonely individuals. They are more aware of the potential of the literary form, and in their search for technique to convey their meanings fully, they have benefited from the methods of Henry James and James Joyce. In general, the writers of the third generation do not try to indulge in direct social criticism; neither do they claim to be social reformers. They have replaced realism with poetic individualism peeping into the mind of the character.

In T. Padmanabhan's (Padmanābhan, b. 1930) stories one realizes the presence of a lonely mind, distressed by the dissolution of ideals. His stories reveal a compassion that embraces all mankind. In some of them we find the sting of sharp sarcasm, in others the thirst for selfless love or beauty. Stories such as *Pṛakāśam Parattunna Peṇkuṭṭi* (The Girl who Emanates Light, 1955), *Stephen Fernandez* (1958) and *Makhan Siṅṅinṯe Maraṇam* (The Death of Makhan Singh, 1958) illustrate these different aspects. Makhan Singh, a bus driver, compassionately permits a penniless woman and her daughter, who had lost everything in communal rioting, to travel free in his bus. An inspector interferes, rebukes him and mercilessly throws the women out. The Punjabi driver, himself a victim of rioting and its bitter results, feels deeply hurt and painfully breathes his last in the driving seat. The narration of the incident is from the viewpoint of the driver, whose throbbing consciousness makes the catastrophe convincing.

M. T. Vasudevan Nair (Vāsudēvan Nāyar, b. 1933) is a prominent representative of this generation of story-writers. He brings a new sensibility to his stories of adolescent life in a decrepit family in his native village. His remarkable stories, depicting the decay of Nair families, focus on the appalling predicaments facing some of the men and women of such families. His later stories are based on themes about the loss of human values due to the impact of a materialistic modern world, where everything is valued in terms of money, power and position. *Iruṭṭinṯe Ātmāvu* (The Soul of Darkness, 1961), *Kuṭṭiēḍatti* (Elder Sister by Name Kuṭṭi, 1959), *Vittukaḷ* (Seeds) and *Bandhanam* (Fetters, 1963) are some of his best-known stories.

In *Iruṭṭinṯe Ātmāvu*, a masterpiece marking the growth of the genre, Vēlāyudhan, who loses both his father and

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mother, lives in the *taṛavāḍ* (the joint matriarchal family under the supremacy of the eldest uncle). The youngster develops symptoms of mental disorder, accelerated by ill-treatment and a lack of love and sympathy. He knows he is not mad, but no one heeds him. He is put in a cell. He escapes on one occasion and roams harmlessly about on the premises. But his relatives are frightened and put him in chains. He is terrorized and tortured by a cruel guard, and teased by the uncle. Velayudhan wishes he had a big knife to chop off the hands of his caretaker. He hates all in the household, except the beautiful Ammu, the daughter of his uncle, who used to express her tender feelings for him, occasionally. They were playmates in childhood; now he has sweet dreams of love. Ammu goes back to her home, and Velayudhan is told that her marriage has been arranged. He breaks his shackles and rushes out. People chase him. Some throw stones at him. Wounded and bleeding he runs to Ammu's house. She is frightened and screams, 'Madman, Madman!' The poor gasping creature is shocked to hear her. He turns back and runs to the *taṛavāḍ* where he cries to his uncle 'I am mad, put me in chains'. What you get in this story is the limpid consciousness of the character Velayudhan, with all the different shades of his feelings and sensations. The depiction of the tragedy of this lovelorn, maltreated youth, also critically reflects the condition of life in any ancient *taṛavāḍ*. The writer does not tell us what is happening, he just lets it happen. Here is a short story that is poetry.

The stories of Madhavikkutty (Kamalā Dās; pen-name Mādhavikkuṭṭi, b. 1934) shed new light on the subtle moods and strange workings of the human mind. She is strikingly original in her approach and style. Some of her stories probe the vagaries and psychology of sophisticated women in an affluent society, discontented in their sexual relationships. Stories such as, *Iṭanāḷiyile Kaṇṇāṭikaḷ* (Mirrors in Corridors, 1965) and *Caturaṅgam* (Chess, 1970) are memorable. Kamala Das also has written powerful, thought-provoking, symbolic stories on the theme of death. These are stories full of potent images, not wholly comprehensible, but strong in appeal. *Pakṣiyuṭe Maṇam* (The Smell of the Bird, 1964) and *Malañceruvil* (In the Mountain Slope, 1955) are examples of these. In such stories we discern the consciousness of the intellectual artist in the modern world. Her sensibility and subtlety are really unique.

The early stories of N. P. Muhammad (b. 1929) present a poignant picture of the distressing life of women in orthodox Muslim families. He sarcastically exposes the superstitious beliefs and customs prevalent in the community. His later stories reveal a new dimension in his approach. This is seen in *Kōḷi Mūnnuvaṭṭam Kūvi* (The Cock Crowed Thrice, 1963), *Kuraṅṅu* (The Monkey) and *Presiḍenṭiṇṭe Ādyatte Maraṇam* (First Death of the President, 1969), all steeped in lyricism and satire. He has also chosen themes rooted in social and domestic life. At times his approach is subjective and lyrical, but he is never illusory or pessimistic.

Experiences of Soldiers

Stories dealing with military life belongs to a special category. Gifted writers such as Kōvilan (pen-name of V. V. Ayyappan, b. 1923), Nandanār (pen-name of P. C. Gōpālan, 1926–74) and Pāṛappuṛattu (pen-name of K. E. Mathai, 1925–82) created true-to-life stories about soldiers, sharing their trials and tribulations as they live in the same barracks, but speak different languages and follow different customs and conventions. Their war stories throb with the feelings of men who have erased the boundaries of different states and become Indian. Kovilan descends into the very depths of life and depicts scenes full of horror and suffering. His *Boardout* (1953), *Orikkal Manuṣyanāyirunnu* (Once He Was a Man, 1953) and *Maṛupaṭi* (The Reply, 1966) are outstanding stories. Nandanar, on the other hand, writes delightful stories about the ordinary events in the life of a soldier, who is a human being no different from the reader. We see sparks of wit and humour, interspersed with tears.

In the war stories of these writers we get a vivid picture of life in their native villages also. During the latter half of their career as creative writers, they turned to their intimate and varied experiences in the social and domestic life of their villages. Nandanār sketches the life of families threatened with imminent ruin in the villages of Central Malabar. Pāṛappuṛattu portrays the varied problems faced by the middle-class Christian families of Central Travancore, in the process of creating unforgettable characters who struggle for existence in tragic situations, both domestic and social. Among his short stories *Bhayam* (Fear, 1959), *Piṛannāḷ* (Birthday, 1968) and *Oru Koccanujane Kuṛiccu* (About a Younger Brother, 1957) deserve special mention. Kovilan, grown more sensitive and philosophic in his attitude, responds vigorously to contemporary human problems.

Other Malayali writers with a wider perspective are those who have had occasion to live in other parts of India, especially in cities such as Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi. Several of them have written fine stories based on the various aspects of city life, and in these stories are found pictures of people of different customs and cultures. This has promoted a sympathetic understanding of the problems and experiences of people beyond provincial barriers. Another aspect of the short story of this period is the understanding portrayal of the life of hitherto unnoticed, or neglected communities such as the Christians and Muslims, as well as that of the life of downtrodden people. This, in a land like Kerala, where there are numerous castes and creeds, has promoted the cause of communal concord and social amity to a very large extent.

The common trends in the creative works of this group of

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writers, though individually they evince distinctive features are also reflected in the works of writers such as P. Valsala, Rajalakshmi, G. Vivekanandan, G. N. Panicker, Padmarajan, N. Mohanan, Jayadevan, Unnikrishnan Puthur, E. Vasu and Mohana Varma.

Revolutionary Spirit

The salient features of the next phase of the evolution of the Malayalam short story may be discerned in the writings of Kakkanadan, O. V. Vijayan, M. Mukundan, M. P. Narayanan Pillai, Zachariah, M. Sukumaran, Punathil Kunhabdulla, Setu and T. Ramachandran (T. R.). They have no illusions; consequently they face no disillusionments either. They are not pessimistic introverts, but rebels challenging the establishment, the widely-accepted principles of literary composition and all approved values. They raise questions—shocking, baffling questions never asked before. They do not tell realistic stories. Nor do they brood over their sentiments. Their subject-matter is the peculiar human condition found in the present world. In a highly mechanized world, where all values have been lost, Man has lost purpose as well as sense of belonging. As a consequence, the modern writer concentrates on the meaningless and fragmentary nature of human existence. All the writers of this generation are intellectuals who keep abreast of modern trends in world literature while being true to themselves. Some of them have been influenced by Sartre, Camus, Kafka and Ionesco. The theory of imitation and the movement of realism and its variations, are all discarded in the realm of literature and other arts. As observed by the critic Irving Howe, in his analysis of the 'Idea of the modern', the modern writer 'becomes entranced with the depths, depths of the city or the self, or underground or the slums, or the extremes of sensations induced by sex, liquor, drugs or the shadowed half-people scrambling through the interstices of society, lumpens, criminals, hipsters or the drives at the base of consciousness'. (*Literary Modernism*, ed. Irwing Howe, Fawcett Library, 1967). The modernists are highly conscious of the mode of expression, which have become most refined and sharpened. They freely use symbols, images and allusions from epics, myths, history, rituals, primitivism, world-literature, and from the frontiers of other learnings.

In *Śṛīcakṛam* (1970), Kakkanadan (Kākkanāḍan, b. 1935) illustrates how the artist is entranced by the depths of his self, 'the drives at the base of consciousness'. The drive is an inner thirst to realize, and to be one with, the spirit or the essence of truth behind the surface of the seeming world. The characters and situations in the story are symbolic creations. A painter has a beautiful woman as his model. But he is utterly dissatisfied sketching her and so turns an *Upāsaka* of the supreme spirit of beauty—the Mahadevi invoked by the magic of Vedic hymns. The conflict between material reality and spiritual thirst overpowers his conscious mind and in a frenzy he rends the delicate body of the living model before him. Here you are transported to the world of rituals and magic. The impact of the story is based on its unique texture and the characteristic quality of language and style. This is true of most of the stories of this group of writers. Most of them write no story as such, only a recognizable subject-matter, a summary of which, as the one given here, is not enough to convey the specific impact created in the mind of the reader.

Pṛabhātam Mutal Pṛabhātam Vare (From Morning to Morning) by M. Mukundan presents another instance of the human condition in the modern world. The story is based on the philosophy of existentialism and the state of alienation. The protagonist arrives at his native place, but finds himself a stranger on the railway platform. The train and the platform connotatively suggest the birth of man, from his mother's womb, into this world. He fails to identify the old servant Nāṇu Nair who has come to take him home. On the way, he asks him many questions about the trees and animals he sees. To the embarrassment of all, he then fails to identify even his own mother, father and wife. The last question he puts to the old man is: 'Nāṇu Nair, who am I?' The story is the projection and symbolic concretization of an idea. The world is outwardly prosperous and materially affluent, but for the intelligent and sensitive it has lost its meaning. It is this sense of meaninglessness that leads to the concept of alienation, absurdity and existentialism.

Another story, *Pāṛakaḷ* (Rocks, 1970) by O. V. Vijayan (Vijayan, b. 1931) visualizes the end of mankind. Belligerent nations, using nuclear weapons, are likely to exterminate life on earth. Rocks represent Mother Earth in such a stage. The two characters, the man Mrigāṅkamōhan and the woman Tān Wān, belonging to two warring nations, bring in the association of Adam and Eve. He has lost his three-year-old daughter, she has lost her son Chen, in the war. Both are profoundly sad. Stripped of their trappings they are simply Man and Woman, whose primitive instinct urges them to procreate. But they abstain from intercourse, because they have learnt from experience that to create life on earth is a sin. When life faces only destruction, creation is meaningless. So they decide to give away their lives. She kills him and then herself. The story is well-told with evocative images, allusions, suggestive terms and a rich poetic language. The writer in this work has created the new mythology of the Modern Age.

The writers of this group have enriched the short-story form considerably and the genre has reached a high level in their hands. Stories such as *Murukan Enna Pāmpāṭṭi* (Murukan the Snake-Charmer) and *George Āṛāmante Kōṭati* (The Court of George the Sixth) by M. P. Narayana Pillai, *Pṛapañcattinte Avaśiṣṭaṅṅaḷ* (The Remnants of the

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Universe) and *Maḷa* (The Rain) by Zakariah, *Varāntayil Ninnuḷḷa Kāḷca* (Sight from the Veranda) of Pattathuvila Karunakaran, a noteworthy story for its structural novelty, *Muppatu Vaysuḷḷa Orāḷ* (A Thirty-Year Old Man) and *Janāb Kuṉṉimūsā Hāji* by Sethu, *Tūkkumaraṅṅaḷ Nammaḷkku* (Gallows for Us) by M. Sukumaran, *Ārum pōkātta Vaḷi* (The Untrodden Path) and *Ākāśattinte Maṟupuṟam* (The Other Side of the Sky) by Punathil Kunjabdulla, *Ulpatti Vicāram* (Thoughts on the Origin) by T. Ramachandran illustrate the thematic diversities and formal development of the Malayalam short story in the modern period. All those stories were written in late sixties or seventies.

It is alleged that the modern short story writers are evading social problems and that they have no sense of social responsibility. That the observation is baseless can be proved by an objective and prudent analysis of their works. Some of the stories of the writers of the younger generation like V. P. Sivakumar, D. Vinayachandran, U. A. Khader, S. V. Venugopan Nair and Payipra Radhakrishnan are noteworthy in this respect. Their criticism of life is indirect and more pungent. They are angry men in revolt.

Select Short Stories—Special Anthologies

The periodicals in Malayalam made the short story one of the most popular branches of literature. The popularity of the form was further established by the publication of a special series of anthologies entitled *Tiraññeṭutta Ceṟukathakaḷ* (Selected Short Stories), by the Sāhitya Pṛavaṛtaka Sahakaraṇa Saṅgham (Writers Co-operative Society). About 30 to 40 short stories of an outstanding author have been selected and published in hard cover (about 400 pages) with a scholarly introduction written by a well-known critic. Beginning in 1964 about 24 such anthologies have been published so far, and even then all the prominent authors could not be covered. The experiment has been a great success.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that the genre at present is not enjoying the popularity it had till about the end of the sixties. This is because the authors have been using non-representational characters and displaying considerable intellectualism and abstractionism, demanding too much from the reader. The form of the short story, after all, has its limitations. The novel is the more popular form today and veteran writers such as Thakazhi, Kesava Dev and others had moved into the field before the fifties. Many of the prominent short story writers of the younger groups had also turned to the bigger canvas of the novel, or at least to the novelette in the sixties and seventies. In Malayalam, the short story writing has reached the point of 'crystallization'. To free themselves from the rigidity of form, many writers like N. P. Mohammed, O. V. Vijayan and M. T. Vasudevan Nair have turned to the more flexible form of novelette. The short novel is now coming into vogue in Malayalam.

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Marathi

K. J. PUROHIT

The history of the Marathi short story (laghukathā) divides conveniently into two broad periods—namely, the early period from 1854 to 1924 and the modern period beginning with 1925. This division, however broad, is very useful in so far as it helps us to find some basic facts about the evolution of the short story in Marathi over sufficiently distinct periods.

It is significant that the short story in Marathi is a very young literary form. It is merely an act of imagination to relate it to such forms of the story as *Hitōpadeśa*, stories from the *Pañcatantra* and the like, unless we strain after establishing relationships among all the things that exist in the subconscious mind of a writer or his community. The Marathi short story does not have a long tradition, and whatever tradition it has been able to establish over the last century has always been influenced by models from the West.

The Beginnings

To one Vishnu Ghanshyam, about whom little is known, goes the credit of publishing the first Marathi short story in a magazine called *Marāṭhī Dnyān Prakāś* in 1854. This was not a magazine devoted to the publishing of short stories or, for that matter, even light entertaining material. Its purpose was serious, namely, the dissemination of knowledge. Another fact of some significance is that in a period of four years it published only about fifteen stories. These stories do not follow the tradition of old Indian tales set by such well-known sources as the *Hitōpadeśa*, the *Vetāl-pañcavimśatī* and the like. They are not cast in the mould of moral tales or folk tales. Some scholars relate them to the influence of Boccaccio's *Decameron*. Maybe, this is a distant connection, a finding of an erudite and imaginative researcher. One thing, however, is certain; namely, the stories are secular. They deal with the doings of ordinary mortals whom we meet round the corner. Another feature which the Marathi short story shares with the short stories in other languages is that the form is linked with the history of periodicals. There are, all the same, a few features that distinguish the relationship of the early Marathi short stories with the early periodicals. The short story was not their main or even a constant feature. Short stories came in to serve their main aim of spreading 'knowledge'. (Reform has also been a 'theme' of American fiction, but the concept of reform has to be understood in the context of local conditions.) Since the literary standard expected of short stories was not very high, their irregular appearance cannot be put down to paucity of good material. The editors preferred a story with a modicum of instruction in it to any other literary piece. At best, both the editors and the writers of the short stories could be credited with the belief that their mission was to instruct first and then to delight. Often the stories were a crude expression of this twofold 'mission'.

The Karamaṇūka Era

The names of the magazines which brought out such a mixed fare are very eloquent. *Marāṭhī Dnyān Prasārak*, *Vividh Dnyān Vistār* and *Dnyān Saṅgraha* are names that emphasize *dnyān* (knowledge) as the common feature. The first magazine to publish what may be called the first modern Marathi story came on the scene later. The magazine in question is *Manōrañjan Āṇī Nibandha Candrikā*. Here for the first time we get a 'nominal' recognition for 'manoranjan' (or entertainment) but not quite without strings. It is tied with 'nibandha' (or the essay) whose purpose was educative. The first story under reference is called *Ekā Manjrācē Śāhāṇpaṇ* (The Wisdom of the Cat, 1888). The story draws a mildly entertaining and perceptive parallelism between human and animal wisdom. Here too we are not quite free from the burden of knowledge or wisdom. Gradually we are nearing the story that takes upon itself unashamedly the humble task of amusement. *Karamaṇūka* (Amusement, 1890) is the name of the major magazine devoted to the short story and fiction in general. Its editor was no less a person than Hari Narayan Apte (Harī Nārāyaṇ Āpṭē, 1864–1919), father of the modern Marathi novel. It may be noted here that in the first phase of its history the short story was consciously or unconsciously considered to be a second-grade form of writing and was at best regarded as a poor relation of the novel. Hari Narayan Apte, whose position as a novelist remains unequalled even to this day, could not produce stories to match his reputation in the novel. Out of his many stories—which he called *Sphuta Gośtī* (Diverse Tales, 1898)—only two or three—'Kāḷ Kathīṇ Ālā' (There Are Bad Times, 1896), 'Dōn Citrē' (Two Pictures) and 'Dyspepsia' (1898)—are fairly good. Artistically they are not worth much. 'Kāḷ Kathīṇ Ālā' may be remembered for its sympathetic picture of a family ruined by famine. Though Apte called his weekly *Karamaṇūk*, his writing tended to be reflective rather than amusing. He did, however, produce a very large number of stories, attracted many readers and also inspired writers like Kashibai Kanitkar

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(Kāśībāī Kāniṭkar, 1861–1948) and Anandibai Shirke (Ānandibāī Śirkē, b. 1892) to write sentimental stories in his style.

The Manōrañjan Era

The year 1895 is important for the Marathi short story because in that year appeared the magazine *Manōrañjan* (Entertainment). Apart from the fact that the stories henceforward became really entertaining, the *Manōrañjan* has to its credit two more laurels. For the next decade and more, in addition to offering to a growing readership a large number of indigenous stories, it introduced to Marathi readers translations of Bengali stories and adaptations of Conan Doyle's detective short fictions that had begun to appear in *The Strand* (1891). This must certainly have enhanced among writers and readers a taste for a well-knit plot and a secular social setting. The element of suspense and a modicum of characterization distinguished these stories and also made them very popular. It will thus be seen that in the first fifty years the short story developed very slowly. Its impact as a literary form, therefore, was quite limited. Only a few stories from that period deserve a place in the history of the form.

The next twenty years, though they belong primarily to drama and poetry, brought many developments in the short story. The form hereafter was to be much less dominated by the novel and showed signs of independent growth. The period could be called the period of the monthly, *Manōrañjan*, and of the well-known writer V. S. Gurjar (1885–1962), but this is significant only in a historical way. The really significant aspect was the variety of form and content the story experimented with. The two strains of the content —namely, romanticism and realism—are often traced to western influences gathered through increased reading. This is not a very convincing hypothesis. For one thing, books, except occasionally, are not the main cause of wide-ranging literary movements. Secondly, when a large number of practitioners show certain specific tendencies (and there were many practitioners of the short story along with Gurjar), the sources of their inspiration could well be found nearer home rather than in distant lands. The romantic and realistic trends that the short story showed so prominently were lifted directly from the drama which was at its best. Unfortunately the stories of this period were not only dramatic, but largely theatrical.

Though the reformist zeal of Hari Narayan Apte continued to inspire writers like Wagbhat Narayan Deshpande (Wāgbhaṭ Nārāyaṇ Deśpāṇḍē, 1892–1936) and Narayan Hari Apte (Nārāyaṇ Harī Āpṭē, 1889–1971), the main urge among the writers was to make the short story a vehicle of literary pleasure. Among these, Gurjar was the most important writer. He also translated Bengali stories, particularly those of Prabodhkumar Mukherjee. Indeed this was a period of translations. Tagore from Bengali, Premchand from Hindi, and Munshi from Gujarati, were some of the prominent Indian writers whose works became widely known to Marathi readers. Both translations and original stories built up a large readership. For this the names of Kashinath Raghunath Mitra (Kāśīnāth Raghunāth Mitra, 1871–1920), the editor of *Manōrañjan* and Gurjar, its main contributor, will always be remembered. Gurjar gave to the Marathi story neatness of shape, lucidity of language. familiar characters and themes like love-marriage. He is often criticized for being sentimental and superficial. This is not unjust criticism, but to consider Gurjar's influence a baneful one is to carry the point too far.

It is true that the stories written in this period, whether in the romantic or realistic vein, vie with each other in being trite and commonplace. The creditable aspect of this situation is that the stories take in their stride a very large number of themes, social, political and philosophical, on a scale till then unknown. This also led to much variety in technical experimentation. A short story was no more an abridged version of a novel; it had its distinct form. The variety of shapes that the short story has registered cannot be easily ignored, and in this regard it is a precursor of the 'new story' that appeared on the scene in the middle forties. Animal, mythical, allegorical and symbolic stories, and phantasies—all these were tried, though not always with any special distinction. According to Ram Kolarkar (Rām Kolārkar, b. 1935), an indefatigable student of the short story, N. K. Behare (Bēharē, 1890–1958), who wrote mythical stories in this period, did for the Marathi story what Gogol did for the Russian and Irving for the American story. Whether one accepts or rejects Kolarkar's enthusiastic advocacy of Behare, it cannot be gainsaid that Behare had not got his due from the critics. Apart from the fact that an enthusiastic critic or a partisan reviewer can distort history—at least for some time—this only means that the short story was coming of age during the early twenties since it admitted of more than one type of assessment. The twenties and the subsequent period make it difficult for a critic or reader to be absolutely objective in his understanding and appreciation of writers and literary movements. All said and done, Behare's stories like 'Kālamāpan' (Measure of Time, 1921) and 'Tyāg' (Sacrifice, 1916) are very significant.

The Modern Era

The year 1922 saw the publication of Diwakar Krishna's (Divākar Kṛṣṇa, 1902–73) stories, an event regarded by many as a landmark. Even some of the moderns who think that before them there existed no Marathi short story in the real sense, also concede a place of honour to Diwakar Krishna. Diwakar Krishna retrieved the short story from the lure of 'commercial success' and gave to it depth of

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feeling and perception. His stories have the same emotional impact as a Tagore story. This in itself was an advance since Marathi readers had till then been fed on the Bengali stories of Prabodh Kumar Mukherjee which were highly contrived and sentimental. Though Diwakar Krishna's stories like 'Mṛṇālinīcē Lāvaṇya' (Mrinalini's Beauty, 1924) and 'Aṅganātalā Pōpat' (A Parrot in the Courtyard) look conventional, their emotional bearings are new and genuine. But this assessment is not acceptable to some critics who feel that Diwakar Krīshna was guilty of emotionalism like his predecessor Gurjar and his successor V. S. Khandekar (Khāṇḍēkar, 1898–1976), both very popular story writers. These critics consider Diwakar Krishna's contemporary G. G. Limaye (1891–1971) father of the Modern Marathi short story. Limaye, who had stopped writing by the 1930s for a long time and had been regarded as being mainly a humorous writer, was thus awarded the place of a pioneer after his death. Limaye's stories 'Kismat' (Fate, 1922) and 'Mechano' (1923) no doubt are modern in spirit. The former describes the uncertainty of fate hanging over the life of a soldier on the front, while the latter deals with the mental state of an elderly woman who by chance sees a man who could well have chosen her as his wife. The two stories no doubt mark important departures in the history of the Marathi short story. Some critics do not accept this 'canonization' of Limaye. Such extreme critical reactions can be understood if we remember the fact that there have been critics and writers from time to time who have taken the position that the short story, as it were, came out of a vacuum or had no mentionable history before they came on the scene. With 1925 comes to an end the first phase of the history of the short story. By then it had struck root as an important branch of writing and become very popular. It was no more a by-product in literature. It had reached a stage where controversies were not only natural but also necessary.

Popular Story

After 1925 N. S. Phadke (Phaḍkē, 1894–1978) dominated the scene for a long period. Phadke had begun his innings earlier but the post–1925 period really belonged to him. If V. S. Khandekar shared the period with him, it must be noted that he was not allowed to do so easily by his illustrious and versatile contemporary. Khandekar had to fight for his place. The two writers were essentially novelists and had a tremendous influence not only on their contemporaries but also on their successors. But their contribution to the short story cannot be ignored. There are, no doubt, modernists who would recognize a quantitative merit only in their contribution. This would be totally unfair. Apart from the fact that they made the short story more popular than ever by their performance and precept they also familiarized the readers with the hitherto unknown possibilities inherent in this form and thereby expanded its range. The role of some monthlies like *Ratnākar*, *Yeśvant* and *Kirlōskar* in giving to the short story both status and popularity cannot be overestimated. The short story also served as a vehicle of social change to the extent possible. It is not only fashionable but right to criticise Phadke for his triteness, superficiality, and artificiality but he must also be praised for inculcating in the readers an awareness of modernity in both a literary and a psychological sense. Perhaps the well-made popular story swallowed whatever little art was there originally in him. His role as a modern practitioner and interpreter of the art of story writing, his unquestioned effort at making Marathi prose elastic and expressive cannot be ignored except by the bigot. Some of his stories like 'Khoṭī Prēmkathā' (A Phoney Love-story, 1934), 'Koṇḍmārā' (Suffocation, 1935), 'Lōḷ' (Blaze, 1938), 'Mānūṣ Jagatō Kaśāsathi' (What Does a Man Live For?, 1932) etc. are outstanding. The last one is a story of two clerks, one disgusted with his lot and the other taking an optimistic view of life always hoping for better things to come. In a mood of extreme despondency he is saved from suicide charmed by beautiful music, while his 'optimistic' and 'hopeful' colleague dies of the excessive joy he feels when he wins a lottery. 'Why does a man live?', 'Because he cannot die'. 'Why does a man die?', 'Because he cannot live'. Life and death become meaningless in the context of the human situation over which no man has any control.

Even those moderns who frown upon Khandekar for his over-emtotionalism, naive humanism, crude sensationalism and ornate diction have to concede him his transparent sincerity. No other Marathi writer has won such a large readership in Maharashtra and other regions, through translations. It is presumptuous to suggest, as has been done, that even if all his stories (and they are legion) were drowned, the Marathi story would not be a whit poorer. His simplistic stories have provoked extreme responses, ranging from veneration to disgust. Such extreme and pathological reactions apart, his stories like 'Āg' (Fire, 1945), 'Yantra' (Machine, 1936) and 'Phāṭkā Shirt' (The Torn Shirt, 1940) are memorable. They are neither sentimental nor laboured but have a dignified and deep pathos about them. Another important contribution of Khandekar's lies in the direction of allegorical stories. In this he was obviously influenced by the Lebanese writer and savant Kahlil Gibran, whom he introduced to the Marathi reader with his translations and interpretations; but a deeper influence on Khandekar is of the Indian tradition which has a special love of allegory. However, one may grudge him the credit for it. Khandekar popularized the allegory, made it come alive again. One may no longer accept his idealism as seen in his stories like 'Śikār' (Hunt, 1938) 'Cakorāni Cātak' (The Cakor and the Chatak, 1938) and 'Ārsēmahāl (The Chamber of Mirrors, 1938) but his contribution to the revival of the allegorical story has proved inspiring to subsequent writers.

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After the Thirties

After the thirties, V. V. Bokil (Bokīl, 1903–73), D. R. Kavathekar (Kavathēkar, 1900–78), G. L. Thokal (Thōkal, b. 1909) and Laxmanrao Sardesai (Lakṣmaṇrāv Sardesāī, b. 1904) became quite popular with the readers. Bokil could write with facility in both the humorous and the pathetic vein. Kavathekar could turn out something very moving, often excessively so. Thokal introduced the rural scene in a spicy way. Laxmanrao Sardesai, with his Goan background, offered luscious romantic tales. V. S. Sukhtankar (Sukhtankar, 1903–78) had used the same locale for more rugged realism. He was, in fact, the pioneer in the short story with an authentic rural background. R. V. Dighe (Dighé, b. 1896), who made a mark in the novel with his romantic and intense portrayal of the rural scene—particularly of the life of the aboriginals—, also wrote a few striking short stories with the same setting and in the same vein. In spite of all this, by the forties the short story had become very effete. There were writers like P. S. Manjrekar (Māñjrēkar, b. 1909) and K. S. Daundkar (Dauṇḍkar, 1905–60), who tried to write differenty, but were not very successful. Generally speaking, the short story was becoming more and more romantic. Even if it had a facade of realism, it shared excessive emotionalism with its romantic counterpart. As in the earlier period the market-oriented story outdistanced the artistic. This happened either because there were two sets of writers representing the two brands, or some writers after beginning as artists fell to the lure of commercial success. This often makes it necessary for a historian to trace the growth of the story through the writings of some less known writers.

Three women made a mark during this period by giving significant expression to feminine sensibility. Kamalabai Tilak (Kamalābaī Tilak, b. 1905), Krishnabai (pen-name of Muktabāī Dīkṣit, b. 1901) and Vidhavari Shirurkar (Vibhāvarī Śirūrkar; pseud. of Mālatibāī Bedekar, b. 1905) had a social awareness combined with an edgy individualism. Vibhavari Shirurkar had in addition a touch of rebellion about her writing. Her book *Kaḷyāncē Niśvās* (The Sighs of Buds, 1933) at once made a tremendous impact as an expression of the feminine urge for justice. Another writer of the period who did valuable work was Kumar Raghuvir (pen-name of Raghuvīr G. Samant, b. 1909). He wrote some excellent short stories in the form of sketches like his 'Chinese Hawker', which should have been better appreciated. He belongs to that unfortunate tribe of writers whose excellent work goes unrecognized or poorly recognized. Most of the recognition at that time was, as it were, cornered by Phadke and Khandekar. They could get away with almost anything they wrote.

Some very important writers of other forms also enriched the short story in their particular ways. B. V. (Māmā) Varerkar (1883–1964), dramatist first and novelist next, wrote a large number of short stories and distinguished himself, as in most of his novels, by his favourite material—the industrial worker in Bombay, drawn from the Konkan region, and the contentious woman who sets herself against male domination, for instance—and his simple, direct expression. Anant Kanekar (Anant Kāṇekar, 1905–80), whose poetry and personal essays provided new directions n those forms, also wrote a few short stories which, like his essays, turned accepted moral formulae upside down, and mocked the didactic writers, as it were. P. K. Atre (1898–1969), an outstanding figure in several forms of writing, and in public life as well, used the short story too for his humour, his greatest asset. C. V. Joshi (Jōṣī, 1892–1963) and Shamrao Oke (Śāmarāv Ok, b. 1907), both distinguished humourists, found in the short story a convenient framework for their comic characters and situations.

The Experimenters of the Thirties

Three writers, Kusumavati Deshpande (Kusumāvati Dēśpāṇḍe, 1904–61), Waman Chorghade (Wāman Corghaḍē, b. 1914) and Y. G. Joshi (Jōṣī, 1901–63) tried to withstand the onslaught of the popular story to an appreciable extent.

Kusumavati Deshpande with her fine sensibility and chiselled expression gave to the short story a form akin to an intimate personal essay and a content informed with a rich personality. A short story of hers like 'Gawātācē Pātē' (A Blade of Grass, 1935) brings out her strength and weakness at once. If the range of her stories was limited, she more than made up for this by the honesty and depth of her feelings.

Waman Chorghade was certainly the most distinguished story writer of the period whose powers could last for a long time. He brought a lyrical freshness of form, enriched by diverse strains such as youthful idealism, impact of folk literature, rawness of experience, all captured in a highly cultivated language and an awareness of the unusual possibilities of the short story. Though often adolescent and nostalgic, his sensitivity has a strength of its own to choose its variegated expression. In this sense he, more than any other writer, freed the short story from conventional techniques without making it formless. His style, though a little self-conscious, is highly communicative and subtle. 'Ghār' (A Kite, 1940) and 'Gangasnāna' (A Bath in the Ganga, 1936) are two of his lovely stories. The third luminary of the period, Y. G. Joshi, wrote stories in a more unorthodox style than any of the others. Unspoilt by 'academic' and 'literary' learning, he developed a style that could be chatty, satirical, sentimental and above all effective. His stories, rooted in social conservatism, are often shapeless, but, all the same, moving. Stories like 'Supārī' (Betelnut, 1932) cannot be dismissed as sob-stuff; they reflect genuine middle-class feelings. In a story like 'Samōr Paḥāṇārī Mulagī' (A Girl Who Looks Ahead, 1933) Joshi gives a foretaste of the

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glories and excesses of the formless story which was to be later popularized by those called 'the New Short Story' writers.

Navakathā (The 'New' Short Story)

Three writers whose contributions distinguished them appeared on the scene: B. Raghunath (pen-name of B. R. Kulkarni, 1914–53), D. B. Mokashi (b. 1914) and Shantaram (pen-name of K. J. Purohit, b. 1923). Death cut short the promise held out by the first, while the other two carried on their good work along with a group of four writers, Gangadhar Gadgil (b. 1923), Arvind Gokhale (b. 1919), P. B. Bhave (1910–80) and Vyankatesh Madgulkar known as the 'New Story' writers and dominated the scene. Mokashi and Shantaram have more noticeable links with the past and have also shown a greater staying power. Shantaram is demurely admitted into the fold of the 'new' writers. Much of the critical dust that the 'new' short story raised has now settled down, with an unchallenged acknowledgement that those writers did something that could not be achieved by earlier writers however talented they might have been. Those writers finally established the modern short story as a literary form as respectable as the novel or the drama. From them it got a strong critical credo. This was made possible by the efforts of not only the four writers, who have to be discussed separately, but by two knowledgeable editors, Anant Antarkar (1911–66) and S. P. Bhagwat (Bhāgvat, b. 1923), the latter sponsoring in a big way the new wave in writing, be it the short story, poetry or drama. Three monthly magazines *Huns*, *Satyakathā* and *Abhiruci* built round themselves a nucleus of new writers that grew into a powerful literary movement. The role of *Satyakathā* under the guidance of Bhagwat was outstanding. Three critics, W. L. Kulkarni (Kulkarṇī, b. 1911), R. B. Joshi (Jōṣī, b. 1903) and Gangadhar Gadgil gave the new story the necessary critical foundation. Gangadhar Gadgil both as a creative writer and a critic played the role of a pioneer.

The 'new' short story writers not only wrote with gusto but also defended their writing with zeal and determination. Gadgil and Bhave entered into polemics with Phadke, and defended the 'new' short story. Bhave's defence is now no more than a historical event almost forgotten. Gadgil spelt out with vigour, skill and conviction some of the features of this 'new writing'. A deeper awareness of reality at different levels of consciousness, an acceptance of different levels of consciousness, and brands of psychology and psychoanalysis, an exposure of the mixed and uncertain nature of man, an uninhibited probe into sex with its unpredictable impact on human behaviour, a desperate effort to adjust with the inner and outer realities, the resultant success and failure—more failure than success—the modern man's anguish and cynicism: these became the major themes, and called for new forms of expression which the new story writers produced with amazing success.

Of the quadrumvirate Gadgil is the first in every sense. For one thing, his short story truly represents all that it claims to be and was easily the most powerful trend-setter. Dnyaneswar Nadkarni (b. 1928), Vidyadhar Pundalik (b. 1925), S. D. Panwalker (b. 1928), all good writers by themselves, have grown under the influence of Gadgil. Though a Gadgil story is sometimes too neat and clever, by and large, it is a product of a very masterly handling of material that is difficult to hold together. The complexities of the human personality (in 'Gicmid', Welter, 1947), its mixed nature (in 'Kadū āṇī Gōd', Bitter and Sweet, 1947), life's mixture of the noble and the pathetic (in 'Bōṭ Budālī', The Boat Went Under), the loss of identity that an urbanized life brings about ('Bin Cehryācī Sandhyākāḷ', and A Faceless Evening, 1952) are some of the modern themes, (the 'angst' of mechanised life) captured by Gadgil as no other writer has. Though often unsympathetic and cynical as in 'Kidlelī Māṇse' (Rotten Men, 1946), Gadgil can be very humane as in 'Tē Doḷē' (Those Eyes, 1950) or very soft and understanding as in 'Talāwātle Cāndṇē' (The Moonlight in the Lake, 1952). 'Kadū āṇī Gōd deals with the complexities of a joint Hindu family with its smothering atmosphere at different levels. It portrays the dying world of 'an old house' which still retains some obscure attraction, mother-in-law, the elder and younger sister-in-law and the mildly romantic daughter-in-law are all skilfully etched characters whose actions and reactions form the core of the story. It does not, therefore, follow a straight narrative technique. The story is built up by balancing these actions and reactions. Gadgil has done this with a rare mixture of delicacy, cynicism and playfulness.

Gokhale, the steadiest of the group, has touched upon the largest number of situations and characters. He has the knack of perceiving the fantastic in the midst of the commonplace, and has a positive social awareness that is beautifully aligned with the artistic requirements of the story. He probes small men for their greatness and produces outstanding characters, as he has done in such memorable stories as 'Riktā', 'Mañjuḷā', 'Abhōgī' and 'Kokarāci Gōsta'. In 'Mañjuḷā' Gokhale narrates the travail of a working woman living in a big city and commuting by crowded trains. Everyday during the journey she is pushed and pulled leaving her totally crushed. The greatest mortification is waiting for her at 'home'—a euphemism for a room in a tenement where her husband 'wants' her as a woman. The poor devil cannot be blamed either because he too deserves to be understood. All this creates no joy but engenders utter distaste for the body beautiful. 'Mañjuḷā' recaptures the horrors of city life without being loud or propagandist at any stage of the story. Though he tends to be formalistic at times, Gokhale has certainly saved the modern short story from being shapeless.

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Bhave, the romantic, who wrote 'Satrāvē Varśa' (The Seventeenth Year, 1947) has very little to do with the kind of modernism of which Gadgil was once an able spokesman. His association with the 'new short story' can be defended only on the strength of his extremely poetic writing with its remarkable freedom, as in stories like 'Mukti' (Salvation) and 'Rūp' (Looks). 'Mukti' is an extraordinary story in the sense that it is a story about life here and the beyond. This phantasy tells us about a martyr who is to be hanged for his patriotism. Though attached to the nook and corner of the earth, the hero is thrilled at the prospect of emancipation and then a journey in another glorious world. He is aflame with joy. The description of nature that Bhave presents in this story is breathtaking. 'Mukti' begins with the onset of spring in a hill station and the atmosphere of spring and joy is retained in the midst of or rather in spite of death. It is a prose-poem and has the grandeur of an epic. Its repetitive style is one of the rare feats of writing. Bhave can be both very powerful as in 'Pāśāṇa' (Stone) and 'Vairī' (Foe) and delicate as in 'Svapna' (Dream) and 'Sīmevar' (At the Frontier). Indeed Bhave gave to the short story an unparalleled grandeur which is sometimes swamped by a plethora of words, of which he is a master.

The inclusion of Vyankatesh Madgulkar (Vyaṅkaṭeś Māḍgūḷkar, b. 1927) in this group of four has been a critical convention, but it is not altogether above question. This apart, Vyankatesh Madgulkar's stories are absolutely free from romantic agony though they are steeped in the pathos of rural India. He is never maudlin. He can suffer bravely and, if need be, laugh at the rigours of the situation that the villagers have to face. The sincerity with which he has etched countless memorable characters—the landless labourer, the brigand, the cobbler, the small *kulak* to mention only a few—is of a rare kind. Madgulkar, to use the language from another medium, has a thin line but it is definitive. His sketches of the land and its people as in 'Kāḷi Āi'(Black Mother-Earth) are therefore always alive. 'Kāḷi Āi' depicts the story of a farmer who, forced by circumstances, agrees to sell his land. At the actual moment of sale he commits a breach of agreement by refusing to sell his prized land which he looks upon as a mother. He is ready to pay for the consequences of this breach of promise. The story without being sentimental at any stage brings out a farmer's attachment to land, a relationship as real as a human relationship. Madgulkar succeeds in giving a moving but thoroughly objective picture of the land and its people. With this objective style of writing Madgulkar set a new trend of writing on rural themes and background. In a story like 'Service Bus' (1948) he shows a painful awareness of social change, but he is never pedantic or propagandistic. He certainly has the depth of the social sympathy of his mentor S. M. Mate (Mātē, 1886–1957) but, artistically, he has advanced far ahead of all the 'rural' writers.

D. M. Mirasdar (Mirāsdār, b. 1930), Shankar Patil (Śaṅkar Pāṭīl, b. 1926), R. R. Borade (Bōrādē, b. 1940), Uddhav Shelke (Uddhav Śēlkē, b. 1931) and Anand Yadao (Ānand Yādav b. 1935) are all fine writers in their own right, but they cannot deny the benevolent influence of Vyankatesh Madgulkar. They excel in writing on rural life and can evoke genuine pathos and humour. D. B. Mokashi, whose understanding of the child's mind is incisive, wrote a number of beautiful stories on that theme. 'Goṣṭīcī Mōhinī' (The Lure of a Story, 1949) is one of such stories. Stories like 'Khuṇā' (Signs), 'Ticī Bhīti' (Her Fear) and 'Thāmb janā jāun Yetō' (Wait, I will Return after a While) are remarkable for their quiet and restrained style. 'Thāmb janā jāun yetō' is one of Mokashi's appealing stories. The hero in this story one day does not return home from his work. His sudden disappearance gives rise to speculation and rumour among the neighbours and acquaintances. Needless to say that their probing comments, though typical, do not do any credit to them. This situation of the sudden disappearance of a mature person has its touch of pathos also. He returns after a couple of months as suddenly and unobtrusively as he had gone. A sudden desire to get away from it all and go to a small place of pilgrimage, a place of one's roots as it were, had caused this situation. Mokashi effortlessly makes this rare situation look absolutely normal and genuine. Mokashi is too restrained and chaste in his taste to be classed with the moderns, though in terms of formal experimentation he is no doubt one.

Shantaram (Śāntārām, K. J. Purohit, b. 1923), whose forte has always been the mood story—like 'Śirwā' (Shower), 'Naśā' (Intoxication), 'Vādhvēl' (Late Hour)—is noted for his subtle unravelling of the human psyche. This he does more by catching the out-of-the-ordinary responses rather than by stock psychoanalysis. Sometimes he is charged with being too detached from his themes—an impression he gives because of his studied avoidance of stock responses. Shantaram's 'Khār' (Squirrel) is a symbolic story on the creative activity. In a mood of undefinable restlessness a poet goes out for a walk in the evening. In the twilight he meets a squirrel. They 'recognize' each other. She does not allow him to touch her but teases him for not having written a poem for a long time. He tells her that he is no more a poet but realizes in a gush that he can still write. In a trance he returns home. Coming down to the usual unpoetic mood he wonders as to who the squirrel was. Was it his wife? Maybe. The poetic trance has gone and he is again his dull, sad self. 'Khār' combines lyricism and symbolism with a light-footed fancy. As he did a quarter century ago in 'Khār', even today he throws up an extraordinary symbolic story like 'Vāgha' (Tiger). He is considered to have retained the freshness of his style over a remarkably long period.

An Established Form

Apart from the specialists, there were writers like Maha-

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devasastri Joshi (b. 1906), Sadanand Rege (b. 1923), Vasundhara Patwardhan (b. 1917), S. J. Joshi (b. 1915), Acyat Barve (b. 1927), Shanta Shelke (b. 1921), Tara Vanarase, M. M. Karnik (b. 1933), Sarita Padki (b. 1928), and even the bold H. M. Marathe (b. 1940), who could always be depended upon for a good story.

In spite of all the critical gloss it was evident that the group of four (the new story writers) was a heterogenous group. It soon fell apart and the members began disclaiming one another. Their writing became highly self-conscious and lost its natural verve. Even with all this it must be conceded that the new story writers ushered in a brilliant period of powerful, iridescent writing. They opened the flood-gates of original and multi-shaped expression which inspired writers like Anand Jategaokar, Vilas Sarang, Naresh Kavadi, Anil Dange, Ratnakar Patwardhan, Ambika Sirkar, V. B. Prabhudesai and others. It must, however, be noted that most of these young and old writers require some kind of a prop in terms of psychological or philosophical theorising. Surely the pure short story could be a possibility as much as pure poetry is.

Happy are the readers of Sharatchandra Chirmule (Śaratcandra Cirmule, b. 1931), Vijaya Rajadhyaksha (Vijayā Rājādhyakṣa; b. 1933) and Gouri Deshpande (Gourī Deśpāṇḍē, b. 1942). Unlike other important writers, these three do not call for any aids on the part of the readers to understand and appreciate them. Though the form of Chirmule's stories like 'Sriśillak' (Balance, 1964) is not very new, its probe into the depth of the human personality is outstanding. Vijaya Rajadhyaksha, who is at ease with different situations, is particularly arresting when she deals with typical feminine feelings as in 'Kamal' and 'Videhi' (The Bodyless) which describes the 'exploration' of a husband to know what the woman really is. The exploration, though it is to be done through and with the body, leads you to the spirit that the woman embodies, the spirit of creation. The husband who has seen her 'flesh' sees her in the actual act of giving birth to a child. The two 'too solid' flesh no more appears as such. You and perhaps she are witnesses at the great eternal drama of creation where awareness of the mere body is replaced by a greater awareness of the disembodied spirits of man and woman. Vijaya Rajadhyaksha writes with a rare mastery about women's themes which go beyond the trivial and the earthy. Gouri Deshpande carries her modernity very lightly as few writers can do. E. V. Josi (b. 1921), Vijay Tendulkar (b. 1928), the dramatist, and C. T. Khanolkar (1930–76), the poet, also have written some top-grade stories. Ambadas Agnihotri (Ambādās Agnihōtrī, 1913–78), who wrote under the pen name Māṇūṣ, should have got a better rating than he has.

Later Trends

Three other writers, Dilip Chitre (b. 1938), Kamal Desai (b. 1928) and above all, G. A. Kulkarni (b. 1922) arrest our attention, however short a survey we make of the Marathi short story. Dilip Chitre, who is also a poet, combines in his stories sensibilities that are both ancient and modern. This is one reason why the stories, though bold, lack the necessary communication. 'Orpheus' is a story about the writer who visits a cemetery in a foreign land and comes across a tomb of some unknown Anna born on the same day as the author. He projects the myth of Orpheus and Euridice on the dream-relationship between himself and the unknown girl. While coming out of the cemetery he did not look back and is therefore 'rewarded' with the sexual company of a heavily painted girl named Anna. A story evoking artistic ambiguity, 'Orpheus' creates problems of communication and is almost esoteric. With him the Marathi short story reached the realm of surrealism. Chitre's and to some extent Khanolkar's, efforts are breathtaking, but they have not gone beyond the stage of 'efforts'.

Kamal Desai is another consummate writer. She seems to suppress feelings with the result that they bounce out of her stories, as it were. In a story like 'Mahādēvawāḍī' (1962), she reaches the depths of an ego-centric personality moving in a time pattern all her own. Stories like 'Raṅg' (Colour, 1962) and 'Tilā Banda' (Close Sesame, 1962) demonstrate Kamal Desai's grip of the stream of consciousness moving in altogether unexpected directions. 'Tilā Banda' tells us about one Urmila Raje, a school teacher, who is persuaded to act in an amateur production of a play about Robert and Elizabeth Barret Browning. This haughty, tense, standoffish young woman enters the spirit of the character of Elizabeth in spite of herself. The Browning of the play cannot understand her; in fact none can. Is it possible that for her not Shrinivas who acted Robert but Chandrashekhar who 'forces' her to act and who 'nursed' her is the Browning? Chandrashekhar already has a wife. The drama is over. After all it was a passing phase. A lot remains unsaid and will remain so. It has only to be felt and Kamal Desai whose narration moves in various directions makes you feel and think a lot.

G. A. Kulkarni is regarded as the doyen of contemporary Marathi short story writers. He was awarded the Sahitya Akademi Award for his collection, *Kājaḷ Māya* (1972). His story has run the gamut of modern expression as in 'Māṇūṣ Nāvāca Bētā (A Chappie Called), 'Kesāb' (Man Butcher), 'Kairi' (Raw Mango) and 'Guntavaḷ' (Jangle). 'Kairi', is one of the outstanding stories in the language. It is a story of the lost childhood of a poor boy who is brought up by his aunt whose life has always been like crumpled paper. The boy, taught by a stammering teacher, learns the harsh realities of life, builds dreams symbolized by peacocks but for him the peacocks never danced. An excellent story dealing with the sensitivity of a growing child and a frustrated woman, 'Kairi' goes much beyond the obvious and suggests to us in a mood of real pathos

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how for some even simple dreams remain dreams for ever. The pain of existence in Kulkarni's art becomes a rich source of art-experience. With his long stories like 'Eskilār' (1975) and 'Vidūṣak' (Clown, 1972), he has reached the grandeur of the epic style. In his allegories he has spelt out and interpreted the meaning of the constant journey, the constant search of the unknown through the known, a painful but a grand process. As an allegory, a G. A. Kulkarni story might raise some problems of artistic relevance, but here is a writer, who has often raised the short story to the stature of an epic—almost an impossible literary entity in the modern world.

The Marathi short story, after such a long and distinguished journey, seems to be cooling its heels in the seventies. In spite of many masterpieces it gives us the impression of being jaded and tired. Are we at the end of the journey, to rest contented with the very popular public programmes of story-telling by V. P. Kale and some others because it has now become almost a performing art? Questions like these have yet to be answered. Even the missionary zeal of writers like Baburao Bagul (b. 1931), who wrote that disturbing piece, 'Mī jāt Cōrlī Hōtī' (I Concealed My Caste), or Shankarrao Kharat (b. 1921), who wrote 'Saṅgāvā' (Message)—writers who represent the rebellion of the downtrodden has not gone beyond holding a faint promise of rescue.

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Oriya

NITYANANDA SATPATHY

A Climate for Short Fiction

The year 1866 witnessed an unprecedented famine in Orissa that left several thousands dead. Many others fled from their homes to Calcutta and Rangoon in search of food and employment. It was the time when the very existence of Oriya was threatened by some vested interests with a plea that it was only a dialect of Bengali. It was also the time when the first short story writer of Orissa, Fakirmohan Senapati (Fakīr Mōhan Sēnāpati, 1843–1918), like a true and spirited 'commander' in the battlefield as his name signifies, took up the task of invigorating the language with his literary creations and even by writing text books for school children. This endeavour was soon followed by similar attempts by poets like Radhanath Roy (Rādhānāth Rōy, 1848–1908) and Madhusudan Rao (Madhusūdan Rāo, 1853–1912), two other leading names in the field of modern Oriya literature. Journals and periodicals were published to highlight local problems along with contributions in creative writing. Debating societies, cultural organizations and literary clubs were established with a view to bringing Oriya language into the limelight.

This was the time when English education was slowly making its way into this part of the country. There were only a few English schools and the only college was the one established at Cuttack in the year 1868. To cater to the needs of the school and college syllabi, some pioneer Oriya writers wrote lyrics and essays and translated different topics from either Sanskrit or English literature. Old literature was recovered from palm-leaf manuscripts and were edited and published. Thus a base for modern literature was laid in the seventies of the last century and this gave rise to creative writing in poetry, fiction, drama and the essay during the last two decades of the century.

The First Attempt—Fakir Mohan Senapathi. Till 1896 the art of short story writing was practically unknown to Oriya literature. 'Rēbati' (1898), a story about a tragic character of rural Orissa written by Fakirmohan Senapati, was perhaps the first real story in the language in the modern sense. This

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story was a landmark in Oriya literature for depicting the tragic destiny of a timid village girl whose high hopes for education, womanhood and domestic peace were all broken because of superstition and dogma.

The story marked indeed a conflict of values and generations. This conflict was prolonged for over six decades from the middle of the last century. Fakirmohan adopted this tension as the base material for his short stories. He hammered against the fantasy and the fanaticism of the people and tried to find a way out of the crisis. He wrote as many as four novels and twenty short stories where he highlighted the evils of the society in realistic terms. He spoke against prostituion and addiction to liquor in his famous story 'Patent Medicine', against bridesale, in 'Birei Biśāl (A Title Story), against the tyranny of usury in Adharma Bitta (Ill-got property) and many other blind customs that prevailed in a dogma-ridden society. But he spoke of them in an extremely charming and meaningful way. He possessed a powerful colloquial and popular style which quite captivated the common reader. His stories have stood the test of time with their humanistic outlook, powerful descriptive style and satirical note. Though serious in tone he did not lack a sense of humour. His story 'Patent Medicine', for example, provides rollicking humour by describing how a housewife brought her erring husband to his senses by the brisk use of her broom.

An impartial critic, however, had to admit that the stories of Fakirmohan, with all their appeal and charm, lack brevity and sometimes appear as short tales. He has, no doubt, given the Oriya language a strong foundation to develop a colossal structure on. Mayadhar Mansingh, a poet and critic of Orissa, has observed that 'the short stories of Fakirmohan are not many, but each is a gem and reveals a strange new world' (*History of Oriya Literature*—1st ed. p. 176). With his masterly handling of rural speech, the racy idiom of the common folk closely attached to nature and the soil, Senapati could claim a prominent position among the Indian writers of his time.

The Role of Periodicals. It may not be out of place to mention the role of the periodicals in the growth of the Oriya short story. Periodicals like *Utkal Sāhitya* (1897) under the editorship of Biswanath Kar (Biśvanāth Kar, 1864–1934) and *Mukur* (1906) under Braja Sundar Das (Brajsundar Dās, 1880–1942) and later *Sahakār* (1919) edited by Balkrishna Kar (Bālkṛṣṇa Kar, 1857–1957) maintained high literary standards and continually encouraged the publication of short stories. It is a fact of history that Fakirmohan always wrote under the loving demand of *Utkal Sāhitya* and its editor Biswanath Kar, who later became a close friend of the former. Most of the short stories of this period deal with certain common topics such as women's education, child marriage, the dowry system, the problem of widows in society, usury, the oppression of landlords, the patriotic upsurge among the people and their traditional religious beliefs. The trends they highlight reflect a national awareness relating to the unification of Oriya-speaking tracts and Indian Independence, the need for reform in society and the conflict between old and new values as an inevitable consequence of modern education. Besides Fakirmohan, writers like Dayanidhi Mishra (Dayānidhi Miśra, 1891–1955), Bankanidhi Patnaik (Baṅkānidhi Paṭnāik, 1889–1961) and Laxmikanta Mahapatra (Lakṣmikānta Mahāpātra, 1888–1953) wrote profusely during the first two decades of the present century. Short stories of Chandra Sekhar Nanda (Candra Śekhar Nanda) employed mythology and historical events as their contents. A number of his short stories were compiled in *Citra* published in 1906. Perhaps this is the first short story collection in Oriya literature. But Chandra Sekhar could not handle his stories properly and narrated them in a rather unimpressive style. However, Dayanidhi Mishra, his contemporary, could evoke the sentiments of the readers through his stories which had a patriotic bias. Most of his stories use historical themes but he transferred them into the context of the national movement. One of his well-known stories, 'Pradīpa Nirvāṇa' (The Extinguished Lamp, 1921) dealt with the glorious past of Orissa. The same theme has been also dealt with in his other stories like 'Śānti' (The Peace, 1915), 'Aruṇa' (1915) and 'Rūpar Mūlya' (Value of Beauty, 1915). Most of his stories dealt with the historical characters of medieval Orissa under the Mahratta regime. Though his stories could never compete qualitatively with the stories of Fakirmohan, the leading writer of his time, still he largely projected local themes and events interestingly. He imitated the descriptive style of Fakirmohan but failed to imbibe the latter's colloquial style and sense of humour and satirical tone.

His contemporary Bankanidhi Patnaik was well known for his stories with a social background. Several of these stories published in different periodicals of the time have been compiled under the title *Dhūpa Chāya* (The Midday Shadow, 1942). Patnaik, like Senapati, suffered from the conflict between old and new values and tried to delineate what was really good for the society. He deviated from the narrative style of his predecessors and concentrated on a poetic style with a fair degree of compactness. His stories are suggestive and full of moral teachings. The human values portrayed in his stories appeal to the readers very much.

A prolific writer of this period was Laxmikanta Mahapatra, popularly known as 'Kāntakavi' (a title conferred on him) in Oriya literature for his enchanting lyrics and devotional songs. Mahapatra wrote a number of stories in the twenties, which speak of his proficiency in this branch of literature. Two of his widely read stories have been appreciated for their universal appeal and eternal pathos. These are 'Būḍha Śankhāri' (The Old Bangle-Seller, 1914) and

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'Pṛatidān' (The Repayment, 1911). In the former the old bangle-seller meets a newly married young lady who resembles his own daughter now living far away from him. He becomes emotionally attached to her and is never at rest unless he meets her during his visit to the village. He brings her gifts of the latest designs in bangles. Suddenly one day he finds her without the vermilion mark on her forehead and in a white saree instead of the printed sarees she usually wore. She did not come close to him as usual but cried at a distance. No more was she to wear the bangles as she had lost her husband. The old man threw away the specially made bangles he had brought and never again appeared in that village. This story in its development narrated the sacred relationship and eternal love between an old man and a young lady. Like 'Rēbati' of Fakirmohan, this is a classic story that stirs the heart of the readers by its deep human concern. The characters of Mahapatra's stories have been picked up from various levels of society, mostly from the rich, the poor, the labour class, the middle class, the police and the lawyers. Some characters in his stories are agents of the Life Insurance, sometimes a film-star, a student, a family man and such men and women we come across in our daily life. He had an aptitude for psychological analysis which even Fakirmohan lacked to an extent and his style is lucid and lively.

Socio-national Awareness and Changing Pattern of Stories

With the advent of the present century a strong sense of national awareness grew among the Oriyas, which resulted in the demand for a separate province based on linguistic identity. In this context nationalistic literature flourished during 1908 to 1920, centering round the 'Satyabādi School', which was established by Utkalmani Gopabandhu Das (Utkalmaṇi Gōpabandhu Dās, 1877–1928). This group of writersded icated their lives to the cause of the motherland. They also plunged into the non-cooperation movement in 1921 and carried on the Congress Movement in Orissa. Godavarish Mishra (Gōdāvarīśa Miśṛa 1886–1956), a sincere member of this group, wrote novels, short stories and ballads to evoke the spirit of patriotism through the heroic deeds of the past.

He looked at the boundless sorrows and sufferings of the people, the floods, famine and diseases that ravaged the land, and tried to ventilate their problems through his stories. He wanted to ridicule the oppressor, the money-lender, the landlord and the profiteer through his stories which reveal a deep humanistic approach. In most of his stories he also aimed at depicting family affairs like day-to-day quarrels and partition among brothers ('Bhāi Bhāga'), social problems like women's education, the veil system ('Paradāsin'), child marriage and marriage by sale ('Nārira gati' and 'Tolākaniā'), the dreadful dowry system and its painful consequences ('Puānighar'), the corruptions that were rampant among the contractors, engineers, government servants, the ministers and political leaders ('*Bandi*' The Prisoner, *Pōla Unmōcan*, The Inauguration of a Bridge), the bonded labour ('Panu Miśṛa') and other similar themes. Being a teacher, a social worker and a political leader, he adopted his themes from his own knowledge and experience. His own association with the natural calamities of Orissa under the leadership of Utkalmani Gopabandhu had enthused him to write a number of stories about the horrors of the flood and famine (*Arnachaṭṛa* Relief Centre, *Sevatir Śaba* Sevati's dead body). He has included characters from the upper class, the middle class as well as from the poor and the dwon-trodden. In this sense, the range of his stories is quite large in comparison with that of his predecessors. But he could not develop a style of his own to impress the readers. Another story writer belonging to the Satyabadi School was Godavarish Mahapatra (Gōdāvarīśa Mahāpāṭṛa, (1898–1965). Mahapatra as a student of 'Satyabadi Open Air School' came in contact with Utkalmani Gopabandu Das, the founder-philosopher of the school, and Pandit Godavarish Mishra. Mahapatra was deeply influenced by the personality of these two leaders.

Mahapatra wrote short stories for over forty years from 1920 to 1962 and published about twenty books. Most of his earlier stories written during the twenties and thirties deal with social problems with a deep humanistic concern. They propagate a strong sense of patriotism with reference to our heroic past. There are reflections about village life, different communities and their day to day problems, the impact of industrialization on an agricultural society and the natural calamities and miseries of the people. Most of these stories relating to the rural scene have been published in the book *Pallichāya* (The shadows of the village, 1932). After the publication of the famous satirical journal *Niānkhunta* (The Poker) in the year 1938, he began diverting his attention to the political and economic situation of the State. He spared none who was a party to any social evil irrespective of status or position. As a bitter critic of social evils he attacked the upper class people and expressed great sympathy for the poor, the down-trodden and the working class. Most of his stories have a leftist orientation with a satirical note on the politial situation, the hypocrisy of the political leaders and socio-economic disparity: e.g., *Mudine Mantṛithili* (Once I was a Minister), *Saiṭānar Vōṭ* (Vote of a Satan), *Jāl Taṅka* (The Black Money), *Maribāku Bela nahīn* (No Time to Die), *Mora Svaṛgayāṭṛa* (My Expedition to Heaven), etc. Some of his short stories like 'Ebe Madhya Banchichi' (Still Alive) 'Nila Māstrāni' and 'Magunir Śagaḍa' (Bullock Cart of Maguni) are likely to be counted among the best in Oriya literature for their eternal message. *Nila Mastrani*, a widow school mistress belonging to the Brahmin caste, marries an artist belonging to the washerman caste and is boycotted by a rigid society. She was tortured very much, but she did not yield. This story, aiming at social revolution

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and abolition of casteism, and other stories brought Mahapatra great recognition as a story writer in the history of Oriya literature.

Panigrahi Brothers and the New Outlook

In the middle of the thirties two mainstreams sprang up in Oriya literature owing to the influence of the psychoanalysis of Freud and the socio-economic philosophy of Marx. The former persuaded writers to be keenly aware of the psychological affairs of the individual, his subconscious, libido and mental conflicts whereas the second urged them to appreciate the class struggle, the poor and the labour class who had been denied their birth right from time immemorial. All the economic and social privileges were denied to them whereas the rich and the affluent class enjoyed these and thus controlled the social order. Bhagawati Charan Panigrahi (Bhagavatī Caraṇ Pāṇigṛāhi, 1907–1943), the younger brother of Kalindi Charan, a well known Oriya novelist, advocated socio-economic changes and created a forum to instil new ideas that were available in world literature at the time. His forum was *Naba Yuga Sāhitya Sansad* (1935), a literary organization, which was meant to establish norms for progressive literature. But prior to this organization, in one of his deeply moving stories named 'Jaṅgali' (The Beast), written in 1929, he had analysed the psychology of a girl and a man with beastly nature as he was brought up in a dense forest. As they stayed together they developed a certain kind of liking for each other so that the girl hesitated very much when she was forced to desert the beastly person after years of stay with him. In the second story 'Śikār' (The Hunting, 1936), the writer envisaged a social revolution through an innocent character belonging to the poorest tribal society. He beheaded the tyrant who was trying to seduce his wife and produced the head in the local police station hoping to get some reward for the social service he had rendered. He had received such prizes earlier when he killed a tiger. He thought that as the concerned tyrant was more ferocious than a tiger, his rewards would be correspondingly greater. But the law worked in its own way and the innocent man was hanged. This story has recently been made into a fine film *Mṛugaya* by the well-known film-maker Mrinal Sen. These two stories written with a gap of nearly seven years represent a new outlook in Oriya literature. Bhagawati aimed at a society where there would be no exploitation and where the labour of the individual would be honoured. In some of his other stories like 'Jibanar Samādhi' (The Grave of Life) and 'Da O Hatudi' (The Sickle and the Hammer) he had propagated his ideology and the concept of a new society, with artistic excellence.

These two ideas also enthused Kalindi Charan (Kāḷindī caraṇ, b. 1901) to a great extent. His earlier themes relating to social injustice due to ancient rigidities and the romantic aspects of the glorious past under the spell of the Satyabadi era had changed to a great extent in his later stories which dealt with love, lust and affection of men and animals. The love between two children in his story 'Uphār' (The Gift), between a deer and a dog in 'Mānsar Bilāp' (Cry of the Flesh), love of a brother towards his younger sister in 'Bijay Utsab' (Victory Celebrations), the love of a man towards an orphan in 'Manima' (The King) along with the biological instinct and libido of men and women in stories like 'Rudṛākhya' and '*Niyatir Kṛīḍā*' (The Game of Nemesis) spoke of his great talent for understanding the psychological conflict of the characters. Bonded labour and its fearful consequence, individual love and loss, exploitation and oppression are the few universal elements in his stories that reverberate in the mind of the reader. Undoubtedly the Panigrahi brothers raised the standard of Oriya short stories to a great height. So far as their style is concerned the elder brother Kalindi Charan followed the descriptive style of Fakirmohan, whereas the younger one pursued a style of his own, which was compact, suggestive, clear and pursuasive.

A contemporary of the Panigrahis is Ananta Prasad Panda (Ananta Pṛasād Pāṇḍa, b. 1906), who wrote in the post-Fakirmohan era under a changed social situation. His stories had nothing new for themes. Panda claims no new discovery in Oriya literature. He has published as many as six collections but most of them are weak and indicate no novelty. Problems have been repeated in a number of stories written in the early period. The only message in his stories is epitomized in a continuous slogan against industrialization and exploitation.

Sachi Routray and Mahapatra. A powerful short story writer in this period is the poet Sachi Routray (Saci Routṛāî, b. 1915). His short stories, though few in number, reveal a realistic approach towards life with psychological insights in the delineation of character. He has at times followed a poetic style in his stories which are rich in imagery and symbolism. His stories 'Andhāruā' (The Nightmare) and '*Maśānir Phūl*' (The Flower of the Crematorium) are very powerful with their neat psychological treatment. Most of his stories are socio-political satires. The characters are widely chosen from the down-trodden to the highest class, from poor servants to the highest paid government officials and from rural situations to the urban. Routray has been one among those who have successfully extended the Fakirmohan tradition by incorporating a psycho-sociological content and adopting a progressive attitude. He has also successfully combined the universal and the modern, the romantic and the classical.

A contemporary of Routray is Nityananda Mahapatra (Nityānanda Mahāpātṛa, b. 1912), editor of a satirical literary journal, *The Dagaro* (1937), who wrote stories in the thirties and in the forties mostly on the background of the Indian Independence struggle, in which he and his family

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members were involved. Most of the characters of his stories, compiled in three volumes, tell their past stories in the present context of nothingness and despair with a deep sense of sorrow. They had either taken part or supported the freedom movement, hoping to live in a better future, but their dreams had been shattered. They sometimes represent the multitude of poor people in the society, an orphan, a poor lady, a helpless labourer, a shoe-maker, but Mahapatra is quite anxious to find some extraordinary quality in them to prove their credibility as good human beings. Like Routray, Mahapatra employs the concept of class struggle with a greater awareness of the changing political situation, the conflict of the individual with the outer world and changing values, assessing these with deep sympathy for human folly.

The New Generation

Gopinath Mohanty and Surendra Mohanty. The short stories of Gopinath Mohanty (Gopināth Mohānti, b. 1914) a leading novelist and the winner of Jnanpith for the year 1974, are characterized by innate human sympathy, a rich and symbolic language and a capacity for analysing the intimate details of a situation. He is deeply conscious of the post-war socio-economic condition, the communal problems, the mental conflict and helplessness due to urbanization in a developing industrial society. The peculiar social situation and the hard struggle of the tribal societies to maintain their ethnic identity have also been reflected in his stories. The environment and affairs of modern man, the mental conflict of a hard-pressed individual in the post war period, his alienation and helplessness, lack of morality, the corruption, the conflict between rural simplicity and urban conceit and the exploitation of the backward classes are some of the dominant themes of his stories. Mohanty has a powerful colloquial and poetic style. His stories delineate characters sharply with all their shady features, the destitution of human beings in the context of the post-war economic depression, the obstinacy and corruption of the power-mongers after Independence, the mental bondage and bankruptcy of the service holders and all this in a sympathetic and symbolic manner. Gopinath has widened the range of the Oriya short story and brought it to a very high level with a deep sense of humanism and subtle irony. The following stories are particularly outstanding: 'Ārōhaṇa' (The Mounting), 'Ghara' (The Residence), 'Pimpudi' (The Ant), 'Poluha katā' (The slippery eel), 'Jhota' (Jute), 'Baghei' (Tiger scare), 'Pālabhuta' (Scare Crow), 'Yajna Āhuti' (The Offering) and 'Gupta Gaṅga' (The Hidden Spring). The life of the 'Ādibāsis' has been vividly narrated in stories like 'Pimpudi', 'Palabhuta' and 'Yajna Āhuti'—how they have been tortured by the so-called civilized people and how they have not lost faith in the unseen.

He was followed by writers like Rajkishore Patnaik, Rajkishore Roy, Surendra Mohanty and others who wrote during the period with a growing awareness of the changing world in the post-war situation. Gopinath's elder brother Kanhu Charan (b. 1906) too wrote short stories although he has been more acclaimed for his novels. His achievement in short stories is much less than what he has achieved in his novels.

Rajkishore Patnaik (Rājkiṣōr Paṭnāik, b. 1916) and Rajkishore Roy (Rājkiṣōr Roy, b. 1914), two good short story writers, started their career before Independence and became popular in the post-Independence era. Patnaik is quite conscious about the post-war situation and the psychological reaction of the individual in the same situation and he narrates them in an impersonal manner. Most of his stories fall in the category of fables as they deal with dogs, cats, cows and birds as characters who behave like human beings, thereby indicating a sharp contrast with the selfish modern world. But Roy brings in autobiographical elements showing up romantic affairs like personal love and loss. He has a direct manner of story-telling which reduces his stories to a sort of personal diary. Roy traps himself in situations whereas Patnaik impartially observes it from a distance and puts forth an analysis and slowly withdraws himself from the scene. The rich and ornate language of Roy was once very much appreciated by readers but is now considered artificial by modern critics. Short stories of Basanta Kumari Patnaik, (Rajkishore Patnaik's sister) reveal a subdued feminine quality and plain narrative style. They are deservedly popular. All these writers have however lost their force and fervour, and the leadership in this art has shifted to contemporary writers like Surendra Mohanty, Kishori Charan Das and Mahapatra Nilamani Sahoo during the post-Independence period.

The post-Independence period immediately felt the results of the Second World War with growing inflation and economic depression. The dream of Indian Independence took no time to be shattered with the death of Mahatma Gandhi. His dreams remained unfulfilled. The vices of communalism, casteism, linguism and provincialism reared their ugly heads although Gandhiji had dreamt of a secular democratic order with economic equality and social justice for everybody. Most of the writers of the time have taken to self-searching and turned introverts. They have raised questions against the so-called established values with a deep awareness of the existentialist hollowness and the growing cynicism.

It was against this background that Surendra Mohanty (Surēndra Mohānti, b. 1922), a powerful story writer, appeared on the scene of Oriya literature and experimented in various ways both in theme and technique. His stories, deal with themes ranging from the historical past to the post-war modern period, from remote rural life to the cosmopolitan urban life, from the socio-political problems to the life of the under-world and its degeneration. Mohanty

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goes deep into human psychology and tries to ridicule the characters in the context of the time they live in. His stories are not only rich in language and powerful in presentation but also quite bold in their themes which relate to the undiscovered aspects of human character and society. His whole intention is to unveil some of the universal facts and biological aspects through his characters. One such story is '*Mahāniṛvāṇ*' (The Great Liberation) that reveals the lust and desire of an *arhat* (Bhikhyu) who was to attain 'Niṛvāṇ' (liberation) after completion of the austerity he was undergoing. Mohanty is at his best in delineating characters like Jaratkaru, the vedic character, Sariputta, Madhumatta (*Madhumattār Rātṛi*) and Ajatasatru (in *Pitā O Putra*) of the Buddhist age and stories about the abolition of the zamindary system and its after-effects on the feudal families. His stories compiled in *O Calcutta* reveal his alertness and understanding of the hollowness of young men and women groping about to find some meaning in the context of the changing values all around.

Kishori Charan, Monoj and others. Post-Independence Oriya literature has witnessed a number of talented writers led by Kishori Charan Das (Kiṣōrī Caraṇ Dās, b. 1924), Akhilmohan Patnaik, (Akhil Mōhan Paṭnāik, b. 1927), Mahapatra Nilamani Sahu (Nīlamaṇi Sāhū, b. 1927), the late Bama Charan Mitra (Bama Caraṇ Mitra, 1915–76) and Monoj Das (Manōj Dās, b. 1934). Kishori Charan and Akhilmohan who believed in quality rather than quantity have raised Oriya short stories to considerable literary heights. Like all conscious modern writers, Akhilmohan deals with inner alienation, emotional tension and the frustration of the modern man and gives a vivid picture of the sick milieu around him, whereas Kishori Charan, an equally powerful writer, unravels the psychology of the middle class family with a profound and masterly analysis. He has a powerful narrative style, which sustains the interest of the reader till the very end. No doubt he tends to repeat this style but he still remains an extremely competent character-analyst. Mahapatra Nilamani represents an altogether different personality in modern story telling with an expanded horizon in concepts and changing experiments in style. His stories often appear humourous on the surface but they convey a deep realization and psychic understanding of life. Sri Monoj Das has a subtle sense of humanistic appeal which reveals the most pathetic inner self of the character. Most of his stories deal with the psychology of modern man oppressed by the dreary routine of life. His story 'Āraṇyak' (The Primitive Man, 1961) has posed the problem of the affluent yet physically and emotionally dissatisfied beings who could go to any extent to satisfy their baser instincts and desires. Monoj excels in delineating the helplessness of modern man in the search for meaning, relevance and happiness. He shows up beautifully the 'child' in every man, his inability to grow up and his craving for light and love. He uses with great success an allegorical mode to show the absurdity of human characters.

The late Bama Charan Mitra dealt with social problems like communalism and casteism in most of his stories, but his style was not quite impressive. It was like telling a story, sometimes in an essay-like manner. A contemporary of Monoj Das, Jenamani Narendra Kumar (Jenamaṇi Narēndra Kumār, b. 1936) wrote from his college days in the fifties and he possesses a powerful style of his own with a capacity for psychological analysis of the protagonists. Out of the three collections of stories published by him, *Bibaṛtit Jhadar Saṅgīt* (1973) and *Apēkṣyar Paridhire* (1979) have been acclaimed by the readers.

The Late Writers

The themes of Oriya story writing have undergone a drastic change since 1960. The humanitarian attitude and social values as expressed in the short stories of Fakirmohan, Bhagabati, Kalindi Charan and Godavarish Mahapatra have not lost their appeal but the lonely individual seeking his true meaning and identity has been given more weightage in the contemporary short stories. There has been more of dichotomy in the heart and the mind than in class and society. The area of emotion has been sharply divided between good and evil, social conventions and human realities, the mask and masklessness, the shadow and light, time-consciousness and eternity. The old values of life have been either rejected or eclipsed. To express this, a new type of commitment has become obligatory for the story writers. Perhaps the post-Independence and post-war situation has urged the new writers to be more faithful to themselves than to the society they live in. By this they try to rise above all conventions and establishment, the religious fanaticism and social customs because those old values do not always appear to be real and meaningful. Briefly speaking, the modern writer has become very cosmopolitan. The protagonist of *Andha galir Aṅdhakār*—(Darkness of the Blind Lane) of Rabi Patnaik feels that he is passing through an unending tunnel of darkness. The light may come only at the end and beyond. He has to wait for that opportune moment. Similarly the protagonist (Durbar—Irresistible) of Santanu Kumar Acharya suffers from a deep sense of insecurity and gropes for his identity almost cast away from society. Though most of his characters are existentialist in nature, Acharya very often deals with current socio-political themes in a most satirical and caustic style. But his contemporary Krishna Prasad Mishra, a prolific writer, deals with exotic and foreign environments in most of his stories. Though allegorical, most of his stories deal with personal affairs which minimise the standards of universality. Two writers of the period, Ramachandra Mishra alias Faturananda and Choudhury Hemakanta Mishra, delineate social maladies in a powerful humorous style with a sharp

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underlying satire. Their stories are widely read as they provide a good deal of amusement with a keen awareness of the socio-political problems. Choudhury Hemakānta got the Orissa Sahitya Akademi Award for his book *Niṣiddha Pustak* (The Banned Book, 1973). This book is noted for his deep sense of humour and satire. Mention may be made here of Sri Bhubaneswar Behera, the engineer-educationist, whose stories reveal a human approach to characters written in a lucid and extremely interesting prose. One should also mention Govind Das, whose stories had a crispness and intellectual brilliance of their own despite his limited output. Mention should also be made of another award winner, Basanta Kumar Satpathy, an English teacher by profession, and Achyutananda Pati. The tone of Satpathy is also satirical though, at times, he is quite forceful in his humanistic analysis. Pati handles his stories with brilliance and artistry. Another such award winner Binapani, Mohanty, has been quite articulate and prolific from the beginning of the sixties. She deals, at large, with the socio-psychological problems of women with a deep sense of involvement and ridicules the present male-dominated society for its callousness towards human values. Bibhuti Patnaik is another prolific short story writer who has written a very large number of stories and has several well written anthologies. He also edits the famous journal *Galpa* (The Story) devoted exclusively to modern Oriya stories.

From the beginning of the seventies a new group of writers has emerged in Oriya Literature and they have tried to be more intimate with life and faithful to the world around them. Of them Chandra Sekhar Rath (b. 1929) has brought out five anthologies in quick succession, and has been much discussed. The new writers centering around *Galpa* (1970) who soon proved their worth, are late Kahneilal, Haraprasad Das, Akshyaya Mohanty, Jagadis Mohanty, Radha Binod Nayak, Rama Chandra Behera, Harihar Mishra and Jyotsna Routray. Other promising writers belonging to this period, but not to this group, are Prafulla Tripathi, Jasodhara Mishra, Nimain Patnaik and Rabi Swain, who have come to the forefront by their powerful depiction of post-war society. These new writers except Chandra Sekhar Rath do not believe in social commitment because they feel strongly that just as in politics commitment in literature would mean nothing. All of them have experimented in their own way with various themes and techniques and reacted against their time and situation. Of them Haraprasad, Chandra Sekhar, Jasodhara, Ramachandra Behera and Kahneilal (who died prematuredly at twenty-eight) have definitely attained a unique style and an intellectual approach to different problems of contemporary man. Others established themselves in their own way as they have been very true to their feelings. All of them have published several collections of short stories, which have been much appreciated for their new thematic content, humanistic approach and bold experiments in style with their facility in the usage of symbols and existentialist values. All of them have raised the standard of modern Oriya short stories to comparable heights. The only complaint against this group of new writers is that, at times, they pose problems so intellectual that it becomes difficult for the average readers to follow them.

A type of short story known as sketch or plotless story appeared in profusion towards the end of the sixties. These appeared more like a composition with poetic diction than stories in the true sense. However this kind of story or the ministories in the seventies have finally been rejected by the readers as they had no message of their own. The descriptive style of the writers belonging to the pre-Independence perlod and the narrative style of the writers belonging to the fifties and sixties have been homogeneously blended into an analytical style in the seventies, which has made these writers a bit diverse from the earlier trends.

To sum up, it could be said that the short story is now a very conscious and developed branch of Oriya literature, where latest experiments have been carried out by writers with a close awareness of the new trends in world literature. This considerably rich branch of Oriya literature can be favourably compared to sister literatures for its many-sided colour and grandeur.

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Punjabi

GURCHARAN SINGH

The Punjabi short story dates back to the 16th century, its ancestral forms being found in the *Janam Sākhis* (The Biographies of the Sikh Gurus) and in such works as *Gur Sikhan Di Bhagat Māl* (The Sikh Saints) and *Sākhi Parman* (Stories as Examples). The Punjabi short story proper, however, is a very modern phenomenon, coming into being as late as the second decade of the 20th century when Punjabi periodicals first made their appearance. Although its beginnings were before 1920, the years 1923 and 1924 are important, for that was when the two monthlies, *Prītam* (The Beloved) and *Phulwāri* (The Flower Bed) were founded. These two magazines were responsible for the development of the modern Punjabi short story form.

The founder-editor of *Phulwāri* was Giani Hira Singh Dard (1889–1965), a freedom fighter, Punjabi language enthusiast and a man of letters. His early short stories were like abridged novels.

Giani Hira Singh Dard published his anthology of Punjabi stories, *Puñjābi Sadhrān* (Punjabi Longings), in 1940. In the introduction to it he wrote that the first ever original Punjabi story was written by a man called Lal Singh. The story *Kamla Akāli* was probably written in 1921 and was published in *Akāli*, a daily newspaper that was the voice of the Akali movement (1920–24). Because of this story, Lal Singh became known as 'Lal Singh Kamla Akali'. He wrote a few more short stories that appeared in *Phulwāri* after 1924 and, in time, came to be considered one of the leading prose stylists in Punjabi.

The Early Phase

Bhai Vir Singh, the great protagonist of the Singh Sabha movement, began writing small novelettes called tracts in the last decade of the 19th century. In them, he frequently included narrations of situations, descriptions of characters, and dialogues. He blended these with his sermons on Sikh ethics. The 'tract tradition' he popularized was followed by writers like Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid who, in course of time, moved away from this style of story-telling and developed the modern short story form. But the transition was slow and halting.

However more than Bhai Vir Singh or Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid, it was S. S. Charan Singh Shaheed (1893–1935) who could claim that he fathered the modern Punjabi short story. Charan Singh, a later contemporary of Bhai Vir Singh, edited a weekly called *Mauji* (The Humorist). In it he published abbreviated versions of his novels that could be considered 'short stories'.

Besides *Mauji*, Shaheed also founded a monthly, *Hans*, in 1926. *Puñjābi Darbār* (The Punjabi Court), a monthly Punjabi magazine in Persian script, was founded by a Christian Punjabi advocate of Lyallpur (now in Pakistan), Joshua Fazal Din (b. 1903). Another Punjabi monthly publication founded about this time was the *Sarañg* (The Peacock), edited by Harkrishan Lal Prashar. Kartar Singh Hitokari, father of the celebrated Punjabi poetess Amrita Pritam, founded *Ranjit Nagāra* (The Victory Drum) in Lahore. All these magazines carried their quota of short stories, most of them, in the early days, being stories bodily taken from the Urdu.

Gian Kesar Singh, Master Abhai Singh and Balwant Singh Chatrath are some other story writers of the early phase.

Some Leading Writers

Charan Singh Shaheed. Shaheed, who wrote humorously and satirically, wielded a facile pen sketching characters full of fun and frolic. Not all his short stories were, however, light-hearted creations. Some of them were really poignant. His humorous character, 'Baba Waryama' is placed in various odd situations, and creates some of the funniest and most ludicrous stories that ever appeared in *Mauji*. Two collections of his stories, *Hasde Hañjhu* (Laughing Tears) and *Ronde Hañjhu* (Weeping Tears), were first published in 1958, to be followed by a third collection, *Ṣahīd Takoran* (Shaheed Satires).

For sheer art, Charan Singh Shaheed was ahead of all the other early writers, including Giani Hira Singh Dard. Dard wrote stories which read like short novels—a characteristic of the short story of the first phase. *Rakrd* (A Festival) and *Pīr Galardṣāh* (The Saint Squirrel Shah) are examples.

Joshua Fazal Din. Three collections of Punjabi short stories by Joshua—*Adabi Afsāne* (Literary Short Stories), *Akhlaqi Kahāniān* (Ethical Stories) and *Nikian Kahāniān* (Short Stories)—have been published. His *Adabi Afsāne* is in four sections—poetic, moralistic, humorous stories and translations from other languages.

Joshua moved fast towards the modern short story. In fact he might have moved too fast, for some of his stories are severely shortened. With Charan Singh and Joshua

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Fazal Din, the short story ceases to be a tale and becomes a slice of life.

Nanak Singh. Nanak Singh is better known as a novelist than as a short story writer, but it was he who actually converted the Punjabi short story from a non-serious sketchy narrative into a piece of art. His maiden effort, 'Rakhri', is the perfect example of this. Nanak Singh has had four collections of short stories published: *Sadhrān De Hār* (Garlands of Longings), *Hañjhūan De Hār* (Garlands of Tears), *Middhe Hoe Phul* (Crushed Flowers) and *Thaṇḍīān Chāvān* (Cool Shadows). Some of his better known stories are 'Bhua' (Father's Sister), 'Tas Di Adat' (Habit of Card-playing) and 'Kahāni Lekhak' (Short Story Writer). They are all examples of his ability to weave a story well and invest it with pace, polish and brevity.

Gurbux Singh Preet Lari. Gurbux Singh (b. 1895), who bears the suffix 'Preet Lari', after *Preet Lari*, the monthly he founded in 1933, has had as many as a dozen collections of his short stories published upto the end of 1970. The first of these was *Nāg prīt Dā Jādū* (The Magic of the Snake Romance, 1944), published in 1940. *Anokhe te Ikalle* (Strange and Alone, 1940) *Asmāni Mahā Nadī* (The Heavenly River), *Viṇa Vinod*, (1951), *Prītāṅ Dī Pehredār* (The Guardian-of-Love Romance, 1952), *Bhābī Mainā* (Brother's Wife Maina, 1950), *Prīt Kahāṇiān* (Love Stories) *Śabnam* (Due), *Zindgī Wāris Hai* (Life is the Successor) and *Raṅg Saihkḍa Dil* (Heart Yearning for Colour) followed in quick succession.

All these collections have one thing in common—every story is straight from the pages of *Preet Lari*. Some of these stories are just compressed novels, others are extracts from English fiction, still others are adaptations, but all are dedicated to one purpose: that of preaching the philosophy of pacifism and universal love, the objective of all Gurbux Singh's writings. He was not too worried about giving a regular form to these stories. Yet it will be wide off the mark to say that his stories are just an artless rehash of foreign material. Every bit of writing that came from Gurbux Singh is powerful and carries the impress of his personality which had, without doubt, the greatest impact on the minds of the young generation of his time. He caused a rationalist movement to be born and grow in the thirties and forties. And the 'stories' he wrote contributed greatly towards this.

Gurbux Singh advocated the pursuit of happiness by spreading goodwill and love for all. This was the abiding theme of all his short stories. There is much that is beautifully emotional and romantically sentimental about him. He is admired as 'a magician of word and phrase'. His character portrayals and descriptions of feelings and circumstances have a deeply moving wistfulness about them.

Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir. Like Giani Hira Singh Dard, Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir (b. 1899) was also a freedom-fighter. The recurring theme of his short stories was, therefore, patriotism. *Vakhrī Dunīya* (A Different World, 1953), *Sastā Tamāśā* (Cheap Fun), *Ālhṇe De Bot* (Featherless in the Nest) and *Kandhan Bol Paiyan* (The Walls Spoke Out) are some of his collections. 'Vakhri Duniya' is concerned with the jail life of the author. Stories in the other collections deal with the problems of nationalism as seen through the eyes of Giani Gurmukh Singh, a life-long anti-imperialist.

The Modern Phase

The Backdrop. The modern phase of Punjabi short story writing started in 1936. It began with Sant Singh Sekhon (b. 1908), a teacher of English at Khalsa College, Amritsar, publishing his first two stories, 'Bhaṭṭa' (The Village Breakfast) and 'Kitan Andar Kīt' (Worms within Worms), in 1936, in the February and March issues of *Parbhat*, a monthly founded in Amritsar by the veteran communist writer Sohan Singh Josh. Josh too was a writer of short stories.

Earlier, in 1934, Sekhon had translated from the Bengali some pieces of fiction. This collection, *Beṅgāḷi Sāhit Di Vannagi* (Specimens of Bengali Literature), put the Punjabi reader in touch with the most developed form of the short story available in Indian literature at that time. Thus, the lead in writing the modern short story in Punjabi was given by Sekhon. Within months of this, several writers fluent in English began writing some of the most developed short stories in the Punjabi medium, matching, in quality, the contemporary short story in the West and the Urdu short story in the Punjab and elsewhere in India.

Sekhon wrote under the direct influence of the English, Russian and French masters of the short story who preceded him or were his contemporaries. The Urdu short story, called *afsāna* (story), was also an inspiration to writers like Sekhon. Some of these Urdu short story writers, like Sa'adat Hasan Mintq, Ranjinder Singh Bedi and Krishan Chander, belonged to the Punjab and were not much older than Sekhon.

Those who followed the example set by Sekhon included Gurcharan Singh, (b. 1917), Kartar Singh Duggal and Surinder Singh Narula. All three were college students at the time and all of them took their masters degree in English. They too adopted the short story trends in the West and, to a lesser extent, the contemporary Urdu *afsāna*. Exceptions to this practice, however, were Munshi Prem Chand and Sudarshan.

The short story was no longer a multi-branched and well-rounded tale told at a slow, langorous pace. It was now a sharp, fast-moving descriptive narrative expressing a single idea, feeling or aspect of human behaviour. By

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creating a concentrated impression on the mind of the reader, it educated him in a flash rather than entertain or inform him.

Parbhat was followed by *Likhaṛi* and *Pāñj Darya* (Five Rivers), edited by Mohan Singh though the latter was published from Lahore. Some other magazines which had short stories as a regular feature also appeared in this period.

Kartar Singh Duggal was the first of the modern short story writers to have a collection of histories published. His *Saver Sār* (In the Early Hours) came out in 1940. *Samācār* (The Happenings), by Sant Singh Sekhon, appeared in 1943. And Gurcharan Singh, who had started writing short stories in 1936, brought out his first collection, *Vaṇ Te Karīr*, shortly after Partition, in 1949. Another important short story writer of this period is Sujan Singh, who wrote about the poor and the exploited. Among the newer short story writers are Ram Sarup Ankhi, Navtej Puadhi, Kailashji Puri, Mohan Bhandari, Ranjinder Kaur, Gurbaksh Bahlvi, Prem Gorkhi, Surjit Virdi and Sharn Makkar.

Sant Singh Sekhon. Sekhon's first collection of short stories, *Samācār*, was followed by *Kāmen Te Yodhe* (The Workers and Heroes, 1950), *Adhahi wal* (Highway Through) and *Tija Pehr* (Hours Before Midnight). His art showed deterioration in *Tija Pehr* and since then he has almost stopped writing short stories.

Gurcharan Singh. Gurcharan Singh's first collection, *Vaṇ Te Karīr* (Van and Karir, 1949) took its name from the lead story which was based on the tenancy movement of 1940–41 and the agrarian revolution that was in the offing. His subsequent collections are *Duniya ton Bahiri Gall* (Unusual Happenings, 1954) and *Kacchian Ambian* (Immature Mangolets, 1965). Effective portrayals of the village yokel and the rustic life of the sons of the soil are Gurcharan Singh's strong points.

S. S. Narula. Narula, the celebrated novelist, first wrote short stories patterned on contemporary western and Urdu forms. His *Chuhe* (The Mice) is a typical work. In it he describes the sex life of rats in unconventional language.

Sujan Singh. Sujan Singh (b. 1909), a contemporary of Narula, is the story-teller of the Punjabi proletariat. He is a writer with a mission, like Bhai Vir Singh, who wants to be explicit in his stories so as to ensure that the meaning is not lost on the reader. He therefore fills the body of his story with elaborations and personal explanations, to the detriment of the artistic form. His first collection, *Dukh Sukh* (Sufferings and Happiness) appeared in 1941 and was followed by *Dukh Sukh Ton Pichon* (Following the Sorrow and Happiness) in 1946. *Sabh Raṅg* (All the Hues, 1940) *Manukh Te Paśū* (Man and the Beast, 1952) and *Narkān De Devte* (The Angels of the Inferno, 1951) are his post-Partition collections. The stories in the later collections are concerned with the aspirations of the have-nots in a free nation and the class conflicts that raged in the post-Independence period in the Indian Punjab. 'Khūn' (Murder) and 'Swarg Di Jhalk' (Glimpse of Paradise) are typical stories of this type.

Kartar Singh Duggal. Kartar Singh Duggal (b. 1917) has more of Freud than Marx in him. His favourite character is the unsophisticated country simpleton, living in the primitive world of magic and superstition and leading an instinctive animal life. He is attached to his birth-place, the hilly north-west Punjab called Pothahar, now in Pakistan, where the peasantry as well as the landlords were Muslims while the shop-keepers were Hindus and Sikhs, till Partition pushed the latter across the new border into the Indian Punjab.

Saver Sār, *Pippal Pattiān* (Leaves of Pipal, 1941) and *Kuḍī Kahaṇī Kardī Gaī* (The Girl Went On Narrating, 1943) are collections that quickly followed one after the other soon after he graduated in 1940. Of all the Punjabi story-writers, Duggal is the most conscious learner. His practice of the art came only after a study of hundreds of the world's best short stories. Duggal is incisive and has a deep insight into the minds of men and even animals. *Ḍaṅgar* (The Animals), *Agg khān Vāle* (The Fire Eaters, 1948), *Navān Ghar* (New Home, 1952) and *Navān Ādamī* (New Man, 1952) are collections that followed the three mentioned above. The last named two appeared shortly after Partition.

Among his typical stories is 'Mir Musally'. The servant, Mir Musally, attracted by his master's wife, relieves his sexual tension by fantasizing about her. 'Pāñj Gitra' is the tragic tale of a wretched father who is driven by stark poverty to kill his three daughters after the two elder ones had become dissolute vagrants. These stories show that as a story-writer Duggal is a master craftsman.

Devinder Satyarthi. Devinder Satyarthi (b. 1908) began as a folklorist but developed into a story writer. Driven by an insatiable wander-lust, he moved from village to village, province to province, all over India. This gave him sufficient material to create stories about the various people of India and their exotic ways.

Kuṅg Poś (Kesar Flower, 1941), *Sonā Gāeī* (1950) and *Devtā Ḍig Piā* (The Fall of the God, 1952) are his three best-known collections. Almost all the stories in them have a quality of folk-lore about them. There is plenty of the primitive, the wild, and the earthy in them and he almost sings a folk-song as he progresses with his narrations. 'Jhumike' is a story about the natives of the Punjab jungle-belt, 'Lāl Dhārti' is set in Andhra, while 'Kuṅg Poś' has the Himalayas as its background.

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The Successors

Kulwant Singh Virk (b. 1921), leader of the generation of story writers that followed Sant Singh Sekhon and Gurcharan Singh, is a perfect artist in the field. His stories are fast moving, well trimmed and modern. He unravels the extraordinary thinking and doings of the ordinary village folk of the Sheikhupura District (now in Pakistan), where, he was born and brought up. He has also written stories of the Partition tragedy on both sides of the border. His is a very intimate and realistic study of these events, because he was connected with the rehabilitation department and operated on both sides of the border during the worst days of Partition. 'Murde Di Tākat' (The Power of the Dead) is a good example of his writing. 'Ṣāh Welā' (The Morning Time), 'Tūri Di Paṇḍ' (The Fodder Bundle), 'Pauna Ādmi' (Three-fourth of a Man), 'Ujāṛ' (The Wilderness), 'Opari Dharti' (Unknown Place), 'Dūdh Da Chappar' (Milk Pond) and 'Saban Di Chippar' (A Slice of Soap) are some of the more popular stories by Virk. They illustrate the unique understanding he had of his countryside and its people.

Amrita Pritam. Amrita Pritam (originally Amrit Kaur, b. 1919), though a renowned poetess, has been a persistent story-writer right from 1940 onwards. At that time she was editor of *Navīn Duniyā* (The New World), which was published from Lahore and which, after *Preet Lari* and *Pāñj Darya*, was the most popular Punjabi journal of the forties. *Jaṅgli Būṭe* (The Wild Plants), *Chandrida Haunka* (The Sigh of the Moonshine), *Akhri Khat* (The Last Letter), *Gojar Dian Parian* (The Fairies of Gojan) and *Ajnabi* (The Stranger) are some of her short story collections. Her favourite theme is female liberation in Indian settings, but many of the stories take a sentimental turn.

Balwant Gargi. Balwant Gargi (b. 1916) has a style all his own. He is fascinated by the odd, the exotic, the queer, and the irrational in human beings and excels in characterizing such personalities. Irony and satire are his strong points. Although known for his plays and stagecraft, Gargi shines as a raconteur too, revelling in the dramatic. He is credited with some of the best short stories written in Punjabi. *Ḍullhe Ber* (Fallen Ber), *Chāndni Di Chādar* (Spread of Moonlight—A Cover), *Do Hāth* (Two Hands) and *Kāla Ām* (Black Mango) are his best known collections of short stories. His story 'Sau Mil Daur' (Hundred Mile Race) was adjudged the best in a competition held in 1954. A year later, his *Do Hāth* won an award in the World Youth Festival. He is also a satirist and some of his pen-sketches of contemporary Punjabi writers read like short stories, gripping the reader from beginning to end.

Dalip Kaur Tiwana. Dalip Kaur (b. 1935) in the Malwa tract of the Indian Punjab is a writer of feminine protest against the cruelty man inflicts on Indian womanhood. Unwanted or orphaned girls, women married to bad husbands, and wives who do not produce male children being deserted by husbands who often take second wives are the subjects of her compassion. For these are the women condemned by Punjabi society to live and die suffering, without love or affection. Sentiment predominates in her stories and affects the style of her narration. *Taratan* (Excruciating Pains,) *Vairāge Nain* (Eyes Full of Sorrow), *Vedna* (Sufferings), *Yātra* (The Journey) and *Tūṅ Bharin Huṅgara* (You Please Respond) are her best known collections.

Nav Tej Singh. Nav Tej Singh (b. 1924) is the son of the celebrated Gurbux Singh Preet Lari. His earliest attempts at short stories were contributions to his father's magazine. *Deś Vāpsi* (Return to the Nativeland), *Navīn Ṛut* (The New Season), *Basmati Di Mehk* (The Smell of Basmati Rice) and *Chanan De Bij* (Seeds of Light) are some of his short story collections. 'Bashira' and 'Tamil Kunanda' are two of his most memorable stories.

Nav Tej Singh was a committed progressive whose writings have a pronounced Marxist bent. 'Pehli Chummu' (First Kiss) is a satire on the so-called love-making of the rich, who, according to the author, are incapable of real love. This theme is maintained in stories like Basmati Di Mehk. Stories like 'Bhagan Di Dor' (String of Fate) describe sympathetically the social and intellectual backwardness of those exploited by the religious obscurantists. *Navīn Ṛut* talks of the peasant's struggle against landlordism.

Sethi and Joshi. Surjit Singh Sethi and Mohinder Singh Joshi belong to that group of pioneers who developed the Punjabi short story into an ultra-modern form. Mohinder Singh Joshi, who belongs to the erstwhile Patiala State, is a consistent writer. *Prītan De Parchāmen* (Love Shadows), *Totan Te Triptian* (Wants and Fulfilments), *Dil Ton Dūr* (Far Away From The Heart) and *Kiṛṇandi Rākh* (Burnt-out Rays) are some of his short story collections.

Surjit Singh Sethi, primarily a novelist and playwright, is also an experimental short story writer. He writes stories of the subconscious and about psychic complexes. In the stories he uses the stream of consciousness technique.

Gurdial Singh. Gurdial Singh (b. 1933), originally a school teacher, knows his people of the Malwa countryside inside out. He entered the literary arena as a short story writer, but later turned to the novel, with which he has been more successful. His published collections include *Bā kalm Khud* (By My Own Pen), *Saggi Phul* (Saggi and Phul are head-ornaments worn by the women) and *Kutta Te Ādmi* (Dog and the Man, 1972). The last named contains some of his best stories, such as 'Śaher' (City) and 'Man Antar Ki Pīr' (The Pain Deep in the Heart).

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Boota Singh and Gurdial Singh Phul. Boota Singh (Būṭa Siṅg, b. 1919) is another notable story writer belonging to the old guard. *Lo Chubare Di* (Light in the Upper Storey,) and *Supniān Di Ṣām* (Night Falls on the Dreams) are his better known collections. He has vivid memories of the old times and persons of the older generation. He describes, in elaborate detail, the customs and practices that prevailed in areas under the Muslim cultural influence. Muslim characters predominate in his fiction.

Gurdial Singh Phul (b. 1911), older than Gurcharan Singh, Narula, Duggal and the other writers of their age, is a fast story-teller who has been abundantly creative. *Līran* (Torn Cloth), *Mele Āian Tīn Janian* (Three Ladies Came to a Fair), and *Dachna* (Offerings) are among his published collections of short stories. The predominant theme in all of them is social reformation in the context of the changing Indian scene. 'Jāgo Āie Ā' (Awakening Comes) and 'Ik Pitā' (One Father) are typical stories.

Mohinder Singh Sarna. Sarna was a promising short story writer of the early fifties, whose style was all his own. He is humorous as well as satirical but at the same time tends to be sentimental. *Patthar De Ādmi* (Men of Stone), *Sagnā Bharī Saver* (An Auspicious Sun-rise, 1951) and *Supniān Di Sīma* (The Dream Land) are his published collections.

Santokh Singh Dhir. Santokh Singh Dhir (b. 1922) was born in a village in Patiala district. He has written half a dozen very powerful collections of short stories which include *Siṭṭiān Dī Chāṅ* (Under the Shadow of the Corns, 1950), *Saver Hon Tak* (Till Morning), *Sañjhi Kandh* (Common Wall) and *Ṣarāb Da Galās* (A Glass of Drink, 1969). 'Saver Hon Tak' (Till the Sunrise) and 'Sañjhi Kandh' are his best stories. 'Koi Ik Swar' (One Passenger, Please) is also a memorable story. Dhir's stories reveal his intimate knowledge of the lives, aspirations, and frustrations of the poor village folk. 'Koi Ik Swar' depicts, in graphic detail, the life of a tonga driver. *Śarab Da Galās* contains stories Dhir wrote between 1958 and 1969. 'Luṭere' (The Looters), 'Anhi Pīhndi Hai' (Blind Woman Grinds), 'Gauan' (Cows) and 'Śer' (The Tiger), which appear in this volume, once again confirmed Dhir's esteem as an artist.

Ajit Kaur. Ajit Kaur belongs to Delhi. She started with a sentimental theme and developed a style of her own. Her first stories were full of unfulfilled yearnings for male love. But she soon got rid of these signs of immaturity and began to write some very powerful stories about the relationship between the sexes in the changing Indian social context. *Gul Bano*, *Mehk Di Mout* (Death of Fragrance) and *Dhūp wāla Shehr* (Sunlit City) are her collections.

Other Story Writers

Gulzar Singh Sandhu (b. 1935) started writing brisk, fast-moving short stories with a rural background earlier than Ajit Kaur and made a mark with his story collections *Husan De Hani* (Companions of Beauty), *Ik Saṅg Purāṇi* and *Sone Di Itt* (Gold Brick). His is the story of the villager or peasant, but he also occasionally ventures into city life familiar to him. 'Ghar Wāli' (Wife), 'Miri' and 'Muklawa' (Honeymoon) are his representative short stories.

Jaswant Singh Virdi (b. 1934) is a fantasy-maker and is unique in style and mannerism. *Pīr Paraie* (Other's Suffering), *Apni Apni Sīma* (Everybody's Own Limit) and *Gam de Sak* (Relation of Grief) are his collections. 'Lāl tel' (Red Oil) and 'Tāre Toṛṇa' (Picking the Stars) are typical stories.

Ravinder Ravi belongs to the new tribe of short story writers. He published his collection *Charavi* (The Shepherd Girl) before he left for Africa in the fifties. *Kon Pratikon* and *Ṣehr Vich Jaṅgal* (Jungle in the City) are his other collections of short stories. He has given to Punjabi, short stories with foreign locales and people, and has sexual behaviour as his favourite theme.

Others who belong to the present generation of Punjabi short-story writers include Kartar Singh Suri, Mehram Yar, Gurmukh Singh Jeet, Mohan Bhandari and, the most promising and prolific of the lot, Ram Saroop Ankhi. With the works of these writers, almost the end of the seventies is reached. Taken as a whole, the Punjabi short story has done well in quantity as well as quality from its very beginnings in the twenties. Among its writers there are at least half a dozen who can claim a place in any all-India collection. There is also a host of young writers who are successful heirs to the tradition.

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Sanskrit

S. S. JANAKI

The antiquity of Sanskrit, the classical language of India, is well known, but its continuity is not less remarkable. Sanskrit writers have never lived in isolation. In keeping with the true Indian tradition, they have assimilated in their writings, as in their way of life, elements from non-Indian sources with which they have had occasion for association. The assimilation has been such that the Sanskrit authors have retained their individuality, while organically grafting into their work these elements. This is illustrated well by the modern short story in Sanskrit.

Inspired by the modern western short story, Sanskrit enthusiasts took to writing short stories—with one main incident, one or two predominant characters, minor incidents culminating, after a period of suspense, in a climax, and, finally, the *dénouement*. They had a rich treasure of ancient examples, as well as a variety of literary styles, to draw their inspiration from.

From the dawn of the modern period, short stories in the modern manner have appeared in numerous Sanskrit periodicals, as well as separate collections. Indeed, these short stories are so many in number, and of such interesting variety in form, style and content, that a bibliography of them would be quite worthwhile.

Primers. The necessity to write simple elegant prose narrative arose because students of Sanskrit had to be provided with reading material. For this purpose authors retold episodes in the *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas*, the numerous fables and popular tales. The language of the stories was simple and progressively graded, thus enabling students to go through the maze of Sanskrit grammar and idiomatic construction almost imperceptibly and gradually. Works such as *Saṁskṛta Gadyāvali* by P. V. Kane and *Kathāratnākara* (1910) by M. K. Tirunarayana Iyengar are examples of such work.

Sometimes efforts were made to present classical Sanskrit works in easy prose. On the one hand, such prose works as those of Bāṅa (*Harṣacarita* and *Kādambarī*), and Subandhu (*Vāsavadattā*), were pruned and presented in easy abridged versions by R. V. Krishnamacharya, V. V. Mirashi and others. On the other, the stories of the Sanskrit dramas of Bhasa and Kalidasa were presented in prose narrative form by V. Anantacharya, Y. Mahalinga Sastri, K. L. V. Sastri, and Kailasanatha. The writing in these collections deserves recognition due to the specific efforts made by the writers in assimilating, editing and presenting the works of well-known classical authors. Even in the matter of style, the remodellers revealed their natural capacity and artistry, although the diction of the originals was recognisable here and there.

Grammar-cum-Story. A strictly grammar-cum-story book is the *Kaumudīkathākallolinī* (1961) of Rama Sarana Sastri. In the title of this work, *Kaumudī* means both 'moonshine' as well as the standard Sanskrit grammar text, *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhattoji Dikshita (Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita). This story-collection is bright like moonshine and also illustrates the rules of grammar as formulated in the *Siddhāntakaumudī*. This twin task is certainly difficult, although we have ancient specimens of this type in the *Bhaṭṭi Kāvya* (6th-7th century), *Dhātukāvya* etc. The stories narrated in this fashion in the *Kaumudīkathākallolinī* are from such early sources as *Kathāsaritsāgara*, *Kādambarī* and Dandin's *Daśakumāracarita*.

Beast-Fables. The *Pañcatantra*, a collection of beast-fables in Sanskrit, is the solitary work of its kind. Available from Java to Ireland, in nearly 200 different versions in more than 50 languages, the *Pañcatantra* has perhaps a more interesting history than any other book in world literature. It is heartening to see that the hoary tradition of fable-writing, which attained its consummation in the *Pañcatantra*, is still being kept alive today.

Kapīnām Upavāsah (The Monkeys' Fast) is an enjoyable story in 31 *upajāti* verses by D. T. Tatacharya (1892–1973) of Tirupati. In it, a monkey-chief gets together all its fellow-beings, and, in the assembly, praises such prominent ancestors of its class as Vali, Sugriva and Hanuman. It maintains that their clan is nothing short of the human tribe; hence the conduct of life prescribed for humans can be followed by the monkeys too. As a first step in this direction, the leader orders a fast for all the monkeys the following day, which happens to be an *Ekādaśī*. The monkeys readily agree and start the next day with early baths and meditation. But seeing a *Jambu* tree nearby, they think there is nothing wrong in going near the tree, as the fast is to be broken the next day under the tree. Gradually they go nearer and nearer. As the winds blow and the ripe fruits fall down, they decide that there is nothing wrong in keeping the fruits in their cup-like cheeks. One can imagine what happens to the fruit in the mouths.

This simple story about the vagaries of the monkeys is well conceived and narrated by the author in simple, idiomatic Sanskrit. The depiction of the monkeyish actions,

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their approbation on hearing the Chief's command and their inability to control their appetite at the sight of the ripe fruit, are all depicted in a very naturalistic manner.

General. D. T. Tatacharya, Y. Mahalinga Sastri and K. L. Vyasaraya Sastri, all pandits of exceptionally high attainment in Sanskrit, have made useful contributions to the short story, in chaste, elegant and idiomatic Sanskrit. Stories with modern themes, such as *Vadhūviniścaya* (Choice of Daughter-in-law) by D. T. Tatacharya, *Aśvapālasya Añjanasya Kathā* (Story of Horse-keeper Anjana) by Y. Mahalinga Sastri and *Dārikāpaharaṇam* (Girl's Kidnap) have been published in the periodical *Saṁskṛtapratibhā*.

Anyōkti (Indirect Expression). *Anyōkti* or *Anyāpadeśa* is a particular class of recognized literature that is mainly prevalent in *Subhāṣitas*, 'stray moral verses'. But story-narration through *Anyōkti* was not known in the early phases of literature. This medium was successfully exploited for the first time by Mathuranath Sastri (b. 1889) in his short story *Hīraka* (Diamond), published in *Saṁskṛtapratibhā* (I. ii.1959).

Another unique feature of *Hīraka* is that it is autobiographical as well. A person of extraordinary virtue and learning, but one who is not properly recognized in the world owing to adverse fate, recounts his story in *Hīraka*. The author says: 'I am a diamond. In the gem-group I am greatly honoured as *vajramaṇi* (hard gem). I am not only a precious stone, but indeed the gem-quality of the other gems is dependent on me. For those who know my worth, I am a diamond; for those wretched persons who know not my value, I am just a stone. My charm and unique beauty are utterly in vain for the undiscerning, like a mirror held by the blind. How I secured my splendent form with great difficulty is known only to me.'

The story proceeds in this strain. It narrates how the diamond, that was found in a mine in Kimberley, South Africa, reaches a trader, who, in turn, sells it to another for a high price. The latter brings the diamond to India, where it passes through different hands before being lost and buried in the sandy banks of the Ganges. Many pilgrims press the diamond under their feet, but none takes notice of it. Ultimately an ascetic picks it up, but thinking it to be an ordinary stone he puts it in his bag of rags. Many years later the ascetic hands over the diamond to one of his sincere devotees, saying, 'My dear child, there is nothing with me except this stone, I give this to you.'

The devotee is a farmer. Afraid that children might spoil his stone-momento, he fixes it in his furrow's handle. A few years later a diamond-merchant happens to recognize the diamond for what it really is. Although the poor farmer wants to keep the stone-momento from his teacher, the price of one hundred rupees offered by the jeweller, although a poor price for the diamond, is too attractive for him to refuse and he agrees to part with it. The heart of the diamond is at breaking point, for its tale is that even a jeweller does not pay its real price. When the jeweller opens his bag and discovers the real condition of the diamond, he beats his head and cries: 'Friend, diamond, all these days, rolling under the feet of persons, you just mumbled. Then you were disgraced on the banks of the Ganges, thrown inside the rags of an ascetic and tied to the furrow-handle by a foolish farmer. You put up with all this, with the mouth closed. Now you are greatly honoured by me. But then, why are you refractory at this moment?' The diamond says in a very low tone, which perhaps the jeweller did not even hear: 'I have undergone throughout my life both regard and disregard. The rich people who bought me did me honour. Those who did not know my worth disregarded me. But that you, a jeweller, estimate my worth to be only one hundred coins, is what now breaks my heart; you would get more than thousands of coins even by selling these bits of mine.'

Realism. P. S. Subbarama Pattar is a prominent story writer from Kerala. *Ābhīrakumāraḥ* (Cowherd, *Saṁskṛta Pratibhā* III. i. 1961), *Uñcchavṛttiḥ* (Gleaner) (*ibid.* IV.i. 1963), *Mañjulā* (*ibid.* IV. II. 1964) and *Suvarṇapuṣpam* (Golden Flower) (*ibid.* IX. ii. 1972) are some of his well-known stories. Whatever his theme, there is striking naturalism in his treatment of it in his stories. The author makes the reader feel the story. The simple, idiomatic prose interspersed with pithy, forceful dialogue, makes impressive reading and a lasting impression. *Ābhīrakumarah* is the simple story of a cowherd who studies Sanskrit language and literature diligently under the benign care of a Sanskrit teacher in a village in Kerala. This is how the story starts:

'My dear, what is your name?'
'Revered sir, Govinda.'
'How old are you?'
'Ten.'
'In which school do you study?'
'I don't study anywhere. Father says there is no money for study.'
'Who is your father? What is his name?'
'His name is Sankara. He grazes the cows of the villagers.'

The teacher meets the father, who sincerely feels that learning Sanskrit will serve no purpose for his son. But persuaded by the teacher, Sankara admits his son to the local Sanskrit *Pāṭhaśālā* where there is always a dearth of students. Govinda is quick and intelligent. One day, the wife of the teacher has a severe headache. No medicine relieves her suffering. But the devoted Govinda brings her a

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forest herb from Sankara and it proves beneficial. The practical knowledge of Sankara opens the eyes of the teacher and he starts the study of Ayurveda.

There are similar touching incidents in the other stories of Subbarama Pattar, and in all of them the narration is realistic. In *Uñcchavṛttiḥ*, there is a true delineation of the gleaner who is known only as Unnchavṛttih to the villagers. In *Suvarṇapuṣpam*, the Tulasi plant in the courtyard of an orthodox couple, Ranganatha and Kalyani, is worshipped daily by their daughter Ganga. Under the Sanskrit teacher Ranganatha studied Srinivasa, whom Ganga ultimately married, and his friend, a Westerner. The plant is a silent witness to all the household happenings.

T. A. Sarasvati's *Parājaya* (Defeat: *Samskṛtapratibha*, II. ii. 1960) is a simple realistic narration of a petted child Kuttan, who had been born to a family bereft of a child for 20 years. He does not want to attend school for reasons known only to himself. When he eventually does attend school, he keeps aloof from teachers and fellow-students. When the annual results in the school are announced, he cries bitterly thinking that he has failed in the final examination. But the truth is that his real name, C. Balakrishnan, is on the pass list, not his nickname 'Kuttan'.

Humour, Satire. Among today's short stories there are several humorous and satirical ones. Ganapati Sukla in *Samāsokticamatkṛtiḥ* (*Saṁskṛtapratibhā*, III. ii. 1961) recounts the story of a talkative, lazy man who does not support his family. Persuaded by his wife, herself a wage-earner, he joins the army, but squanders his earnings. *Tato jayam udīrayet* (*ibid.* III. ii. 1961) by Ashok Aklujkar (now teaching in British Columbia, Canada) is a long satire on the controversies over a student choosing his major in the under-graduate class. Using such modern expressions as *śikṣāniyamāvali* (syllabus), *vidyālayasundarī* (college beauty) and *vāṅmayaśākhā* (humanities), yet echoing the works of famous ancient poets, the author satirizes contemporary student life, society, etc.

Sannidhanam Suryanarayana Sastri has translated in the *Āndhradeśyakathāh* (Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi, Hyderabad, 1964) several stories of Tenali Rama, Paramananda's pupils and Venkataramanayya.

Social. Pandita Khama Rao (1890–1954) is a versatile and progressive writer. Her collection of five stories, *Kathāpañcaka* (1933) in *Anuṣṭubh* verses, was originally written in English and then translated by her into Sanskrit. Her themes are social reform, child-marriage, early widowhood, etc. Her stories are simply constructed, yet the characterization is effective. Her collection of fifteen stories has been issued posthumously in a volume entitled *Kathāmuktāvali* (1954). They are a unique contribution to Sanskrit Literature because they are written in the modern western technique, yet are based on Indian life and the problems of the day.

Translations

In the contemporary Sanskrit journals such as *Samskṛtapratibhā*, there is a separate section for Sanskrit renderings from other languages. Amongst the short-story writers, Leo Tolstoy has captured the imagination of more than one writer. V. Raghavan (1908–79) has translated one of Tolstoy's stories under the title *Aṇḍapramāṇakam Dhānyam* in *Samskṛtaratibhā* (II. i. 1960). *Tolstoy Kathāsaptakam* (1970) by Bhagiratha Prasad is another translation.

Kathāmañjarī (1957) is a collection of eleven stories. They were originally written by the Mother of the Aurobindo Ashram in French and were called *Belles Histories*. Like the stories in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, the stories are instructive and teach self-control, simple life and truth.

The ancient art of story-telling is still not forgotten; the only difference is that the modern Sanskrit short story deals with living problems, social conditions and realistic situations. Its variety is now considerable.

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Sindhi

ARJAN MIRCHANDANI 'SHAD'

The Beginnings

If short story writing is to be regarded as a modern art with a distinctive character, almost a new genre, then the Sindhi short story goes back only to the thirties. Prior to that, plot development was rudimentary, the weaving of incidents arbitrary and characters were described rather than portrayed through action and dialogue. The themes of these stories were invariably overburdened with sentiment and the stories were generally written with a moral purpose. They were, however, quite interesting to read. A typical example is 'Siyani Sas' (Sagacious Mother-in-Law, 1931) by Pribhdas Bherumal. The story is about a young wife who is a spendthrift and the inability of her weak husband to correct her, even though he gets deeper and deeper into debt. The whole plot is cleverly contrived yet plausible, but incident is deliberately piled upon incident and the story does not have a natural growth of its own. Nevertheless, this story was an achievement for those times. Going further back to such stories as 'Kiṣni jo Kaṣṭ' (The Sorrows of Kishni, 1917), 'Lajjāvati' (The Bashful, 1920) and 'Nandhri Naina' (Young Naina, 1946) by Lalchand Amardinomal (Lālcand Amardinomal, 1885–1954), it will be seen that even the artistry of a convincing contrivance is absent in them, though they are all surcharged with intense pathos.

Western Influence

Strictly speaking, it was in 1930 that the Sindhi short story received a fresh orientation. Responsible for this was a young writer of 23, Amarlal Hingorani (Amarlāl Hiṅgorāṇi, ?– 1956), whose stories were published in *Phulvari*, a short-lived magazine which he started that year. Hingorani carefully constructed each plot to achieve subtlety and then introduced an element of surprise at the climax of each story. Apart from these new characteristics to be found in his stories, there is convincing evidence that the author was a great reader of Maupassant and O. Henry, from whom he imbibed the essentials of a new technique of story-writing. To them he obviously owes his sense of the unity of impression which is typical of the modern short story. In his story 'Lali', the very idea of real and imitation jewellery, on which the plot hinges, may have been derived from Maupassant's *The Necklace*.

One of Hingorani's best stories, 'Ado Abdul Rehman' (Brother Abdul Rehman, 1930), does not, however, strictly follow the Maupassant–O. Henry pattern. This famous story, which has been included in a volume of the *World's Best Short Stories* published by UNESCO, is written in a novel and highly interesting style. There is not only a constant dialogue between Abdul Rehman and his inner self (*Brother Abdul Rehman, how selfish you are! Was it right to have left that stone where it was? What if another wayfarer should trip over it?*), but whatever is said to him by other characters in the story is also heard first by the inner self, who then communicates it to Abdul Rehman and instructs him how to reply (*Brother Abdul Rehman, Courtpeon is asking you to enter barefooted and so appear respectful. Tell him you procured the shoes for that very purpose*). It is always the inner self who is supposed to be speaking through the person of Abdul Rehman rather than Abdul Rehman himself. The author's purpose is obviously to portray an egoless type of character. The mode of Abdul Rehman's speech becomes most amusing for other characters as well as the readers of the story.

Another outstanding story by Hingorani is 'Budhi-a-ji Bajh' (An Old Mother's Benediction), which deals with the silly custom of not allowing the wife and husband to talk freely during the day in the old joint family atmosphere. Here is an extract that refers to the old marriage custom:

> She said that she would meet the daughter-in-law at the entrance of the door. It was an old custom. She met the bridegroom and the bride near the door. She placed the lid made of potsherds upon the head of the bride and kept an earthen lamp over it. The bride was bewildered. She said to herself what drama it was! Lal's mother said to her 'Be like the lid and cover up all defects, if any, of the house. Like a lamp bring light in darkness.'

The story is a masterpiece in irony and is noteworthy for its economy of narration and dialogue. The style is terse, no word being wasted, and the story reaches its climax swiftly, making a concentrated emotional impact, the end being very much in the Maupassant manner.

Contemporary with Amarlal Hingorani were two short-story writers of distinction—Nadir Beg (Nādir Beg, 1891–1940), son of the famous Sindhi scholar Mirza Qalich Beg, and Assanand Mamtora (b. 1903). The short story as a literary form had not yet taken deep root because writers had not become aware of its possibilities. Thus, while striving to achieve form, their output was limited. Hingorani wrote only ten or twelve complete short stories, several

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others being left incomplete for reasons unknown. In the case of Nadir Beg, only eight or ten stories are known, most of them having been published in the *Sindhu Monthly* between 1932 and 1936.

Nadir Beg writes with great romantic gusto, the flow of his words seeming endless. The sentiments he expresses are simple and direct, with no subtlety of nuance in emotion. It is only his 'Ghar ji Chika' (Desire for a Home, 1932) which shows a touch of the author's real genius. This story of rejected love ending successfully in acceptance is worked out with psychological depth and is constructed in the modern manner, with no touch of artificiality.

Nadir Beg's lovers are always perfect gentlemen, and the Muslim lover in 'Ghar ji Chika' is true to type. The Christian girl he loves has rejected him chiefly because they disagree on ideas. He believes, like a true conservative Muslim, that a woman's place is in the home. She, true to her progressive upbringing, feels that a woman is not a slave of her husband and home, but should be free to do social and political work. The two do not meet for a whole year. Then suddenly he telephones and tells her he is engaged to a Parsee girl. He begs her to help him furnish his house, since his fiancee is prevented from doing so by the sudden illness of her mother. The Christian girl finds the situation awkward but decides to help as best as she can. She devotes a lot of time to it, though she is not without misgivings as to how the other woman will react to her choice of furnishings. By and by, the thought that she would have been furnishing the house for herself, if she had not refused to marry the man, takes possession of her mind. She is now full of regret, but realizes it is too late. It, however, turns out that the man was not engaged and had cooked up this ruse to see if the girl would change her mind. And she does. The story, as given here in a nutshell, does not do justice to its chief merit—the thoroughly convincing manner in which the girl's mind is portrayed as, little by little, it becomes transformed. It is an altogether delightful story. Though its subject is once again love, Nadir Beg has made something totally different from it. It is very unfortunate that just as he was acquiring a firm grip on the essentials of the modern short story, he died. The Sindhi short story lost with him one who would have developed its form and content to a considerable extent.

Assanand Mamtora, the third important writer of this period, was instrumental in laying the foundation of the Sindhi short story firmly. In all, he wrote only about a dozen short stories, each bearing the stamp of idealism. Two or three of these he based on Freudian ideas of sex, thus introducing a new and modern element in the Sindhi short story. Of these, the best known is 'Kiki' (Little Girl, 1939), which has been translated not only into English but also into Italian. The English translation first appeared in *Modern Short Stories of Indian Life* under the title 'Brahmin's Wife'. The story vividly portrays the shattered dreams of a Brahmin girl who finds a frightful contrast between the backgrounds of her home life before and after marriage. She was brought up in an atmosphere of culture and refinement, but finds her husband an ignorant man and his ways uncouth. When she sleeps by his side, she is filled with nausea by the stink of cow-dung that emanates from him. She gratifies her unsatiated desires by caressing the the smooth trunk of a tree or by fondling a young deer. One day, while day-dreaming, she sees herself worshipping the lingam (phallus) of god Siva. The lingam suddenly turns into a man. She flings herself into his arms and spends a few golden moments there. As the vision fades, she finds that the man's face resembles her father's. She is stricken with horror and tries to forget the dream by busying herself with her daily work. Social and religious fears take possession of her. Her disillusionment and mental struggle would have shattered her, but the serious physical injury her husband suddenly suffers evokes her motherly instincts and she devotes herself to nursing him. The writer does not adopt a slow process to transform sexual feelings into motherly emotion, as would have been the case in ordinary circumstances. He makes the shift by introducing another episode so naturally that the psychological changeover is made without a jerk. The theme has been handled with consummate artistry in a language that is most evocative. The only defect is that there is not a single bit of dialogue throughout the story. It is a pity that Mamtora gave up writing short stories after 1941–42. Mamtora's first collection consisted of four stories only and was published by *Kahāni* (Short Story) publications in 1938–39.

The contribution made to the development of the Sindhi short story by the monthly magazine *Kahani* (1939), edited by Jagat Advani (Jagat Ādvani, b. 1914), is incalculable. Similar contributions were made before 1947 in such magazines as *Sindhu* (ed. Bulcand Rajpal), *Sunder Sāhit* (ed. Melaram Vasvani, from 1924), *Nain Duniya* (ed. Gobind Panjabi, Gobind Malthi), *Ratan Sāhit Maṇḍal* (ed. Parumal Kesalramani from 1934), *Asha* (ed. Dayo Sabhani from 1941), *Bharat Jivan* (ed. Jethanand Lalvani from 1941), and *Baghi* (ed. Mohan Panjabi). All these magazines published translations of great short stories from Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Marathi and Urdu. They also published translations of stories by Gorky, Chekhov, O. Henry, Maupassant and many other foreign writers. All these translations including stories of Munshi Premchand, Rabindranath Tagore, Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, Sudarshan, and Krishan Chander had a great impact on Sindhi writers, and inspired them to write original stories in Sindhi. These were published in several collections, noteworthy amongst which were *Sard Ahun* by Gobind Panjabi, *Registani Phula* (Desert Flowers—a collection of stories by thirteen different writers), *Sindhi Kahāniyun* (Sindhi Short Stories—a collection of eight stories by different writers, 1947), and *Sindhi Kahāniyun* (Sindhi Short Stories—a collection of

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original stories by different writers, 1947; Boghi Publications).

After Partition, periodicals like *Nain Duniya* (New World, ed. Uttam), *Rabel* (Jasmine, from 1964), *Akhani* (Story), *Kunj* (Crane, ed. Hari Motwani, 1960) and *Priha Phuti* (Dawn, ed. L. Pushp, from 1963) have been instrumental in publishing hundreds of short stories, either in the periodicals themselves or in collections brought out by them.

After Partition

The alliance between Soviet Russia and the democracies during the Second World War helped to introduce Marxist ideology in Sind. As a result, Sindhi writers, like writers in other parts of India, started seeing human problems in a new light and treated all kinds of themes witnessed as society changed. The following laid the foundations of 'Progressive Writing' in Sindhi: Gobind Panjabi (Gobind Pañjābi, b. 1918), Gobind Malhi (Gobind Mālhī, b. 1921), Shaikh Ayaz (Ṣaikh Ayaz, b. 1923), Ram Amarlal Panjwani (Rām Amarlāl Pañjvāṇī), Anand Golani (Ānand Golāṇī, b. 1925), Bhagvan Lalvani (Bhagvān Lālvānī) and Sugan Ahuja (Sigan Āhūja, 1921–66). At this juncture, however, when the short story was developing on sound lines, the calamity of Partition overtook the country. Writers on both sides of the divide received a set-back and it took them some time to regain lost enthusiasm.

About one-and-a-quarter million Sindhi Hindus migrated to India. In time, the severe hardships they endured to rehabilitate themselves became the natural subjects for their creative writing. Despite the terrible handicaps they were burdened with, Sindhi writers produced stories in a sizeable number. From 1948–56, practically all writers devoted themselves in varying degrees to themes such as unemployment and the hardships suffered by the working class in general. Writers like Kirat Babani (Kirat Babāni, b. 1922) and Uttam (b. 1923) concentrated on these topics; others like Krishin Rahi (Kriṣin Rāhi, b. 1932) and Popati Hiranandani (Popṭī Hirānandāṇī, b. 1924) wrote of social evils. The writings of this period acquired a realistic colour. Gobind Panjabi had a penchant for the dramatic and saw life in a forthright manner. His themes are noble, but if he were less obsessed with the social significance of his problems, his stories would be more interesting. Kala Prakash (Kala Prakaṣ) chose themes from the life around, but her treatment of them is ultra-sentimental.

Another favourite subject of writers during this period was the nostalgic memories of Sind that was no more theirs. Kala's 'Khanvahan' (Khanvahan, name of a village in Sind) is a typical example of this. Loknath Jetley (Loknath Jetli) was another short story writer of this period who used his pen to paint life as it had been lived in Sind. Using the indigenous idiom of the soil, he made Sind and its typical characters unforgettable.

Despite the realism found in the writing of this period, propaganda was blatant in most of the stories written during the first few years. The discussion of political and social problems, the portrayal of the sufferings of the Sindhis and their will to survive after Partition were all done in a manner that lacked artistic subtlety.

A prolific writer of this period is Anand Golani, who has exploited life's most seemingly insignificant situations. His stories, based on actual political or social events, reveal his hatred of tyranny and injustice. But he is content to write about single episodes, allowing incidents to speak for themselves without going into any kind of analysis of character. He prefers to give only a glimpse of the inner motivations of his characters and sometimes that too is missing. Of his successful stories, the best known is 'Nirāśa' (Frustration, 1952), the theme of which is childless widowhood early in life. The desire for motherhood is subtly brought out when the young widow gives her breast to the hungry infant her sister left behind to be looked after by her.

In Sundri Uttamchandani (Sundri Uttamcandāṇi, b. 1924), Sindhi has a woman-writer who writes with the specific purpose of supporting all that socialism stands for. She observes maladjustments in human relations and laments the distortion of the values of life and the excessive importance given to money. Her range of topics includes the domestic, social and marital problems of Sindhis and her approach is always ethical. But in probing the lurking evil and exposing it, she displays a warped vision. In her quest for the idealistic, she becomes one-sided. Her technique is marred by the over-use of dialogue. To increase the tempo of action, she sometimes makes very obvious efforts. A good example of this is her story 'Hi Shahar' (This City, 1956), in which the Gurkha watchman of a block of flats in Bombay is represented as being ill-treated by the tenants in a most exaggerated way. This exaggeration has been resorted to, in order to emphasize the desired conclusion: the middle class treat their servants shabbily. After some time, the Gurkha suddenly dies. Each tenant contributes five rupees towards a parting gift for the beautiful young widow. The writer ends the story with the satirical observation: 'What else is this city capable of giving except a little money?'

Also prominent during this period was the eminent writer, Prof. Ram Panjwani (Ram Pañjvāni, b. 1911), who concentrates on individual characters. Righteous conduct and a firm faith in God are their strongest assets. Panjwani's stories 'Baloch' (Baloch, name of a tribesman in Baluchistan) and 'Mohomed Gadi-a-varo' (Mohomed, the Carriage-Driver), whose locales are pre-Partition Sind, have been acclaimed as his masterpieces. His collection of short stories, *Anokha Azmuda* (Strange Experiences, 1964), was

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given the Sāhitya Akademi Award for 1964. In 'Baloch', the writer, while depicting the bold and truthful character of Baloch, shows how his hero accepts the court's adverse judgement as retribution for a murder he had committed in the past and for which an innocent man had been hanged, while he got off scot-free.

Chandulal Jaisinghani (Candulal Jaisinghāṇi, b. 1919) constructs his stories from actual experience. He often writes in the first person (sometimes even using his name) and observes the fundamental principle of 'unity of impression' well. His story 'Kalākār' (Artist, 1973) shows his uninhibited approach. A woman-admiring artist, he wants to be true to his art, so much so that the nude paintings he had hung in his studio are all those of his own wife, his contention being that 'a thing of beauty is a joy for ever'.

Krishin Khatvani (Kṛśin Khaṭvāni, b. 1927), who also belongs to this period, still continues to write. But in a period abounding in stark realism, he is the lone standard-bearer of unrealistic romance. He paints in false colours the sentiments his characters express. Like a romanticist, he gives more importance to incidents; and in doing so, he lets his imagination run away with him. The writer's descriptions of natural scenes and the romantic feelings of his characters are very picturesque and poetic, but these do not make up for the unreality of his plot-fabric.

Coming somewhat later in point of time, are Anchal (Añcal, b. 1928) and K. S. Balani (Bālāṇī, 1930–70), who must, of necessity, be mentioned. Each produced just one masterpiece. Anchal wrote 'Chhuhau' (Touch) on the theme of the subtle and devastating effect of a woman's touch on a man determined not to remarry. Balani wrote the moving story 'Prabha ain Krānti' (Prabha and her Revolt, 1960) on the sex-tribulations of a young Brahmin widow.

Voyage Within. The monthly *Kunj*, edited by Hari Metvani, has, of all Sindhi magazines, rendered the greatest service to the cause of Sindhi literature, especially the short story, by encouraging new talent and new experiments. The magazine was responsible for the emergence of a new group of talented short-story writers.

Mohan Kalpana widened the horizons of the Sindhi short story. Before him, the Sindhi short story was limited to the social and political reality of life; he now turned it inwards. A noteworthy feature of his writing is his imaginative and virile use of language, which imparts to his stories a poetic charm and, to some extent, compensates for the unreality of their atmosphere. His plots are fantastic, but he has a genius for construction and so the threads of his stories never hang loose. He combines into a masterly unity a large number of incidents. Thus, despite the rambling nature of his plots and his large canvas, he is able to create an overall artistic effect. His characters are generally creatures of thought rather than of feeling. They move mostly on the intellectual plane, and complications in the stories arise out of the different viewpoints they passionately argue for.

Since Mohan Kalpana's situations and characters are not true to the society or social groups to which they are supposed to belong, the overall effect on the mind of the reader is one of unreality, because in real life both characters and incidents are conditioned by well-prescribed codes of social behaviour. To illustrate: In 'Mān Apmān' (Respect and Disrespect, 1965), there is an argument between the lovers, Shekhar and Rekha, during the period of courtship. Rekha doubts whether Shekhar is attracted to her in any way other than the physical. The petulant Shekhar, to prove his sincerity, decides to abstain from physical relations with her after marriage. Though the details of the situation appear extremely implausible, the writer shows his ability to sustain narrative interest well.

Another distinguished short-story writer, Lal Pushp (Lal Puṣp, b. 1935), started writing a little later than Mohan Kalpana, but is generally considered his contemporary. Pushp was gradually drawn to the Freudian approach in his stories. The man-woman relationship was his favourite subject. In his early stories, Lal Pushp tried to work up to the climax systematically. He took themes from ordinary life, dealt with them in a straightforward manner, and gave a convincing picture of his characters. The more important stories of this early group were purely character studies. Among them, 'Devan' (name of a person) and 'Gungo' (Mute) present unforgettable characters from the lower strata. Devan is a many-sided character in love with a wife who does not care for him. He drinks himself to death when she runs away with a neighbour. 'Gungo' is a moving love story that ends in heartbreak. The mute sees the woman whom he loves, and who loves him, forcibly married to someone else. As he sees her being taken away by her husband, his lips and tongue make a tremendous effort to shape the word Chandra—her name—and to call her. He succeeds and every one is stunned. The call reaches Chandra as her carriage moves away and silently she sheds two tears.

Influenced by some foreign authors, Lal Pushp started moulding his art of story-telling in their manner. It is obvious that writers like Henry James, James Joyce, Virginia Woolf or Dorothy Richardson did not invent a new form for the sake of novelty but because their material made the form inevitable. There is a definite fusion between content and form in their stories. Lal Pushp uses the technique of 'stream of consciousness' unsatisfactorily. He describes a particular state of mind again and again, with very slight verbal variations. Situations are not developed but just stretched out, the ending being unnecessarily deferred. He over-elaborates, so that what is really simple is needlessly made to appear intricate and involved. The repetitiveness induces boredom. Lal Pushp starts his stories very effectively, diving right away into the action,

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but his stories then get out of hand and leave at the end a sense of unnatural rounding-off. He gives the impression that he has come to conclusions about human relationships at the beginning and thereafter merely illustrates his theses by ready-made situations.

A third writer, Guno Samtani (Guno Sāmtāṇī, b. 1934), completes this group. He writes sparingly, but with an obvious artistic maturity. He has discarded the conventional approach to short-story writing, which hinges on one situation. His method is to reveal his characters through a number of retrospective situations connected by a philosophical premise which he sets out to demonstrate. His 'Bandhan' (Bondage, 1960) is a really difficult story, but the difficulty is caused only by the technique adopted: that of going back and forth in the time dimension. In the short story, such a technique can become very taxing. But the experiment was worth making. The story is about two singers, one a woman, able to dedicate herself and give of herself generously to the public; the other, a man, shy and retiring, living in his own shell. It is a story with a very moving end. The woman is in love with the man, but he confesses his own love for her too late: only when she informs him that she is engaged to another. In that instant, the walls that had held him a prisoner within himself crumble and he too becomes free. The last scene, described in a masterly fashion, makes the story unforgettable. Guno Samtani's style has an aesthetic appeal all its own. He has a special gift for words and can reach the heads and hearts of his readers easily and agreeably. Guno Samtani is conspicuously different from other short-story writers. His characters live in a vacuum and are not moulded by outer circumstances. He feels that as his characters deal with problems of the 'mind', they are immune from social influences. An atmosphere of idealism pervades all his stories; this, however, makes him too philosophic at times. He was given the Sahitya Akademi Award for his short-story collection *Aparājita* (The Unbeaten).

The stories of Ishwar Chandra (Isvar Candra, b. 1937) have certain distinctive qualities, the main one being his diction, by which his work can easily be recognized. There is nothing sparkling about it; it has no literary beauty in the usual sense of the phrase; it is actually the spare diction of the common man without any artistic embellishments. He may even be said to write without any style at all, writing simply to communicate experience. It may appear that the writer's attitude to his characters is neutral, but there is an undercurrent of a profound observation of life, and this is actually the backbone of his stories. His themes cover a wide range and include social, economic and psychological problems.

'Moh' (Attachment) is one of Ishwar Chandra's moving stories. It is about a man who has retired from Railway Service. Having been an exceptionally conscientious worker, most orderly and methodical, he is so unhappy when he learns that the young man who has taken his place has made a mess of everything, that he calls on the head clerk and offers to help the young man in his work. His help, of course, is politely refused, and he is told that he must allow his old body to rest. He leaves the office in tears. This example gives an idea of the type of themes Ishwar Chandra likes to deal with—mainly featuring lower grade workers in offices or elsewhere.

Anand Khemani (Ānand Khemāni) is a young writer whose creative capability for short fiction is greater than that of the other writers in his age-group. He writes with a psychological understanding of human nature. His mode of writing has been influenced by the stream-of-consciousness technique, but his contents have a more objective appeal. He holds consistently to the theme of the stories, although his plots are not given much importance, being subservient to descriptions of feelings which are conveyed through such forms as the usual third person narration, soliloquy, reminiscences, letter-writing, etc. He often deals with the theme of illicit sex. One of his popular stories on that subject, 'Devta' (Godlike), is about a staid professor of science whose wife, finding that he is occupied all the time with his work, feels neglected and runs away with another man. A girl working as the professor's laboratory assistant, finding him alone, is drawn to him and becomes his mistress. His wife's experiences, with the man she runs away with, disillusions her. Realizing the worth of her husband, she writes him a letter of regret, comparing him to a god and asking to be forgiven. Without waiting for a reply she returns home, finds him absent and enters his study. There she sees her letter spread out on his table with a remark written on it in his hand: 'Woman is a prostitute for me, and I must have a prostitute always, whether she is legally married to me or not.' She is stunned and writes on it: 'Scoundrel'. That is how the story ends, revealing a very cynical view of the relationship between man and woman.

Another writer of this period who has attracted the attention of readers is Vishnu Bhatia (Viṣṇu Bhāṭiā, b. 1941). He is a prolific writer who can handle many subjects. But stories flow out of his pen faster than he can find time to polish them. The work-a-day people, in particular, draw his attention and he portrays their natural feelings very vividly. In his story 'Kan-ir' (Coward) a fine balance has been struck between situation and the main characters' reveries, as life in its true perspective is depicted. It is a story built around two contrasting characters from the same village, and the different impact a big city like Bombay has on their sex impulses. Bhatia lacks pretence and is simple and direct in his methods.

Avant-gardeism. Several new writers have sprouted of late and their experiments have produced criticisms both favourable and unfavourable. They are angry young

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persons who feel that life is a cage and not worth living. Influenced by existentialist thought, they project in their stories the meaninglessness of the human existence; the sense of boredom due to the modern mechanized way of life; the artificial and non-authentic behaviour of man resulting in self-alienation. With senior writers like Hiro Shevkani, Harish Vasvani, Shyam Jaisinghani and Anand Khemani, this trend manifests itself in philosophic colours; in a few other writers it has resulted in morbid discussions about sex and pornographic portrayals. Their stories reveal that in the present age of emotional stresses, a man has no other course but to escape into illicit sex.

In the matter of technique, writers have been making several experiments. Using these experimental techniques, some of them have turned out works of real worth. Others, however, have dabbled in such absurd experiments in narration that the stories hardly resemble stories at all. These writers seem to fight against everything that is valuable, including the tool of communication itself. They style these stories *akahani* (plotless story). However, some of them have proved responsible practitioners of this genre, especially when they have adapted the technique suitably on realizing that mere jugglery with words and theoretical analyses of the mind are not enough.

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Tamil

S. SIVAPATHA SUNDARAM

The birth of the modern short story in the West did not have an impact on Tamil till the beginning of the 20th century. In the concluding years of the 19th century and in the first decade of the 20th century, there were stray experiments with this form in the few periodicals. *Vivēka Cintāmaṇi*, which ran B. R. Rajam Iyer's novel *Kamalāmbāḷ Caritram* as a serial in 1893, contained, off and on, a few short stories. But such publications were not sustained.

With the spread of English education and the availability of stories in English, as well as English translations from the Russian and French, local writers were inspired to practise this literary form in their own languages. Rabindranath Tagore was one of those who experimented successfully with this form in Bengali and his influence on such writers as Subramania Bharati and V. V. S. Iyer, who translated many of his stories into Tamil, both from the Bengali original as well as from the English versions, led to the development of the short-story form in Tamil. Bharati and V. V. S. Iyer have themselves left a substantial corpus of work which conforms to the norms generally associated with this genre.

V. V. S. Iyer. It is with the conscious experiments of V. V. S. Iyer (1881–1925) that the birth of the short story in Tamil is associated. Iyer, a fiery nationalist sought by the British police, escaped to Pondicherry at the beginning of the First World War. It was here that he came in contact with Aurobindo and Subramania Bharati. He also turned his attention to serious literature while in exile. Iyer's brilliant critical study in English on the Ramayana of Kambar is a literary masterpiece. He also wrote a few short stories in Tamil between 1915 and 1917 and published them as a

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collection under the title *Mańkayarkarasiyin Kātal*—(Love of Mankayarkarasi and Other Stories).

Iyer's experiments have come to be regarded as model short stories as they have a variety of themes. His oft-quoted story *Kuḷattankarai Araśamaram* (The Pipal Tree by the Tank), first published in 1915 in the Journal *Vivēka Bōdini*, surprisingly under the name of his wife Bagyalakshmi Ammal, is remarkable for its sustained narration and poignant background. Though the story covers a number of incidents in the life of the heroine, its form does not seem to be as good as its narration, which employed a novel technique. The narrator is the pipal tree on the banks of a tank visited regularly by the heroine. The tree outlines the life of the unfortunate girl, who in the mistaken belief that she has been forsaken by her lover, drowns herself in the tank. Though meant to be a short story, the story reads like the summary of a novel. As Iyer was well known for employing various techniques in narration and as the story revealed the plight of a girl, this story caught the attention of critics, who projected it as an outstanding example of the genre. The influence of Tagore is very evident in this story, which also closely resembles the narration of Tagore's *Ghater Kathā* (Story of the River Stair) wherein a similar theme is handled.

It was with the story *Mańkayarkarasiyin Kātal*, the first in the collection published in 1917, that Iyer achieved fullness of the short story form. It deals with a single incident wherein Mankayarkarasi, the daughter of Karunakara Thondaman, who led the victorious Chola army in the Kalinga battle, wreaks vengeance on the villain who had caused the death of her lover. The story opens with Mankayarkarasi sitting near a temple, awaiting her lover. Contrary to her expectation, the man who comes is not her lover but Mārthāṇḍan, who proclaims that he has despatched her lover to the heavens and asks her to marry him instead. He also claims to be more heroic than her lover. Mankayarkarasi is momentarily stunned by the news but soon recovers and asks Marthandan to show her the spot where her lover died. He takes her there and she sees the body of her lover. Overcome with grief, she falls on it and weeps. Then she suddenly jumps at the villain, stabs him with the dagger she had concealed in her clothes and ends her own life on the very spot where her sweetheart was killed.

Iyer seems to have felt that concise narration of a historical incident needs some kind of an introduction for the reader. So he supplies a short note at the beginning setting out the circumstances which led to the incident. Such introductory notes are attached to two more stories in the collection. Iyer's conscious adoption of the new form and his anxiety over the acceptability of the particular technique of narration prompted him to add the prefatory notes. He says in his general preface to the book: 'As the technique is new, I have added the introductory notes, but reading the stories directly without recourse to the notes will enhance aesthetic appreciation.' Thus, it may be seen that Iyer was completely conscious of the form of the short story and wanted the readers to understand its real significance. It is to be noted that the story of *Kuḷathankarai Araśamaram* is not so compact in structure; nor does it contain the introductory note (*sūcikai*), and the fact that he did not add any prefatory note to it may be taken to mean that he himself did not regard it as perfect in form. A few other stories in this collection demonstrate that V. V. S. Iyer consciously experimented with the form of the short story, using a number of techniques, and was anxious to produce short stories as good as those in English and French, both being languages in which he was proficient. The impact of these languages, both direct and indirect, helped those who followed Iyer to further experiment with the various forms of the short story.

Bharati. V. V. S. Iyer's contemporary Subramania Bharati (Subramaṇya Bhāratī, 1882–1921), better known as a patriotic poet, also experimented with the short-story form. Apart from some allegorical didactic stories, full of humour and satire, dealing with such exotic themes as a crow learning grammar (*Kākkai Ilakkaṇam Katra Katai*), he has also written several short stories which conform to the form as well as to the unity of content. *Kānthāmaṇi*, one of his less known stories, creates the single effect said to be the forte of the modern short story. The story begins with an old widow and a young girl in conversation beside a well. A retired police official is also bathing there. There seems to be an unspoken rapport between the old woman and the old man. A Malayalee youth, an itinerant salesman, happens to come to the well to quench his thirst. The young girl, Kanthamani, suddenly gets nervous. She drops her pot of water and the upper part of her saree slips from her shoulder. Without uttering a word she walks away from the scene and the youth follows her. At this stage, the narrator changes the point of view by saying that since he had to leave his vantage point, he can only report what was told to him by a friend. This was that Kanthamani's parents had searched high and low for her, but couldn't find her. Later they receive a telegram saying that Kanthamani and the Malayalee youth had been married in a church in a nearby town. Meanwhile, the old man and the widow had eloped to Burma.

Except for this compression of time towards the end, this well-crafted story stands out as a successful attempt at the short-story form. The very beginning of the story is modern in manner. The story abruptly opens with the old woman accosting the girl: 'Kanthamani! What is your father's name?' Then follows a glimpse of the scene around. 'Something that happened near a well. Summer time. Morning. The full rays of the morning sun were lighting up everything. Blue mountains in the distance, green trees,

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some cows, a number of men, a few donkeys.' Thus begins the narrative, giving the reader a panoramic idea of the setting.

Kanthamani tells the old woman that her father is going to marry a second time since her own mother cannot bear him a male child. In recounting other aspects of the forthcoming alliance, she quotes the words of her father who uses a number of English words in expressing his advanced views about marrying a second wife, a girl who had attained puberty. This is not only an indication of the social conditions at that time, but is also an early example of the trend of using occasional English words—a trend which still continues. This story was first published in the *Swadeśamitran* in 1919 and would seem to indicate that the short story had become a part of modern Tamil writing as early as that date.

A. Madhaviah. Another contemporary of V. V. S. Iyer was A. Madhaviah (1872–1925) who, after he had acquired a reputation as a novelist, saw the possibilities of the short story to carry the message of social change. In a series of stories, which he first wrote in English, under the title *Kusikar's Short Stories*, and then translated into Tamil, he describes many social disabilities that result from adhering to blind customs. Since Madhaviah had a definite purpose for writing these stories, he was not able to maintain the form of the short story as it was understood at that time. While his stories may not qualify as successful examples of the short-story form, they represent an aspect of the literary movement which was then visible: the use of the form for a definite social purpose.

T. J. Ranganathan. Another person who experimented with the short story at this time was T. J. Ranganathan (Raṅganāthan), who has written some brilliant stories. Ranganathan is noted for the effective prose he wrote while working for the nationalist weekly *Lōkōpakāri*. Besides writing numerous elegant essays, Ranganathan also contributed a number of short stories full of intense humanism with stark realism. His story *Noṇḍikkiḷi* (The Lame Parrot) is often cited as his best. In this story, a young man falls in love with a girl he sees in the opposite house. When he learns that she is lame, he has a change of heart and decides to give her up. He writes a note to the effect that a lame person will not be socially accepted. The girl is upset and broods over her fate. Meanwhile, her father is busy seeking a partner for her. Disgusted with her plight, the girl shouts at those who come to see her; she makes it clear to her father that she prefers to remain unmarried. Ranganathan succeeds in avoiding the pitfall which would have been the natural conclusion to the story in less mature hands. Though spurned by society, the girl in Ranganathan's story is courageous enough to defy society and continue to live without anybody's help.

Kalki. After V. V. S. Iyer there were some writers who wrote for the new periodicals, but their stories were largely didactic. Others adopted a propagandist stance and stressed the need for social reform. Still others wrote stories to stir patriotic feelings. The advent of 'Kalki' R. Krishnamurthy, (Kṛṣṇamūrti, 1899–1954), changed all that. During the first phase of his journalistic career, before he joined the *Ānanda Vikaṭan*, he came under the influence of V. Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar, the great Tamil scholar, and worked for some time, during the mid-twenties, for his weekly *Navaśakti*. It was Kalki's first training ground for his writing career. Here he experimented with short stories and some of them were published in 1927 in his first collection, *Śāradayin Tantiram* (Sarada's Trick), which had a foreword by Rajaji (C. Rajagopalachari). It is significant that Rajaji, in his characteristic manner, added a critical note disagreeing with Kalki's treatment of a particular character in the story *Subadrayin Sakōtaran* (Subhadra's Brother).

Among Kalki's numerous stories, *Theraḷuntur Śivakkoḷuntu* stands out as a clever piece of narration. The story is narrated by a third person, and not the author. In this, Kalki puts a traditional technique to modern use. Inanimate statues narrating stories was a mode in Tamil folklore. In this story, Kalki, the author, meets Aiyampettai Kandappa Pillai, a drummer, during a train journey. Kandappan, an able raconteur of incidents connected with those famous in the music world, was an inseparable companion of Thiruvazhunthur Sivakkolunthu, a traditional *nādaswaram* player and one of the best-known artistes of the time. Kandappan holds the attention of the author by detailing the various stages in the life of the artiste. He tells the author how Sivakkolunthu took to drink and lost his senses and how he later became a slave to Manoranjitham, an actress from Thiruchendur. Kandappan also describes poignantly how the drunk Sivakkolunthu lost his eyesight in a car accident. The climactic moment in the story is the revelation that the blind artiste ultimately married Kandappan's niece. The entire story is full of the atmosphere of the life-style prevalent among the men and women of the world of music and dance at that time.

Kalki was responsible for conducting the first short-story competition in the journal *Ānanda Vikaṭan*. By such means as well as by the example he set, Kalki made an immense contribution to the Tamil short story.

Rajaji. Kalki was greatly influenced in selecting the themes for his stories by Rajaji (Cakravartti Rājagōpālācāriar, 1876–1973), who was his mentor both in life and literature. Essentially a leader of thought, Rajaji, whose aim was to direct society towards the pursuit of higher purposes in life, made good use of the essay and the short story to project his ideas. As a nationalist and close associate of Mahatma Gandhi, Rajaji utilized the short story to inculcate in readers patriotism and purity in life. The

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virtues of liquor prohibition, the evils of caste distinctions and the vanity of affluence were some of the themes which formed a recurrent motif in Rajaji's stories. Handling a style which was simple and direct, Rajaji succeeded in arousing considerable emotional response with his narration.

The best known of his stories is *Devānai*, which deals with the life of a maidservant in a fairly affluent Brahmin household. By a conspiracy of circumstances, this unfortunate domestic falls a prey to the overtures of a manservant working in the neighbourhood. This affair results in the usual ending: the hapless woman is discarded. Her poverty adds to her misery, as she migrates to the city, with the child she has borne, begging on her way. Thus far the story follows a hackneyed pattern. But then Rajaji's humanism and intellectualism help to give the story an artistic twist, in which he plays on the emotions of the reader. Chancing to come upon Devanai begging in the streets of Madras, her erstwhile master, Ramanatha Iyer, remarks to his wife that the beggar woman looks like their old servant. The wife, intent only upon her own interests, retorts indifferently that there is no reason why a girl from remote Salem should be in Madras. But Ramanatha Iyer is not content with leaving matters at that. He wonders what would happen to the country if other poor mothers like this woman had to beg for their food. The wife complains that Ramanatha Iyer is always concerned about the country when it would be more than enough if he looked after his own family. The encounter is distressing to Ramanatha Iyer, who is unable to forget it. The blissful ignorance of the wife about the truth and the inherent sympathy of the husband lend point to the helplessness of the beggar woman, whom the reader has identified as Devanai herself. The dramatic irony implicit in this meeting adds poignancy to the entire story.

Narana Duraikannan. Narana Duraikannan (Nāraṇa Duraikaṇṇan, b. 1906), editor of *Pracaṇḍa Vikaṭan*, a contemporary of *Ānanda Vikaṭan* and *Maṇikkoḍi*, did not belong to any group. He began to write short stories about the same time Kalki and others were experimenting with the form. Most of his stories were of a didactic nature and were concerned with social evils. He has, however, written a few stories that are different and one of them is *Santēkam* (Suspicion). This is a story about an innocent man who runs away from a crowd watching a fire accident and is chased by the police who suspect that he is the cause of the arson. He finally finds refuge in a house where a woman gives him room to stay and some of her husband's clothes to help him escape in disguise. But just as the fugitive is about to leave, the husband comes home and, noticing the clothes the escapee is wearing, becomes suspicious of his wife and beats her up. The departing fugitive, while watching the ordeal of the woman, realizes that he is the cause of it, but does not intervene as he feels that intervention would only add to the suspicion. The author ends his story at this point, leaving the reader to judge the actions of all concerned. There is an artistic touch to this finale.

The Periodicals

Maṇikkoḍi and Ramiah. The length of the short story facilitated its inclusion in magazines which contained miscellaneous articles, poems and, almost always, a serialized novel. Thus, the short story, a product of the periodical, began to get more nourishment as more popular magazines appeared in Tamil. The thirties saw the emergence of a number of magazines, among which *Ānanda Vikaṭan* and *Kalaimagaḷ* gave a new impetus to short story writing by organizing competitions. *Ānanda Vikaṭan* was the first to organize such a competition and the results of it were the subject of a spirited controversy, many readers being of the view that the story selected as second best should have been awarded the first prize. The story in question was *Malarum Maṇamum* (Flower and Fragrance), by B. S. Ramiah, who soon became the editor of the famous magazine *Maṇikkoḍi* (estd. September 1933) and converted it into a magazine exclusively devoted to the short story. *Kalaimagaḷ* too conducted a competition, which was won by N. Pichamurthi for his story *Muḷḷum Rōjāvum* (The Thorn and the Rose). Both Pichamurthi and Ramiah were destined to become great short story writers in later years, when they and a few others were grouped under the banner of *Maṇikkoḍi*.

While *Ānanda Vikaṭan* gave the growing readership in Tamil tolerably better literary fare, often laced with humour, *Kalaimagaḷ* mainly sought to bring the classics to the common reader. At the same time, both magazines realized the need to encourage the writing of short stories and sought new talent. Their efforts resulted in more and more writers trying their hand at this form in Tamil. It was, however, left to *Maṇikkoḍi* to sow the seeds of literary awareness both among readers as well as writers. Attracted by the purposeful contents in *Maṇikkoḍi*, many a writer gathered under its shade to experiment with the technique of the short story. It was during B. S. Ramiah's editorship of this journal that a number of short-story writers were discovered and the foundation laid for the real short-story form in Tamil. This galaxy of writers, together with their predecessors in the early years of *Maṇikkoḍi*, led by Va. Ra., the Tamil prose stylist, and K. Srinivasan, the founding intellectual, came to be known as the 'Manikkodi group' which is responsible for the rich heritage of the Tamil short story.

Ramiah's prodigious energy and optimism combined with his dedicated quest for literary values made him the ideal editor of such a journal. Contrary to the usual

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convention of the editor of a magazine standing apart and providing space for other contributors, Ramiah himself began to contribute short stories, in a continuous flow, to *Maṇikkoḍi*. His prolific output during a literary career of over 40 years is perhaps the largest of any Tamil writer. Most of the 300 and odd stories Ramiah has written, and especially those he wrote for *Maṇikkoḍi*, are known for their narrative excellence. It is a tribute to the inherent capacity of Ramiah for narrating a story interestingly. Thus he was able to guide the creativity of several who are accepted masters today, despite the fact that he was neither conversant with the form as practised by the pioneers in the West nor equipped with a formal university education to obtain a comparative knowledge of short stories in other languages.

In many of his stories, Ramiah specialized in following the mental processes of individuals forced to go through a crisis of character. *Kunjitapātam* is such a story. The protagonist of this story, a dyed-in-the-wool iconoclast, subscribes to the tenets of the new movement which condemned superstition and denied the existence of God. He repeatedly drives home these points in speeches from the platform. But suddenly a change takes place. He finds himself on a different platform expatiating on the need for faith in God. The reason for this sudden change is the central point of the story. This story provides ample scope for Ramiah to express his thoughts vividly and display his penetrating analysis and rich imagination.

Two of the writers who enriched the pages of *Maṇikkoḍi* were Puthumaippithan (Putumaippittan, 1906–48) and Ku. Pa. Rajagopalan (Rājagōpālan, 1902–44). They were so successful in their experiments that they almost overshadowed V. V. S. Iyer, the pioneer in the field. Their achievements in their short spans of life marked them as two of the best writers of the day.

Puthumaippithan. Puthumaippithan has left a rich legacy of stories which can be compared with advantage to many of the stories of western writers. His range was wide and his technique varied. He has treated with stark realism, in *Oru Nāḷ Kaḷintatu* (One Day has Passed), the daily life of an impoverished writer. With the same realistic attitude he brings God Himself down to earth and places Him in a series of human predicaments in *Kaḍavuḷum Kāṇḍasāmi Piḷḷaiyum* (God and Kandaswami Pillai). He has also delved into the abstract by narrating in *Kaitraravu* the mental processes of a man who is relieving himself.

In *Oru Nāḷ Kaḷintatu*, Puthumaippithan shows how indigence compels a man to procrastinate indefinitely. Extreme poverty prevails in the home of Murugadasar, a writer working in an advertising firm. In the crowded tenement where he lives, access to his wife involves his crossing an open courtyard from his front room. But even when he succeeds in reaching her, all he gets is her perennial complaints! The firewood does not burn; the edible oil is over, could he get some from the shop?

One night, fatigued by his day in office, Murugadasar loses his temper and abuses his wife. He also trots out the excuse that oil should not be purchased after dusk. His wife retorts, 'Your laziness impels you to quote tradition. Did you not go to purchase the same oil the other night? It is only for your benefit. Just now the *appaḷam* vendor left a packet and I thought you would like fried *appaḷam*.' She also tells him that the money-lender had been there, asking for payment. Adding fuel to this situation is their little daughter who had gone to buy a box of matches and now returns empty-handed; the shopkeeper had refused to oblige because they owed him a lot. Murugadasar himself goes to the shop and succeeds in getting a little more time. When he returns home, two friends are there and he offers them coffee. After one of them leaves, Murugadasar asks the other for a loan of three rupees, but the man has only half a rupee to spare. After the friend leaves, the wife announces that there is no coffee powder in the house for the morrow. Murugadasar says that he has promised to pay the shopkeeper on Monday. The wife says: 'Monday is far away, let us think of it when it comes.' The story ends on this note, with the wife also now procrastinating.

These incidents of an evening, all connected with the single theme of trying to find money, provide the unity of action so necessary for the short story form. The cruelty of want is brought out without employing any extraneous device. The narration is downright realistic. This story is typical of Puthumaippithan's handling of human situations. While he has dealt with more complicated themes in other stories, this particular one stands out as a successful experiment in the short-story form.

Ku. Pa. Ra. Ku. Pa. Rajagopalan (Ku. Pa. Ra.), a contemporary of Puthumaippithan, specialized in sounding the unplumbed depths of frustrated and ill-treated womanhood. His oft-quoted story *Viḍiyuma*? (Will the Dawn Come?) compels the reader to experience the suspense undergone by a woman travelling, with her brother, to Madras after receiving a telegram that her husband is seriously ill. The agony of the woman as the train nears her journey's end and her fear about what is waiting for her are brought out tellingly. Yet, even as she hopes that nothing bad has befallen her sick husband, she cannot but recollect the emptiness of her life with him. Through her brother's point of view, the entire plight of her married life is brought into focus.

The impact of the connotation of the title 'Will the Dawn Come?' is felt by the woman when she finds on her arrival, as the day breaks, that her husband is no more. The end of the long night of the journey, which had seemed longer because of the suspense, now also signifies the end of her meaningless life with her husband.

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This story is an outstanding example of the sense of form which Rajagopalan displayed when writing short stories. Commensurate with the unity found in the structure of the story, there is enough emotion and suspense to rivet the readers' attention. The technique of revealing the woman's feelings, through the observations of her brother, fits in with the concise narration of the story.

Pichamurthi. Along with Rajagopalan and Puthumaippithan, there were several others associated with B. S. Ramiah and *Maṇikkoḍi*. Among them, standing head and shoulders above the rest, was N. Pichamurthi (Piccamūrti, 1900–76), who imparted a sense of robust realism to his stories. A remarkable example of his artistic handling of an intensely human situation is found in his story *Patineṭṭam Perukku* (Eighteenth of Āḍi, a festival). In the narration of the incidents on a festival day he places in juxtaposition the Kaveri floods and the restlessness of a man who finds himself in utter loneliness by force of circumstances. His wife has gone to her parents' home for confinement and the man is alone in the house. Their young maidservant finishes her work and gets ready to leave. The man suddenly asks her, 'When will you come?' Surprised at this unexpected query, the woman replies that she will come later in the night. The story is now set for a possible liaison with the woman. Though the man did not intend it in the beginning, his own loneliness and the way in which the woman had replied serve to spur his sensuous appetite. Awaiting her, he restlessly walks about watching the festival crowds make their offerings to the Kaveri. At last she comes as promised, so that her master may not be disappointed. But when he looks at her standing there in a mood of silent resignation, he feels guilty at the suggestion he had unwittingly planted in her mind. His eagerness for her return disappears at the sight of her standing there ready to serve him. The impact of the reality shocks him and, realizing the mistake they had mutually committed, he tells her to go away, thus saving himself from a predicament which he had not deliberately created.

This story is an example of Pichamurthi's complete control over his characters. The story is also remarkable for its fullness of form, treating as it does only one incident and its consequences. If one were to formulate a grammar for the Tamil short story, Pichamurthi's achievements would be among the foremost examples of recognized modes. The rigid austerity of style in Pichamurthi's writings has the rare quality of aesthetic excellence. The artist in him is so certain of his capacity to express his point of view that there is a successful blending of life and art in his writings.

Mouni. A writer who concentrated more on the psychological motivations of his characters rather than on characterization was Mouni (S. Maṇi, b. 1905), whose contribution, however, was not quantitatively significant. His technique of subordinating plot to the character's thoughts or, sometimes, eschewing plot itself in favour of a thought-provoking analyses of situations, in so far as they affected the characters, made his stories stand out as something new.

The few characters who appear in Mouni's stories are nameless anonymities, who cannot be identified except as male and female by the appellations 'he' and 'she' that he employs. A commendable feature of Mouni's stories is that they display a clear sense of form. Content in Mouni's stories is secondary to technique.

L. S. Ramamirtham. Another writer who appears to have followed this technique, emphasizing the motivations of his characters, is L. S. Ramamirtham (Rāmāmirtam, b. 1914), who has distinguished himself by making effective use of the inner meaning of words. He weaves strings of words into a pattern to arrest attention, while at the same time lulling the reader into a state of trance. The mere sound of the words he conjures up in a poetic design seems to satisfy the reader, who is almost helpless to grasp the full significance of the verbal magic. Even when he deals with emotional confrontations between members of a family, especially the in-laws, he is able to rekindle the fading cinders of emotion through a process that thrills the reader because of the resemblance of the descriptive sequence of words and phrases to the chanting of mystic formulae.

His story *Iṭaḷkaḷ* (Petals, 1961), for instance, explores the mutual antagonism between a mother, who has lost her wayward son, and her daughter-in-law who, frustrated by the cruel treatment meted out to her by the old woman, loses interest in her own life. Bhargavi is a young widow living a wretched existence in the house of her widowed mother-in-law. Her husband, who was addicted to drink and gambling, had been killed by a snake-bite. The story begins and ends with a single incident: the mother-in-law calling Bhargavi to have her morning coffee, while the daughter-in-law is not ready to wake up. The mutual antagonism works in them. Bhargavi's mind wanders, remembering the happenings in the house when the mother and son picked quarrels, her own attempts to save the situation because of the fact that it was she who chose to marry him in spite of opposition from her own family; the affection she enjoyed from her own father, her love of flowers, and the eternal displeasure of her mother-in-law. Still lying in bed she continues to ruminate. While wondering as to who there is to look after her in this terrible world, Bhargavi hears a silent voice say 'I am here'. It is the inner voice of life budding in her womb—and Bhargavi realizes that she is pregnant. It is only two months since her husband died and this sudden realization evokes in her emotions that make her rush to her mother-in-law and hug her, saying, 'Amma, I am seeded'. The mother-in-law herself is overcome with emotion and kisses her with genuine affection and love.

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The technique adopted by Ramamirtham in this story is unique in that he brings out the concentrated dislike of the two people through a piece of conversation that at first glance appears to be merely normal communication between the two women. The tradition of the Brahmin mother-in-law dominating the family and treating the daughter-in-law as a bonded slave is evident in the sarcasm with which the former asks the latter to wake up in the morning. The response, or rather the absence of it, from the daughter-in-law, who is preoccupied with her own ill-health, provokes the mother-in-law, who reproaches her and torments her with more sarcasm. The miserable life led by Bhargavi, even during the lifetime of her husband, has hardened her to an extent where she no longer fears her mother-in-law. The knowledge that there is going to be a grandchild, an offspring of her own son, momentarily softens the heart of the mother-in-law, and the tears that drop from her eyes speak much for the response of one woman to the other who is pregnant. Ramamirtham has succeeded in playing upon the emotions of the reader, who reacts to the incidents in the story in a way that makes him participate in the processes undergone by the characters. Though he narrates the incidents of many years in the life of the girl, Ramamirtham is able to maintain the form of the story by using the stream-of-consciousness technique.

Ka. Naa. Subramaniam. Ka. Naa. Subramaniam (b. 1912) is a writer of short stories whose individual contribution to the genre has been to give prominence to the characters' intellectual exchanges stemming from their actions. He also specializes in making the characters analyze themselves at every stage to discover for themselves the reasons for their actions. In a story aptly entitled *Manōtatvam* (Psychology), he deals with the guilt-consciousness of an individual. This man, provoked by the non-stop blaring every night of a radio belonging to a neighbour, warns the latter to desist from the practice. When the warning has no effect, he kills him, hoping to put an end to the nuisance. But his violent solution has the opposite effect, because even after the death of the neighbour the murderer continues to hear the same sound though he knows there is no one to operate the radio. He seeks the help of a psychiatrist; to whom he explains, with commendable clarity, that the sounds he hears emanate from an imaginary source.

C. S. Chellappa, N. Chidambarasubramanian and P. G. Sundararajan (Chitti) are others who have succeeded in probing the mental workings of men and women placed in delicate situations. These writers have also shown a clear sense of form.

The Modern Period

T. Janakiraman. T. Janakiraman (Jānakirāman, 1921–82), who started writing in *Maṇikkoḍi*, represents, however, the post-*Maṇikkoḍi* era. He is in the forefront of the writers of that period. He has been influenced to a great extent by Ku. Pa. Rajagopalan, though his own contribution is significant. He has expanded the scope of the short story by packing it with a plenitude of incidents without affecting its form. He reveals a compassionate attitude towards people who commit mistakes in life without being aware of what they are doing. At the same time, he exposes those in society who exploit the ignorant. His characters are drawn from life and are easily identifiable as familiar types. While he makes use of conversation to carry forward the plot, he also achieves a remarkable effect by silent interludes which bring out the emotional reactions of the characters. Most of his stories are concerned with characters in crises. When he makes use of the guilt-consciousness of a character as an instrument of self-flagellation, he is able to convey to the reader the moment of truth that glimmers behind apparently trivial incidents. This is brought out in his story *Muḷ Muḍi* (Crown of Thorns).

This story is about a teacher who has just retired from service and is reminiscing about his career with his wife, who recalls many an incident connected with her husband's special concern for the student community. The teacher has just returned from a function arranged to felicitate him. In the midst of these recollections a man comes to see the teacher with a boy whom the teacher is not able to recognize at first. The visitor, father of the boy, explains that his son was one of the teacher's old students and had been suspended on account of some misdemeanour. He explains how the organizers had refused to accept what the boy offered as contribution to the farewell celebration on the grounds that he had unwittingly offended the teacher earlier. This intrusion by the visitors occurs just when the teacher and his wife are patting themselves on their backs for his absolutely non-violent behaviour during his whole career. He had never once hurt a boy either physically or emotionally, they agree. But now comes this boy with his story. The teacher realizes that not only have the boy's feelings been hurt by the social boycott emanating from his rebuke but also that he, the teacher, has, after all, been violent. He immediately feels sorry for being the cause of the whole unfortunate affair and, as compensation for the lack of compassion of the organizers, agrees to receive the proffered contribution from the boy. As the visitors leave, the teacher feels a kind of emptiness in his long dedicated life. His wife is full of happiness, for the incident of the day has revealed the high status of her husband, but the teacher is miserable and his gaze turns towards a picture, on the wall, of Jesus Christ with the crown of thorns. He equates his own sorrow with that of the Son of Man who appeared on earth to save the multitudes on whose behalf He bore the Cross of Life.

M. V. Venkatram and Karichan Kunju are two other writers who, along with Janakiraman, reflect the continuing impact of Ku. Pa. Rajagopalan.

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Jayakanthan. The impact of Puthumaippithan on younger writers is to be seen in the stories of T. M. C. Raghunathan (Raghunāthan, b. 1923), who shared the impatience of the former towards social inequalities. Raghunathan was also a conscious propagandist of the progressive school of writing. Another writer inclined to think on the same lines was G. Alagirisamy (Alagirisāmi, 1923–73), who brought an element of dry humour to the description of situations relating to human behaviour. He also provided glimpses of the basic emotional motivations of the characters involved in such situations.

The influence of Puthmaippithan that is evident in the writings of Raghunathan has been responsible for the emergence of Jayakanthan (Jayakāntan, b. 1934) as one of the most outstanding writers of the fifties. A literary artist of remarkable individuality, Jayakanthan resembles B. S. Ramiah in that narrative talent is native to him and is not the result of conscious emulation of western writers. The gap of a generation between the writers of the *Maṇikkoḍi* era and those who followed Jayakanthan is evident in the outlook, approach, style of writing and choice of content that the younger writers have brought to the short-story form.

Jayakanthan's range is almost limitless and his experiments with the technique of the short story have been many. Having shown unusual courage in his early stories, by dealing realistically with the problems of sex, Jayakanthan soon became a controversial figure in the Tamil literary scene. He took up themes which Ku. Pa. Ra., Puthumaippithan and Pichamurthi had handled with a sense of restraint and used them in his short stories with stark realism, conscious, at the same time, of the need for an artistic finish. His basic humanism that underlies his compassion for the poor and the weak reveals the depth of his experience with the unfortunates in life. This is brought out poignantly in the story *Nān Irukkirēn* (I am Alive), wherein Jayakanthan describes the mental workings of a leprous beggar confronted by a deformed and helpless human being.

The beggar in this story lives in a dilapidated shed by the railway line. He is in the habit of going begging only at night, when his leprous condition would not be seen by others. One night, in the blinding light of a train in the distance, he sees a figure crawling on to the track. The beggar is taken aback by the action of the unknown man, but before the train can reach the spot, he leaps to the rescue of the stranger and whisks him away, cursing him meanwhile for trying to kill himself. As the train thunders past, the beggar chides the man. He also observes that the particular spot where the man had tried to commit suicide was jinxed. Then he asks the stranger to follow him—and that is when he notices that the man he has saved is deformed, a polio victim.

Having escorted the cripple to his shed, the leper advises him about the need to cling to life even in the midst of misery. He compares his disease with the other man's handicap; he mentions how he is despised and avoided by people. When the cripple falls asleep, the leper begins to brood upon the circumstances in which suffering human beings decide to take their lives. He tells himself that while the cripple has a mother and a brother, he has no one to live for or grieve for him. He remembers an incident of a few days before, when an old widow gave him food despite others in the house cursing him for imposing his diseased presence on them. He then goes out. At daybreak the cripple wakes up and finds the beggar missing. When he looks out, he sees a train halted at some distance away and a crowd near it. When he nears them, the cripple hears someone remark that a leprous beggar who had frequented the area had thrown himself before the train and been killed. Stunned by the incident, the cripple murmurs to himself, 'He taught me to live, but I have taught him to die. He told me there was a jinx at this place. Has he put an end to it by offering his own life?' At that moment, the cripple's mother rushes up and, assuming that the victim is her son, laments loudly. The weeping cripple shouts back, 'I am alive, Mother, it is the poor beggar. He should not have died.'

Other Story Writers

Women short-story writers in Tamil have been enriching the pages of the numerous magazines, most of their contributions being mainly concerned with family life. There are, among them, a few who have achieved literary acceptability.

Anuthama is one; but in her steady flow of stories, she modestly confines herself to the family and home. Rajam Krishnan became famous by winning a prize in an international short story-competition conducted by *Kalki* in 1958. Like Akilon and Naa. Parthasarathy, Rajam Krishnan has attained the stature of a major novelist. Akilon and Naa. Parthasarathy, better known as novelists, have experimented with the short story to convey their sense of moral indignation against social inequalities and individual misconduct. Their preoccupation with themes of social comment and their didactic messages have impelled them to transcend the limits of form in the short story. In handling a variety of themes, they have utilized the short-story form very effectively.

R. Choodamani. R. Choodamani (Cūdāmaṇi, b. 1931) stands out among women writers as the most successful artist in the field of the short story. The agony of pain, the trauma of misery and the helplessness of physical handicaps all find expression in her stories and create a lasting impact on the reader. She is able to make the reader share her experience of grief and other negative emotions with the same intensity with which the characters themselves seem to feel. She is almost unrivalled as a short-story writer

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among women. Even when dealing with a hackneyed theme, such as a woman's suspicion and subsequent jealousy of her husband's extramarital adventures, she is able to bring a fresh angle to the problem, not so much to provide a solution as to make the affected character realize his folly.

In *Thaṇḍanai* (Punishment), she begins her story with a woman being forced to give evasive replies on the telephone to numerous enquiries about the whereabouts of her husband. But her explanations appear, *prima facie*, contradictory. The reason for this unavoidable confusion is her knowledge of her husband's actions, which had been conveyed to her by her brother who had seen the man in a train with a young girl. She realizes that this is something unusual for her husband, whom she never before had cause to suspect. In the midst of her agitation, her husband returns and makes her more confused by his apparently nonchalant behaviour.

Stung to the quick by his unconcern, she confronts him with a direct question. The husband defensively confesses that he had succumbed to a passing infatuation for a colleague in the office. When she asks whether this is not infidelity towards her, he argues that he had for some time been feeling that he was getting old and was dreading the process. When he enquires whether she ever had the same feeling, she innocently answers that she understands the feelings which make one aware of losing one's youth. This encourages him to dwell at length on his escapade, almost justifying his behaviour on the grounds of a temporary aberration. He is unaware that his confession has only served to bring out the long suffering faithful wife in her. When the wife perceives his complacency, she wonders whether such misbehaviour should go unpunished.

Sensing her attitude, he tries to convince her by pointing out that by her own admission she too has sensed old age. When he persists in seeking her approval of his conduct on the grounds of this admission, she remains silent. When he provokes her by asking why she has failed to understand him, she calmly replies that she is only thinking deeply about what he had said. He now demands details of her thoughts. And she tells him that all she was thinking of was the possibility of her remedying the sense of getting old just as he had done.

The unspoken hint of punishment postulated by the wife is the climax of the story which reveals the innermost thoughts of an offended wife strong enough to punish her husband more severely by thought than by deed. The innocuous way in which she leads him into a trap, the agony she suffered and the compulsions that drove her to confusion have all been brought out in this story in a way that makes the reader instinctively shout at the husband in support of the wife. This effect has been achieved by realistically reporting the reactions of the wife through the character's own words without the author intruding. This story is also an example of Choodamani's sense of form and unity of plot.

New Trends

A new generation of short-story writers has emerged since the sixties. Numerous young writers have chosen this form to cater to the proliferation of Tamil magazines. They write stories on every conceivable aspect of life. While the pioneers in the thirties, encouraged by *Maṇikkoḍi*, wrote of delicate human relationships and the cultural base of Tamil life, the present generation, while writing of human relationships and social problems, has concentrated on the motivational aspects of these and looked at them from the point of view of contemporary schools of philosophy. Analyses on Freudian lines, interpretations through existentialist concepts and the influence of present-day political ideologies are to be frequently found in the stories of these writers.

Another aspect which is only too evident in these stories is the thematic treatment of sex. To exhibit that they are uninhibited, many of these writers garnish mere obscenity with a literary vocabulary. This anxiety to bring into literature what is normally part of mural grafitti is happily less pronounced in the case of some writers who have written, and are continuing to write, short stories of great promise.

K. Rajanarayanan. Rajanarayanan (Rājanārāyaṇan, b. 1930), who does not have the advantage of access to English and other foreign fiction, has the uncanny ability to evoke the nostalgic fragrance of the soil around him. An obvious knowledge of the basic culture of his people revives the atmosphere of folklore in his stories.

In *Puṟappāḍu* (Start for Funeral, 1975), Rajanarayanan projects the attitude of impatient villagers to a decrepit old man who has outlived even some of his great-grandchildren. They expect him to breathe his last on several occasions—after a severe treatment in a cold bath, on one occasion—but the old man manages to survive. He, however, surprises them all by passing away when they least expect it. The relief and the joy felt by the villagers over the long-delayed event is described thus by Rajanarayanan:

> 'Did you hear the news? Our Annarappa Gounder has passed away.' The man who gave the news did so happily. Those who heard it also shared in the jubilation. 'Is it true?' There was a lingering doubt. 'Am I not telling the truth? Look, a messenger is rushing to Kayathar to bring the band.' The people called the messenger and got the news confirmed. Grinning all the time, the messenger gave the news and hurried on. The news spread across the whole village and the neighbouring hamlets. Everywhere this was the talk: 'Annarappa

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Gounder, he is no more.' 'Really?' There was reason for the villagers to enquire thus and absorb the news with glee. (tr.)

In a flashback Rajanarayanan describes the lengths to which the people went to hasten the old man's death. The whole episode is gone through as if it were a happy event.

Asokamitran. Asokamitran (Aśōkamitran, b. 1931) is among the few writers of Tamil short stories with a knowledge of the various techniques handled by English writers. His approach is sophisticated and his handling of a theme is direct, without any embellishment through the claptrap of attractive phraseology. His syntax is adequate to the theme and his attention to detail is complete. His stories are studies of complex human nature. In one of them, *Cricket*, the narrator gets unwittingly involved in a game being played at a ground on his way to the library. The narration is as follows:

> I didn't know what the score was like, whether a side batted and was letting the other have its innings. They must all have been at the game from morning and if it was one of those one-day matches it was likely the other side was batting. Play couldn't go on for another hour and a half and surely it was the other side that was batting. For a moment I felt cheated, not knowing how many runs the first side had hit but that was only for a moment, because I knew I wasn't going to be there till the end of the game...and there I stood to watch the match without even attempting to alert my mind to remember what I saw. The players were all very young and they, of course, would be throbbing with memories. When you play a game and play it well enough to get into teams which played matches—real adult matches—you are douched in memories of the heroes of the game.... (tr.)

This style has been followed by another writer, S. Kandasamy, who combines his intimate knowledge of things around him with a descriptive pattern that includes all the observable details. His preoccupation with the progressive steps of an action stems from his desire to be accurate in all detail. This is a pattern which is popular with one or two other writers as well. N. Muthusamy is one who practises this kind of writing with commendable success.

Neela Padmanabhan. Neela Padmanabhan (Nīla Padmanābhan, b. 1938), though better known for his novels, has some good short stories too to his credit. His approach to the themes of his stories is more akin to poetry, in that it is a recollection of experiences. As this sort of technique is more appropriate to a novel, wherein recollection permits a plenitude of incidents presented on a larger canvas, some of Padmanabhan's stories are overburdened with incidents. But in his stories which deal with the immediate present, he displays a mastery over an atmosphere relevant to the theme. He imparts a sense of solemnity and grandeur to stories he locates in temples; scenes involving rituals are presented by him with an almost devotional approach.

In *Naivēdyam* (Offering, 1974), a story of the love of the son and daughter of two temple priests, Padmanabhan traces the growth of their intimacy that is blessed by the girl's own father, who believes that they are made for each other. The story describes the death of the girl's father, the boy's father and the ultimate loss felt by the hero when the girl, now a grown-up person and wife of another, also dies after losing her husband through a snake-bite. On hearing of the death of the widowed Gomu, the hero, successor to the priesthood after his father, recollects how, in the midst of the pooja, Gomu's father had died in the presence of his own (the hero's) father:

> Vibhuti streak on his forehead, a red hibiscus in his hair, his ear-rings reflecting the light from the lamp in the altar, Father was offering the flowers one by one during the *arccana* (offering). I was there to help with odd jobs. The *nādaswaram* and *tavul* were flooding the atmosphere with auspicious music. Narasimha Pothi, with his daughter Gomu by his side, was chanting the prayer in his own majestic voice. What piety suffused his face! What grandeur! The *kumkum* spot in the midst of the holy ash on the forehead. As he chanted, the devotees took up the refrain. Immortal moments filled with devotional fervour! (tr.)

The father of the hero would not be interrupted when someone pointed out that Narasimha Pothi's voice had suddenly stopped. The ritual went on. Padmanabhan closes the scene thus:

> When at last the offering of flowers and the burning incense were brought before Narasimha Pothi's face—only then did every one understand. (tr.)

Ambai. Ambai, a woman writer, experiments with the psychological motivations of characters in particular contexts. In describing the emotional crisis of a girl's coming of age, Ambai, in one of her stories, blames her mother who had not prepared her for the event. The girl is stunned into numbed inactivity by her new experience. Ambai presents her condition in the girl's own words:

> Sitting down I weep with my head between my knees. Something seems to have ended. Like leaving a theatre after the curtain falls; like coming away after leaving something. It is as if this has happened to me alone in the history of the whole world. (tr.)

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When the mother returns, her reaction is: 'Why so soon this tragedy for you? Another burden yet!' The author's finishing touch justifies the title of the story, which means, 'Mother has Committed a Murder' (*Amma Oru Kolai Śeithāḷ*).

Conclusion

The writers of short stories in Tamil are legion. The proliferation of periodicals affords abundant opportunity for the form. Competitions organized by many periodicals and organizations interested in the development of this form have encouraged numerous new writers to give of their best. By and large, most Tamil short stories concentrate on content rather than technique, with the result that the form suffers in the process. A few, however, following the example of the pioneers in the thirties, endeavour to perfect the basic form of the short story. Most of their experiments are to be found in little magazines dedicated to purely literary efforts. These writers seem to have rediscovered the atmosphere which prevailed during the renaissance of Tamil writing about half a century ago. Among those who claim attention in addition to the writers already mentioned are Vannadāsan, Cheyapṛakāśam, Bālakumāran, and Pūmaṇi. But there are many more coming to the fore with their experiments. The impact of such pioneers as Puthumaippithan, Ku. Pa. Rajagopalan and Pichamurthi and those who followed them, such as Janakiraman and Jayakanthan, is visible in the writings of the newcomers. The sumtotal of this experiment testifies to the fact that the short story in Tamil is very much alive as a creative genre and promises to grow more vibrant in the years to come.

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Telugu

M. V. N. PRASADA RAO (HITASRI)

The Beginnings

It was not until after the turn of the century that the modern Telugu story had its beginnings. The technique of the modern short story in Telugu is borrowed from the West. Gurajada Appa Rao (Gurajāḍa Appā Rāvu, 1861–1915) and Achanta Venkata Sankhyayana Sarma (Ācaṇṭa Veṅkaṭa Sankhyāyana Śarma, 1864–1933) are alternately credited with having written the first story in this genre.

Periodicals

The Telugu short story, however, made real progress only after 1920. Three periodicals played a significant role in the evolution of the Telugu story. They were: *Kṛṣṇa Patrikā* published by Mutnuri Krishna Rao from Machilipatnam, *Āndhra Patrikā*, a weekly published by Kasinadhuni Nageswara Rao (Kāśinādhuni Nāgēśvara Rāvu) first from Bombay and later from Madras, and *Bhārati*, a Telugu monthly, also by Nageswara Rao, published from Madras. *Bhārati*, started in 1924, quickly established itself as a journal with high literary standards. It has succeeded in holding its own against all odds for well over five decades. The best writers in Telugu have considered it an honour to have their writings published in *Bhārati*.

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Several other periodicals that gave an impetus to the development of the short story in the early years are now defunct. Among them were *Sārada*, *Mañjuvāṇi*, *Sāhiti*, *Pratibhā*, *Citragupta*, *Ānandavāṇi* and *Vinōdini*. In the post-war years, particularly just after Independence, a number of new journals were started, notable among which have been *Telugu Svatantra*, *Āndhra Jyōti*, *Jyōti*, *Yuva* and *Abhyudaya*. They too fostered the development of the short story. The *Telugu Svatantra* (weekly), in particular, popularized the short story by reaching out to the masses and encouraging fresh talent. In recent years there has been a mushroom growth of periodicals, leading to an enormous increase in the output of short stories.

Translations

Several translations have appeared, from time to time, of famous short stories by the great European masters such as Maupassant, Pushkin, Tolstoy, Gorki and Gogol, and by such American and English masters as Poe, Hawthorne, O'Henry, Hemingway, Kipling, Henry James, D. H. Lawrence, William Saroyan, Saki, Katherine Mansfield, A. E. Coppard and Somerset Maugham. Masterpieces of such celebrated Indian writers as Tagore, Premchand and Sarat Chandra Chatterjee have also been rendered into Telugu. All these masters have influenced Telugu writers in the evolution and development of the Telugu short story.

The Early Years

Idealism. Gurajada Apparao was a pioneer with his chiselled stories. He condemns religious fanaticism in *Pedda Masīdu* (The Big Mosque), exposes the social evil of old men marrying young girls in *Metilda*, pooh-poohs superstitions in *Mī Pērēmiti* (What is Your Name?) and rebukes those who run after dancing girls in *Diddubatu* (Correction).

Chinta Deekshitulu (Cintā Dīkṣitulu, 1891–1960) wrote several stories portraying rural life and highlighting the traditional. *Silapratima* (Rock Idol) is particularly noteworthy. He is remembered for his creation of a sophisticated modern woman, Vati Rao a ladies club member, through whom he satirizes the blind aping of western culture by some Telugu women. Deekshitulu was also the first to write stories for children, and his fictional children, Suri, Siti and Venki, are lovable characters.

Sripada Subrahmanya Sastri (Srīpada Subrahmaṇya Śāstri, 1891–1961) has sketched the life and problems of Brahmin and Kshatriya families, in particular, with deep insight. *Vadla Ginjalu* (Rice), *Gulābi Attarh* (Rose Scent), *Cali Cīmalu* (Red Ants) and *Kīlerigina* (Tit for Tat) are some of his best-known stories. As an experimentalist in form and style he has proved a success. His *Kalupu Mokkalu* (Weeds), one of his experiments, is entirely in dialogue form, without a single narrative sentence. The story deals with the dishonest practices of corrupt officials, who are likened to weeds. In contrast, the generosity of the *danseuse* is brought into focus.

Veluri Sivarama Sastri (Vēlūri Śivarāma Śāstri, 1892–1967), a profound scholar, philosopher and poet, used the short story not only as a form of beauty but also as a medium of criticism. His style is racy and he uses rural idiom, subtle wit and humour. A masterpiece in both form and content is Sastri's *Cembu* (Depression and the Bowl). This memorable short story is a perfect illustration of the traditional *rasa* theory. It is a vehement criticism of British rule, attacking the Government's failure to tackle the problem of unemployment of the educated middle class during the Depression. The story is about a young graduate who, in his vain search for a job, ultimately sees the principal of a local college, but is perplexed when the latter in an exploiting mood, offers only a pittance. The exposition of the entire situation is so masterly that in an undertone it gradually evokes the different rasas in the reader's consciousness until, finally, he is engulfed in an ocean of pity when the wife, followed by her young in-laws, appears dramatically on the scene with a begging bowl. The suggestion is heart-rending. Sastri was also a Bengali scholar who introduced Sarat Chandra to the Telugu people.

Viswanatha Satyanarayana (Viśvanātha Satyanārāyaṇa, 1894–1977), winner of the Jnanpith Award for his *magnum opus Śrīmadrāmāyaṇa Kalpa Vṛkṣam* (The Wish-fulfilling Divine Tree that is the Rich Ramayana), also tried his hand at the short story. He asks the question 'Emi Sambandham?' (What is the Relationship?) in a story called by the same phrase and narrates how a man, when in his teens, was tricked into biting a hot chillie by a girl playing a prank. Her 'victim' comes to her rescue at different stages in her life and, finally, is a pall-bearer when she dies, all these happenings being purely coincidental. The relationship suggested so delicately is other-worldly. Viswanatha's aim is to remind people of the wisdom of age-old Hindu traditions and beliefs.

Adavi Bapiraju (Aḍavi Bāpirāju, 1895–1952), a renowned artist, was more alive to current problems such as the move to eradicate untouchability and absorb Harijans into the mainstream of life. In *Metlu* (Steps) he narrates how a Harijan girl is helped to climb the hierarchical staircase of society and reach the top by love, equality and humanity. Bapiraju, however, dishes up popular romantic stuff in such stories as *Bhōgira Lōya* (Bhogira Valley), *Nāgali* (The Plague), *Sūrya Suta* (The Sun's Daughter), *Pillam Grōvi* (The Flute), etc.

Kanuparti Varalakshmamma (Kaṇuparti Varalakṣmamma, b. 1896) writes from the woman's viewpoint, and her stories focus attention on the social injustice meted out to women. Her idealistic story *Kanyāśramam* (Asylum for Girls) calls for the abolition of the dowry system.

In rural areas, the small peasant and the agricultural

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worker have had to lead a miserable life under domineering feudal landlords. Their plight is stirringly described by Karuna Kumara, pseudonym of Kandukuri Anantam (Kaṇḍukūri Anantam, 1901–56), who wins the reader's sympathy for the peasants in such picturesque stories as *Kayya-Kāluva* (The Farm and the Canal), *Kūlimaniṣi* (Labourer) and *Kotta Cappulu* (New Shoes).

Romanticism

Malladi Ramakrishna Sastri (Mallādi Rāmakṛṣṇa Śāstri, 1906–65), winner of Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi Award for 1970, escapes into romanticism. Using characters of yesteryears as well as of modern times, mainly dancing girls, he has woven stories with an enthralling finesse. His poetic prose has no parallel. This scholar-writer's stories such as *Allōnērēdu* (Jamboo), *Matta Kōkila* (Love-mad Indian Nightingale), *Rasamañjari* (A Bouquet of Sentiments) and *Raṅgavalli* (Floor Design), all revealing the woman's heart, are things of beauty. The chief feature of his stories is the subordination of content to form.

Humour and Family Life

Life is many-sided. Although the freedom struggle, social reform and problems such as unemployment were the main preoccupation of people in the early years of the Telugu short story, love and humour too had their own place in life as well as in literature. It was Mokkapati Narasimha Sastri (Mokkapāti Narasiṁha Śāstri, b. 1892), who brought humour to the Telugu short story. Mokkapati, better known as the author of the humorous novel *Barrister Pārvatīsam* (1924), a classic, reveals in his fine short stories the incongruities in the lives of people. His humorous style and the narration of several funny incidents are the hallmark of *Janma Nakṣatra Phalam* (The Birth Star Preordains), *Raṅga Grāmasiṁha Rattayya*, *Mā Bavamaridi Pelli* (My Brother-in-Law's Marriage) and *Nēnu-Mā Avidānū* (I and My Wife).

The happiness found in the typical Telugu home is the theme of a series of stories, *Kāntam Kathālu* (Stories of Kantam), written by Munimanikyam Narasimha Rao (Munimāṇikyam Narasiṁha Rāvu, b. 1898). Kantam, the realistic heroine of these stories, is a typical middle-class Telugu housewife. She is one of the very few living characters in the entire Telugu literature. An ideal wife, she rules her house with pragmatic wisdom, confident of her authority and responsibility, exemplifying the adage 'The light of a house is but the housewife herself'. The bliss of family life pervades all the stories structured around Kantam. A typical Munimanikyam story is *Vendikañcam* (Silver Plate), in which Kantam delights as a household economist. She dazzles her husband one day at dinner time with the very silver plate he had seen in a shop and had wanted to buy but had been forced to put off for want of money. Where the husband has failed, the wife succeeds. But how? That is the secret of her home economics.

New Developments

Realism. Several epoch-making events took place at the beginning of the 20th century. They included the First World War, Einstein's revolutionary theory of relativity, Freud's and Jung's startling psychological theories of the subconscious and the unconscious, and Marxian theories of surplus value and dialectical materialism. These events profoundly influenced the outlook and life of people all over the world and led to a definite impact on literature. Telugu writers, becoming increasingly aware of these developments and their significance, began to turn their attention to social, political and psychological forces in their plots and character studies. They now became concerned with the basic problems of human life and relationships. The conflict between man and nature, between the classes, between individual and society, between man and woman, the psychological conflict—all these gripped the imagination of later writers and became the themes of their works. This meant a shift towards realism from the general idealistic stance of earlier writers.

The major writers who revolutionized the form and content of the Telugu short story, with their technique as well as with in-depth studies of the turmoil in human souls caused by the local environment, are Gudipati Venkatachalam, Chakrapani, Kodavatiganti Kutumba Rao, Gopichand, G. V. Krishna Rao, Palagummi Padmaraju and Buchhi Babu. The Telugu short story owes much of its popularity to the magnificent efforts of these stalwarts. They were all concerned with the realities of life and used the short story as a medium of expressing their ideas. The wide range of themes found in their stories include the problems of sex, the exploitation of women in a male-dominated society, social inequalities and injustice, the class struggle, the plight of the poor and the downtrodden, social evils, the irrelevance of social institutions and the displacement of old values by new.

The Problem of Sex. The conventional notions about sex and the social injustice meted out to women were severely attacked by Gudipati Venkatachalam, popularly known as Chalam (Calam, 1894-1979). He revolutionized the orthodox approach to the problem of sex. Influenced by Freudian theories, he examined, with intellectual courage in his famous novels and stories, the social institution of marriage and made a relentless attack on family morality.

Emotionally upset by the exploitation of woman as a sex object and child-bearing machine, Chalam took up the cause of woman in the contemporary man-made society and crusaded for her liberty and self-expression. Sympathizing

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with women, he condemned male chauvinism in thought and action. Chalam cut across all barriers of religion, region, morality and superstition in love and sex and advocated complete freedom in these matters, with no inhibitions whatsoever. He had a rare gift for description and wrote with a powerful style that has the vigour and dynamism of a waterfall. Chalam created a storm in contemporary society and became a controversial figure. He practised what he preached and his emotional impact on the society of his day is undeniable. He yearned for the beautiful and trusted his senses. He treated instinctive sex not as carnal but as spiritual. This view explains why he turned ascetic and became a recluse in the hermitage of Bhagwan Ramana Maharshi in his later life. As 'Sri Sri' has observed on one occasion, Chalam's creed is 'back to naturalism', which seeks to guide Man through his instincts and impulses. His appeal is to the heart rather than the head; like D. H. Lawrence, Chalam is the prophet of true passion.

Although Chalam's excellence is best revealed in his novels, such as *Midanam* (The Plain), many of his other stories are outstanding and reflect his philosophy. *Hampi Kanyalu* (Hampi Girls) and *Ō Puvvu Pucindi* (A Flower has Bloomed) are particularly representative of his ideas and style. In *Hampi Kanyalu*, the narrator meets by chance a virgin from another state at the Hampi ruins and is intimate with her. She later gets married to another. When the narrator meets her again, she behaves as if they had never met, and he takes it in his stride. *Ō Puvvu Pucindi* is a symbolic story in which the emotions stirred by a humming bee in a blossom are portrayed. The story summarizes Chalam's philosophy.

Displacement of Old Values. It was A. V. Subba Rao (Subbā Rāvu, 1908–78)—better known as Chakrapani—who foresaw the inevitable change in the values of traditional Telugu society as a result of the impact of western culture and civilization, which is essentially materialistic in nature. His stories herald the displacement of old values by the new and pose the individual's problems of adjustment to the process of change. In his excellent short story *Pātamaṅgali* (An Old Barber) the conflict is superbly portrayed. In this story, a professional shehnai instrumentalist, who is cast in the traditional mould of musicians, faces formidable competition from a young rival who plays cheap but popular tunes. Unable to resolve the conflict between conscience and condescension for a living, the older musician becomes mad. In *Aham Brahmāsmi* (I am Brahma), Chakrapani warns people against pseudo-spiritualists. Chakrapani translated Sarat Chandra and other Bengali writers, and was mainly responsible for the wide popularity of their writing among the Telugu reading public.

Stories of Social Purpose. A new direction to the Telugu short story was given by Kodavatiganti Kutumba Rao (Koḍavaṭiganṭi Kuṭuṁba Rāvu, b. 1909) when he began writing about the inequalities and injustices of the outdated social system. This prolific writer, who subscribes to Marx's materialist or economic determinist view of history, is a man dissatisfied with the present set-up in society and its values, which he feels are irrelevant. His aim is to identify in his writings the rotten areas of society and sledgehammer them. Kodavatiganti has yet to write a story which does not serve a social purpose. He writes in a blunt, straightforward style, not caring for embellishments, phrases or the beauties of form if they hide the truth he wants to tell. Kodavatiganti's stories expose exploitation and hypocrisy in contemporary middle-class society. His themes may be summed up in the forceful first line of his story *Nuvvulu—Telakapindi* (Sesame Seeds and Cake): 'It is no great thing to mill sesame seeds; I have seen people being milled.' In this story it is the musical talent of a poor man that is ground under the millstone; in *Pārvatī Pariṇayam* (Parvati's Marriage) it is caste; in *Śrīkṛṣṇa Parabrahmanēnamah* (I Bow to God Srikrishna) it is desire; in *Āḍa Janma* (Being Born a Woman) it is sex discrimination, and in *Lēcipoyina Maniṣi* (The Eloped Woman) it is greed. *Pelli Ceyyakunda Cūdu* (Stop the Marriage) exposes middle-class hypocrisy.

Kodavatiganti is at his best in *Gañji Kēndram* (Gruel Centre). In this story he focuses attention on the unemployment problem while at the same time scoffing at romance and melodrama. When a bachelor rents a room, it is for the ostensible reason of doing some research, but for food he only accepts a bowlful of gruel from his landlady. The landlady's young daughter, curious about as well as interested in the young tenant, one day enters his room and is stunned to see the starved man pathetically gulping down the semi-liquid. *Tindi Donga* (Food Thief) a similar masterpiece, is the harrowing tale of a mother who steals food from her own son to feed his poor estranged brother.

The writer who introduced the theme of rationality in the Telugu short story is Tripuraneni Gopichand (Tripuranēni Gōpīcand, 1910–62.) He is famous for his novel *Asamardhuni Jīva Yātrā* (The Life of an Incompetent Man, 1951). He understood that man is a creature of economic, social, political and psychological forces and pleaded for rational understanding of human relationships. In his short story *Bhāryallone Vundi* (It is in the Wives) he points out the irrationality in human thinking. One man feels his wife is too stout, another that his wife is too slim. An interesting situation develops, making both realize their irrationality. *Ḍharma Vaḍḍi* (Equitable Interest) is Gopichand's best short story. It is about a village money-lender, who by irrationally charging exorbitant rates of interest, antagonizes the society around and brings utter ruin on his family and himself. The price of irrationality is thus paid with interest. Gopichand was also the first to handle political,

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themes. In *Gōdamīda Mūdōvadu* (The Third Person on the Wall) he exposes the divide-and-rule policy of the British. A change of attitude came over Gopichand in his later life. He grew more philosophical and tinged his characters with a philosophical rather than rational outlook on life.

Identity of the Individual. The identity of the individual and a respect for basic values were the themes handled by G. V. Krishna Rao (Kṛṣṇa Rāvu, 1914–79). A scholar, philosopher and writer, Krishna Rao was a person with new, humanist ideas. His outstanding work, a realistic novel about rural life, is *Kīlubommalu* (Mechanical Dolls, 1953). He was a staunch protagonist of the *Rasa* (aesthetic emotion) theory as well as the *Dhvani* (suggestion) theory. A perfectionist in form, a humanist in content and a philosopher in thought, Krishna Rao combined beauty with truth in his works, thus making them rare examples of literary art. His approach to the problems of life was that of an intellectual whose foundations and values were philosophical, but his appeal is more to the feelings than to the intellect. His stories are few, but they are outstanding. He wrote a chiselled language using a mellifluous rural idiom, that is often suggestive of a penetrative meaning, which transports the reader to a higher place of the mind. *Cēsukonna Karma* (Acts in Former Births), *Ṣaṣṭipūrti* (Completion of Sixty Years), *Atanantē* (He is Just Like That) and *Udabinduvulu* (Water Drops) are among his best stories. *Atanantē* is a revealing character study, while *Udabinduvulu* is the story of a mother who convinces her estranged sons that just as both eyes are equal to her, so are both her sons.

The Impact of Psychology

Palagummi Padma Raju (Pālagummi Padma Rāju, b. 1915) added a psychological dimension to the Telugu short story. Endowed with a keen psychological insight, he delineates his characters with a remarkable depth of understanding. His stories end suggestively, leaving much to the imagination of the reader. *Paḍava Prāyāṇam* (A Boat Journey) is a magnificent story with natural descriptive touches with which he takes the reader mentally on board the boat. Padmaraju admirably projects the image of a simple rustic woman who epitomizes the very spirit of human relationship and love. She unwittingly becomes instrumental in helping her vagabond lover escape at night from the boat with stolen goods. She does not reveal his whereabouts although humiliated by the passengers. Instead, she confides to the narrator that her lover has another woman and that he is addicted to drink, but she confidently asserts, he will return to her. *Gālivāna* (Cyclone) is Padmaraju's *pièce de rèsistance*. It won him a prize in the world short story contest conducted by the *New York Herald Tribune*. A traveller on a train hates a co-passenger, a beggar-maid, but when a cyclone stalls the train in a station, he hugs her to ward off the cold while they spend the night in the waiting room. In the morning, he finds her dead outside the room. Seeing his purse in her closed hand, he removes only his address card from it and leaves. The unique touch at the end speaks volumes for Padmaraju's art.

Freud's theories of the subconscious, conscious and unconscious, his concepts of the Id, the Ego and the Superego and the conflicts among the three provided vast fields of exploration to Buchhi Babu (pseud. of Śivarāju Veṇkaṭa Subba Rāvu, 1916–67), author of the outstanding novel *Civaraku Migilēdi* (What Remains at Last, 1952). He exploited psychology to the full in interpreting his characters. Buchhi Babu projected the complex modern man. With his great imaginative power, he created beautiful stories out of the ordinary incidents he observed. He was a landscape painter with a keen eye for detail, which enabled him to write his magnificent and colourful descriptions. All his stories were a result of the people he had observed or the places with which he was acquainted. What he observed he reshaped with artistic perception. His writings show, to some extent, the influence of Somerset Maugham. A significant feature of Buchhi Babu's writing was his ability to closely relate the social and cultural background to the development of character and plot, thus giving a convincing picture. The titles of his stories are remarkably striking.

Buchhi Babu was awed by the enigmatic nature of man. He held that no man is an open book and although a knowledge of psychology throws some light on his nature, no individual can be completely understood, wherein lies the marvellous beauty of Man which no writer should fail to exploit. *Araku Lōyalō Kūlina Śikharam* (The Peak that Collapsed in Araku Valley) is one of his major achievements, a story in which his descriptive powers come into full play. In it he presents a character typical of his concept of Man, a youth of high moral character who falls in love with a tribal girl in Araku valley and seeks an illicit relationship with her. *Nannu Gurinci Katha Vrāyavū?* (Won't you Write a Story about Me?) is an unforgettable story which depicts Man's yearning for simplicity amidst the complexities of modern life. In this story a simple and plain teenage girl asks the narrator to write a story about her, but he quips, 'What is there in you to write a story about?' She marries and leads an ordinary life, but when she is on her death-bed the narrator visits her and suddenly realizes that he loves her. *Caitanya Śravanti* (Stream of Consciousness) is a story written using the technique of stream of consciousness, obviously under the influence of James Joyce and others. Buchhi Babu was given the Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi Award for 1973.

Besides the more prominent writers already mentioned, there are several others who have enriched the Telugu short story with their stories during this period. Among them are Kommuri Padmavati Devi (b. 1908), Palanki Venkata

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Ramachandra Murty (b. 1910), Somanchi Yagnanna Sastri (b. 1913), Ravuru Venkata Satyanarayana Rao (b. 1913), Kodavatiganti Krishna Murthy (b. 1914), Chaganti Samayajulu (b. 1915) and Illindala Saraswati Devi (b. 1915). Madhavapeddi Gokhale (b. 1917) is a pioneer in the use of slang. Dhanikonda Hanumantha Rao (b. 1919) uses wit and satire to expose human contradictions, as in *Nēram* (Offence) in which the railway police arrest a man for getting drunk. Seizing the bottle from him, they themselves get drunk.

After Independence

Political independence was achieved in 1947, but people who had been looking forward to economic and other freedoms have been disappointed. Telugu writers too have shown concern over the prevailing situation. Pre-Independence writers wrote of the new problems with renewed vigour. Later writers interpreted their characters in terms of sociology or psychology. Some have written pessimistically and given gloomy but realistic accounts of life and its problems; others have optimistically painted idealistic pictures of the same; yet others have been escapist in their works. Of the many methods used in the Telugu short story of this period, the impressionistic method is mainly Ravuri Bharadwaja's and the expressionistic technique, Rachakonda Viswanatha Sastry's.

Naturalistic View. Ravuri Bharadwaja (Rāvūri Bharadvāja, b. 1927), winner of the Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi Award for 1968, has had the opportunity of coming into contact with a cross-section of people. Having moved for a time among the people of all kinds belonging to the lower strata, from the virtuous to the wicked, he was inspired by their lives and experiences. This led him to portray life as it is. His stories reflect Naturalism, according to which Man is a product of his environment. Bharadwaja's ideas are best expressed in his outstanding story, *Parithistula Vārasulu* (Creatures of Circumstance), in which a prostitute meets a young man posing as a reformer. He rouses in her aspirations and hopes of a home. She welcomes him for the night, only to wake up and find, to her disillusionment and frustration, that he has gone with whatever little savings she had. Bharadwaja, who deals with the problem of sex in several stories, shows that he has been strongly influenced by Chalam.

Sarada (pen-name of Natarajan, 1921–55), another prominent writer who has known life in the lower depths, also presents naturalistic themes with stark realism. In his noteworthy story *Rakta Sparśa* (Blood Relationship), a young middle-class widow is forced by circumstance to lead the life of a prostitute in order to eke out a livelihood and educate her younger brother.

The tragic aspect of the human situation is highlighted by Jamadagni (b. 1920), in his *Ballōki Vellali* (I Must Go to School) and Veluri Sahajananda (Velūri Sahajānanda, b. 1920) in his story *Jīvikā* (Livelihood). Dependent for his living on taking corpses in his cart from a hospital to the cremation ground, the cart driver in *Jīvikā* waits at the hospital eagerly looking for corpses while the patients battle for their lives. In *Ballōki Vellali*, the poor boy longs to go to school; when he does go, he goes as a bell-boy. Pantula Sri Rama Sastry (b. 1922) in his *Killi Dukānam* (Betel-leaf Shop) shows how the suspicion and cruelty of a husband drives his chaste wife to thoughts of elopement.

Madhurantakam Raja Ram (Madhurāntakam Rājā Rām, b. 1930), winner of the Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi Award for 1967, writes in a distinctive style of his own. He subscribes to the view that Man is the product of his environment. He generally presents his characters in a realistic manner, but there is sometimes an idealistic overtone to be found in his stories. *Jārudu Metlu* (Slippery Steps) and *Tānu Veligincina Dīpalu* (The Lights that he Lighted) are his best stories. The former is about a well-known but poor writer, who is forced to leave his house for a decade, only to return and find that some cheap books have been published under his name by his son to make ends meet. But the horrified writer reconciles himself to the situation. The latter story is about an old teacher, who is stranded one night at a small railway station, where he is recognized and hosted by the stationmaster, a former student.

Expressionistic Trend. The Post-Independence period produced an outstanding writer, Rachakonda Viswanatha Sastri (Rācakonda Viśvanātha Śāstri, b. 1922), popularly known as Ravi Sastri. He was awarded the Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi prize for 1966. Ravi Sastri created a stir with his expressionistic technique of writing. He appears to write from within the minds of his characters. He is primarily concerned with characters and their thought processes. By concentrating on the presentation of ideas he has shifted the emphasis from action, plot and straightforward narration. He skilfully intersperses his narratives with the self-revealing monologues of his characters. He ingeniously explores the subconscious and unconscious and makes profuse use of surrealistic and symbolic images. Though Ravi Sastri is a writer with a social purpose, he is first and foremost an artist. He uses the Visakhapatnam dialect, and the naturalness, freshness and attraction of his characters are due to their outpourings in this relative slang, which is a treat.

Ravi Sastri's novel *Alpajīvi* (A Short-lived Man) is acknowledged as a modern classic. His short stories have been published in several volumes. *Ākali* (Hunger) is one of his best stories. In it, a five-year-old child questions his parent for driving away a hungry beggar empty-handed,

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while giving him (the child) a coin when he says he is hungry. The parent explains that he acted as he did because the boy happens to be his son. In the dead of night a beggar invokes, in a clarion voice, the universal Mother, the giver of food. The child, who has been sleeping fitfully, gets up and tells his mother that he is hungry. But when she is about to get some butter-milk, he stops her and falls asleep again. One aspect of Ravi Sastri's art is his evocative power. Thus, a fragment of experience arouses a whole range of associated ideas, thereby re-creating a whole experience of life. The experiences in *Ākali* move the reader through a whole gamut of ideas associated with the problem of hunger. Similarly, in the story *Jarī Ancu Tella Cīra* (A White Sari with a Brocade Border) the frustration of a teenaged girl clamouring for 'one, just one, only one white sari with a brocade border' evokes in the reader the sense of frustration that clouds the life of the middle class.

Bina Devi (pen-name of B. T. Sundaramma, b. 1935) has adopted this technique and written several fine stories, presenting lifelike characters from a cross-section of society. Her stories usually end with a sting, creating an indelible impression on the reader. *Thanks for P. M.* (P. M.—Post-mortem), *Dabbu* (Money) and *Todimilēni Puvvu* (A Flower without Stalk) are among her best stories. Bina Devi won the Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi Award for 1972.

Search for Values. A quest for moral, basic and human values consistent with the Telugu heritage marks the stories of some writers who are agitated over the fall in standards of behaviour. The conflict between morality and material benefit is the underlying theme of the stories of Balivada Kanta Rao (Balivāḍa Kāntā Rāvu, b. 1927). Perplexed by rampant corruption, he focuses attention on the idealistic public servant. In his story *Abhyudayam* (Progress), an upright and inspiring Block Development Officer receives transfer orders. Shunning a tumultous farewell, he vacates his house in the night, leaving behind a burning lantern.

Persuading people to give up selfishness and do service is the endeavour of Angara Venkata Krishna Rao (Aṅgara Veṅkaṭa Kṛṣṇa Rāvu, b. 1920). His *Togaru Cettu* (Flame of Forest Tree) is a marvellous depiction of sublimated desire. It also contains some excellent symbolism. Balagangadhara Tilak (Bālagaṅgādhara Tilak, b. 1921) accentuates the human element. In his story *Doṅga* (Thief) the thief enters a house and sees the husband beating his wife and grabbing her gold chain to pay for his vices. The thief forgets himself, gives the husband a thrashing and leaves after restoring the chain to the wife.

Bommireddipalli Surya Rao (Bommireḍḍipalli Sūrya Rāvu, b. 1923), in his story *Doṅgalunnaru Jāgrata* (Beware of Thieves) provides shock treatment to a hypocritical moralist. In this story, a train traveller given to preaching morality finds a suitcase in an empty compartment and takes it home. When he eventually opens the box, he is shocked to find in it the body of a dead infant. Two other well-known writers whose stories are a search for values are C. Ramachandra Rao (b. 1931) and Adi Vishnu (b. 1940). R. S. Sudarsanam (b. 1921) brings out the mystic element in his story 'Madhura Mīnākshi'.

Middle Class Life. The various facets and problems of the middle class are the focus of interest of many writers, including Kalyana Sundari Jagannath (*Alarāsa Puttilu*), 'Pūbha' Ramana Murthy (*Sandhyā Dīpam*), R. S. Sudarsanam, Bhanumathi Ram Krishna (*Attagāri Kathalu*), Bhamidipati Ramagopalam (*Vennala Nīda*) and Avasarala Ramakrishna Rao (*Andacandāla Kathā*; *Lalitasaṅgītam*). Tenneti Suri exalts the daughter-in-law in a rural joint family and praises the confidence with which she runs the household in *Bhārati*. 'Amarendra' (C. N. Sastry, b. 1924) reveals the beauty of the soul of Indian womanhood in his fine story *Triveṇi* (literally, the confluence of the three sacred rivers of India). Puranam Subramanya Sarma's (b. 1929) story *Nili* is a moving account of the aspirations of a handicapped young girl. Sarma was given the Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi Award for 1971.

Ichhapurapu Jagannadha Rao (Ichhāpurapu Jagannādha Rāvu, b. 1931) in *Varamichhina Vēlupu* (The God that has Granted a Boon) confirms the value of Indian tradition and culture. His *Cīkatlo Pārijātam* (A Parijata Flower in the Darkness) is a fine story of not only married love but also of the simple life. He makes his point well using a superb experimental technique. Jagannadha Rao has also written several delightful stories of middle class family life in which mild storms brew and blow over. *Śrīmati Sujātā* is a good example of this kind of story.

Mullapudi Venkata Ramana (Mullapuḍi Veṅkaṭa Ramaṇa, b. 1931), who writes in a humorous style, has created a delightful child character, Budugu, in his collection of stories titled *Budugu*. Mullapudi was given the Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi Award for 1975 for his *Janatā Express*, a collection of stories dealing with middle-class problems, such as the educated unemployed etc. In *Aparājitā* (The Unconquered), Vakati Panduranga Rao (Vākāti Pāṇḍu Raṅga Rāvu, b. 1934) presents a lovable young girl who sacrifices her future, as she decides to remain unmarried in order to bring up her dependent sisters and brothers. Peddibhotla Subba Ramaiah's (Peddibhotla Subba Rāmaiah, b. 1938) *Nīllu* (Water) is the story of a man from a dry area who comes to a place where there is plenty of water and, in his ecstasy, gets drowned. Kondamudi Sri Ramachandra Murthy (Koṇḍamuḍi Śrī Rāmacandra Mūrti, b. 1937) in *Pāmulānti Batuku* (Life that is like a Snake) is about a starving child that, remembering the family being fed by relatives for a day on the death of some one in the family, a middle class custom, asks its mother

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when its ailing brother is going to die. Problems are posed by Viraji (b. 1938) in his stories *Kāgitam Padavalu* (Paper Boats) while Sri Virinci (pseud. of N. C. Ramanujachari, b. 1935) offers new solutions in his book of stories *Kotta Nakṣatram* (A New star).

The dominant role played by psychic forces in Man's behaviour is portrayed by Kommuri Venugopala Rao (Kommūri Vēṇugōpāla Rāvu, b. 1938) in such stories as *Illukonnādu* (He Did Purchase a House), *Nijālu-Kalalu* (Facts and Dreams) and *Pāpā* (Child).

Rural Life. The pollution of village life by petty politics is the concern of Talluri Nageswara Rao (Tāllūri Nāgēśvara Rāvu, b. 1931) whose moorings are rural. His *Vadraṅgi Vīraṇṇa* (Carpenter Veeranna) portrays the present-day village life that is ridden with petty politics. A carpenter builds a beautiful cart for one of the two influential figures in the village. The other immediately orders a better one. The first man tries to persuade the carpenter to stop work on it, but to no avail. So he causes the poor man to be jailed on a trumped-up charge. K. Sabha (Sabhā, b. 1923) is another writer who captures present-day rural life effectively in such stories as *Pātāla Gaṅgā* (Subsoil Stream).

Satyam Sankara Manchi (Satyam Śaṅkara Mañci, b. 1935) portrays the past and present life of the people of Amaravati, a pilgrim centre, in his Amaravati stories.

Women Writers. A notable feature of recent years is the emergence of many talented women writers such as K. Ramalakshmi (*'A' Certificate*), Vasireddi Devi (*Edi Soundaryam*), Koduri Kousalya Devi (*Saṅkellu*), I. V. S. Achyutavalli (*Ijjat*) and Yaddanapudi Sulochana Rani (*Anurāga Toraṇam*). Malati Chandun depicts the life of the down-trodden in such stories as *Śānamma*. Muppala Ranganayakamma foresees the emergence of woman as a creative and social force in her story entitled *Ammā*, while Yasoda Reddi, using the pure Telangana dialect, portrays rural Telangana women.

The New Wave. The most recent development is the emergence of the 'new wave' writers, whose main thrust is the evocation of humanism to solve social problems. Force, dynamism and novelty characterize their stories. Kalipatnam Rama Rao (Kālipatnam Rāmā Rāvu) stuns the readers with his story *Yajnam* (Sacrificial Ritual). It is a hypnotic tale of a frustrated peasant, who, in a frenzied and dramatic bid to forestall his son becoming a bonded labourer, kills him. Rama Rao won the Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi Award for his collection of stories titled *Yajnam*. C. S. Rao's (Rāvu, b. 1935) *Urummadi Batukulu* (Collective Lives in a Village), Donepudi Rajarao's (Donepuḍi Rāja Rāvu, b. 1925) *Kotta Diary* (New Diary) and V. Raja Ram Mohan Rao's (Rājā Rāma Mōhan Rāvu, b. 1946) *Varada* (Floods) are other 'new wave' stories.

Conclusion

Telugu writers are, in general, conscious of the fact that the short story is a powerful artistic medium easily accessible to the masses. This form, like the other literary genres, has been influenced by the prevailing social and political conditions. The British rule had two effects on writers. First, it made them rise against slavery and, as a reaction, turn to Indian culture and highlight it. Secondly, it exposed them to modern knowledge, which stirred them to attack and reform the conservative society. Earlier writers were imbued with idealism and wrote stories praising the Indian culture of the past. But appalling ignorance, poverty and conservatism, prevailing in society, soon compelled them to turn to life as it is. Writers started handling themes of social purpose. Bewildered by the situation after Independence, writers have striven to express concern about the unhealthy chase for power and wealth that has pushed all values into the background. But Telugu writers, as a whole, have, perhaps, not reflected adequately the contemporary picture or interpreted it with enough depth of insight.

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Urdu

JOGINDER PAUL

Early Period

The Urdu short story was struggling during the 19th century to settle into a regular literary form. Yet, almost all popular tales—or, more truly, tales within tales—assumed diverse ancient bearings congenial to their roving nature. These tales told of supernatural love between an omnipotent prince and a princess spreading beams of moonlight, introduced to each other through some incredible winding sub-tales of encounters between the virtuous and the wicked. Animals in these tales would talk more fluently than humans. And, in the end, the virtuous would be seen victoriously embracing their loves, whispering nuptial promises in their ears.

Almost all these *Dāstāns* (tales) were translations of the original Persian or Sanskrit. *Rāṇī Ketiki Kī Kahāni* (The, Story of Rani Kateeki, c. 1800) by Insha (pseud. 'Insha Allah Khan, 1752–1817) and many others including *Bāgh-o-Bahār* (The Garden & The Bloom, 1944) by Mir Amn (19th century) written as reading material for the cadets of the famous Fort William College between 1801 and 1804, were very popular. Mazhar Ali Vila, a contemporary of Mir Amn, compiled a collection of short stories under the title *Mukhtaṣar Kahāniyān* (Short Stories) published by Ebadat Brelvi in 1963.

Before Urdu short story entered into the 20th century, it had already evinced its inclination to take off its magic trappings and go by a measure of human limitations as is evident in the novels by Sharar (1860–1926), Sarshar (1846–1902) and Nazir Ahmed (1831–1912). These stalwarts, however, reserved their rights of visions and exaggerations and allowed life to interpret itself only on their terms.

Towards the New Era

The seeds of modern Urdu short story were sown by Premchand (1880–1936) and his contemporaries, Sajjad Haider Yaldrum (1880–1943), Sultan Haider pseud.: (Josh, ?–1953) and Niaz Fatehpuri (1884–1969). While Yaldrum and Fatehpuri tended romantically cosy lawns, Premchand, who is justifiably regarded as the father of Urdu short story, engaged himself in bringing up pastures of both beauty and utility. While Yaldrum carved, as in *Jahan Phūl Khilte Hein* (Where the Flowers Bloom), regions of poetry in prose, Fatehpuri was rather dreamily passionate and urgent as in his *Cupid aur Psyche* (Cupid and Psyche) and Josh, although too ideal to probe everyday realities, had a pungent idiom suitable for social reform. His *Hān Nahin* (Yes, No) is an example. Another short story writer taking strides in romance and mystery was Hijab Imtiaz Ali. Her *Sanūbar Ke Sāe* (The Shadows of the Pine) illustrates how fast her unpretentious little tales can read.

Munshi Premchand

But for Munshi Premchand, the Urdu short story would not have quite come out of the woods. His journey from his earliest collection of short stories, *Soz-e-vatan* (The Anguish of the Native Land) to the latest *Kafan* (The Shroud), a minor masterpiece published in the year of his death, presents a vivid study of his growth from adolescence to identity.

Kafan. *Kafan* portrays two country lackeys, father and son, drawn so singularly from inside that we cannot help being moved with plural sympathy for the notorious paupers. The story opens with Gheso, a low-caste, sly widower of sixty, chatting with his son, Madho, at the door of their hovel in front of an extinguishing fire, heating raw potatoes which they frequently steal from neighbouring fields for food. Both father and son are confirmed idlers and live in utter want. At the moment, while Budhia, the wife of Madho, has acutely been suffering labour pains and yelling from inside the hovel throughout the day, the hungry old man is relating to his son how he was, once in his life, charitably allowed to partake of a really square meal in his younger days on the occasion of a marriage in a rich Thakur family of the village. The son feels jealous of his father and bemoans his misfortune of never having had an opportunity to satiate his hunger. So powerfully gripped with hunger, neither of them goes inside the hovel to look after the dying woman, afraid that the other will eat up all the potatoes in his absence. Having eaten the potatoes, they lie indolently on the ground and drawing up their knees to the stomach, go to sleep to find the following morning that the poor Budhia has been dead together with her unborn child. They manage to collect a full five-rupee in alms from the landlord and other prosperous fellow-villagers to buy a shroud for the dead woman. When they reach the village market, they innocently turn to the country-liquor shop and spend the whole amount on eats and drinks, blessing the soul of Budhia who, they believe, has died if only to free them, though temporarily, from hunger. The story is perfectly told with no preoccupation with

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verbal idealization, its whole meaning silently occurring to the reader and drawing him compassionately to the poor men.

Oscar Wilde's defence of his earlier writings with the characteristic quip that a genius never progresses is ticklishly clever yet it cannot stand critical scrutiny. A genius does progress as did Munshi Premchand. The earlier Munshi, despite his proven narrative felicity and authentic familiarity with rural life, would have disturbed the natural sway in *Kafan* rather innocently with rhetorics, idealism and didacticism.

A New Tradition of Realism. The art of Premchand grew almost from the tradition of the *Dāstān* known for its density in oversimplified incidents. But passing through the experience of his earliest five stories contained in *Soz-e-Vatan* and the three later collections, *Prem Batīsi* (Thirty-two with Love), *Prem Calīsi* (Forty with Love) and *Prem Pacīsi* (Twenty-five with Love) he set in a new tradition of realism which made Urdu fiction turn to study life minutely and present human situations concretely.

Successors of Premchand

It is rather sad that a fine, recognizable country setting laid with a zealous bias by Premchand has not generally been taken up by the later generations of writers, mostly urban, even when imbued with a flair for the soil. Nevertheless, a few immediate successors of Premchand took their clues from the master and chose various aspects of rural life for their stories. Ali Abbas Husaini's and Azam Kurewi's short stories unmistakably indicate that they intimately knew their villages and readily shared the sorrows of the villagers. Stories by Sudarshan (1896–1967), though laid in urban setting, primarily take after Premchand's for their simple texture. Yet, granting their sincerity, writings by these authors show more of the deliberateness of Premchand than his abundance.

Later, Sohail Azimabadi (1911–79), was to remind us of the Premchand School with his short fiction about the poor farmers of Bihar, frequently stricken with casualties by man and nature. Like Premchand's, his language also is very lucid and come-at-able. Akhter Orenavi (1910–77) also picked up quite a few short stories from the rural Bihar. He portrayed the farmer of his land sympathetically, showing him in a character truly native.

The New Wind

Angare. The air all over the country was now rife with protest and anger against the foreign yoke and the internal social system based upon the conveniences of the privileged. The young men had smelt the rat of the existent hypocritical moral code governing our society. It was during this period that *Angāre* (Sparks, 1932), an anthology of short stories reflecting the prevalent mood of the youth, was published, noisily acclaimed and at once banned.

Angāre includes ten stories, five by Sajjad Zaheer (1905–76), two by Ahmed Ali (b. 1912), two by Rashid Jahan and one by Mahmooduzzafar. None of these stories is, artistically speaking, enduring; yet, on the whole, the book is an important document; for, it aggressively urged a breakaway from priggish acquiescence in the apparent good which bred evil. The parade of religiosity and false nationalism, propagated by the 'haves' to curb the just aspirations of the 'have-nots' was unscrupulously attacked. Also, the stories sought to hurt the masculine pride and seat the woman securely in our society.

Slanderously impatient as the stories of *Angāre* did appear, they stripped the white-collar values of their credibility and assaulted such withdrawals as had been preventing Urdu short story from becoming contemporary.

Of the four writers of *Angāre*, Ahmed Ali, known to the English reader for his *Twilight in Delhi*, wrote a few stories very unlike his tumultuous two in *Angāre*. Of these, his *Hamari Gali* (Our Street), is indeed exquisite. The story paints an old Delhi street crowded with so many little incidents anonymously weaving themselves into a single, big human tragedy.

The Transitory Phase. *Kīmiagar* (The Alchemist) by Mohammed Mujeeb (b. 1902), a collection of short stories published in the early thirties, and *Mohabbat aur Nafrat* (Love and Hatred) by Akhtar Hussain Raipuri (b. 1912) a little later illustrate the transitory phase of Urdu short story before it settled into the new era. Both Mujeeb and Raipuri are very much concerned with making the lot of suffering humans better, but they are a little too direct in their treatment to make the reader experience their stories.

The Western Impact

Access to Western Fiction. Had it not been for the access of our writers to western fiction, our short story might yet have looked like a typical old-time oriental woman rather heavily and fancifully garmented and ornamented. Premchand admired and seems to have assimilated Tolstoy. Similarly, Ahmed Ali and his associates in *Angāre* knew English well and through English, other literatures of the West also. The writers holding the field in the post-*Angāre* period had likewise intimated themselves with the European literary world and their knowledge had modified their choice of form and mental direction quite substantially.

The Modern Western Stance Towards Freedoms. Even though education in India during the British regime was basically intended only to serve the ends of the foreign rule, private effort fraught with missionary zeal made the best of

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whatever was available to accord opportunities to young persons, for a freer probe into various disciplines of knowledge from all over Europe. In fact the upsurge of the short story writers with an uninhibited and new temperament would not have been possible but for an increasing awareness on their part of their national plight in contrast with the modern western stance towards political, social and economic freedom.

Contradictions in Practical European Behaviour. While knowledge of Europe incited sympathies of the Indians by its concepts of democratic living, they did not fail to grasp the contradictions in practical European behaviour: German fascists had been butchering entire lots of the Jews in their country, regarding their elimination as essential to establish their racial superiority and to carry out their designs to subjugate the whole world. The British condemned the Germans but the ruin their own imperialism had brought to India never occurred to them. Similarly another amusing contradiction of the professed European democracy was illustrated by their negative approach towards the Apartheid in South Africa to appease the white tyrants there. The callous continuation of domestic segregation against the Negroes in the freedom-loving USA provided the sensitive Indian with an example of how a rich society can treat its conscience as a matter of convenience. Also, the oppressed and poor nations in Africa and Asia had inquisitively been watching the economic progress of the USSR and responding, irrespective of their different ideologies, to her friendly gestures in search of a better lot for themselves.

Translations. An insight into life abroad was also handy through translations from foreign fiction. Although not always of a good standard, these translations helped prepare the ground for new trends in Urdu fiction. Mansoor Ahmed and Shahid Ahmed Dehlvi, editors of the *Adabi Duniya* (Literary World) and the *Sāqui* (One who Serves Strong Drinks) respectively, translated and got translated many stories from European languages. Akhter Husain Raipuri, a fairly significant Urdu short story writer, translated the autobiography of Gorky into Urdu and Mushtaq Bhatti, of Chekov. Both these translations opened the gates for the Urdu reader into fresh thinking. Manto's *Rusi Afsāne* (Russian Stories), which includes *Three Questions* by Tolstoy and *Maidservant* by Chekov, was published and became at once popular. In addition, Makhmoor Jullandari gave sensitive renderings of quite a few Russian masterpieces such as Gorky's *Mother*. Tammanaee introduced Chinese stories to Urdu readers as also did Hans Raj Rehbar (b. 1913). Rehbar's original short fiction also attracted attention. Tammanaee's translations are entitled *Zinda Cin* (The Contemporary China) and include Lu Hsun's *Insignificant Incident* and *Dolls*. Ibne-e-Insha presented Poe to the Urdu world. Tirath Ram Firozepuri, who translated European short stories so extensively for commercial consumption, was not always reliable either in the choice of his story or the quality of his translation.

Translations from other Indian languages also appeared frequently in Urdu. Yunus Ahmer translated Bengali short fiction. His Urdu version of *Ferrace Lane* by Neendo Ghosh, a very touching piece of writing on the subject of the communal riots, became widely known. Hindi and Punjabi short stories were abundantly available in Urdu; for, Urdu had firmly been rooted in the areas of those languages.

The Progressive Movement

A Study in Political and Social Systems. Chaste lingual tastes in fancy patterns of undisturbed temperaments were no longer a norm in Urdu fiction. Therefore, when the Progressives beat their way into the field, their push-on generated a live activity in hearts hitherto heavy with passive decorum. Unlike the ivory-tower writers of yore, the new writers at once knew—and practised their knowledge—that political systems governing human society are a factor too vastly contributive to the suffering or happiness of man to be ignored. They proved the potentials of the pen in exposing the British Raj and its native chiefs. The tragedy no longer, according to them, consisted in the fall of a single outstanding figure; in the modern context, the collapse of a common person was no less important. For, his tragedy was but an echo of a similar anguish suffered by millions. Hayat Ullah Ansari's (b. 1913) *Akhari Koṣiṣ* (The Last Attempt), Rajinder Singh Bedi's (b. 1910) *Garm Coat* (The Woollen Coat), Krishan Chander's (1914–77) *Unn Dātā* (The Breadgiver) and Manto's (1912–55) *Nayā Qānūn* (The New Law) illustrated the precarious situation. *Do Furlong Lambi Sarak* (The Two-Furlong Long Road), which is a story without a plot and very skilfully told by Krishan Chander, sketches a similar study in unfeeling manoeuvres by vested interests.

Migration of the Poor to Industrial Centres. The progressive writers told touching tales of the helpless struggle of their countrymen for survival. Fleeing their native villages where they had been reduced to serfdom by the landed aristocracy, poor workmen found themselves running straight into the clutches of industrialists who would employ them as they did their machines only to multiply their wealth. Homeless and penniless, the poor souls, after hard work throughout the day, would have to live on public pavements amidst jungles of sky-scrapers. These were the times when most of the well-known writers in Urdu fiction, Krishan Chander (1914–77), Manto (1922–55), Bedi (b. 1910), Ismat Chugtai (b. 1915) and Khwaja Ahmed Abbas (b. 1914) had settled in the commercial and industrial capital of the country,

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Bombay, which afforded them a first-hand chance of studying the inhuman drama being played remorselessly by the new steel despot, who appeared religious but, in fact, considered even his God nothing but a marketable commodity. He profiteered from everything he knew: humans, animals and of course, cotton. The progressive writers pointed, with both art and feeling, to the left to show where the human heart was situated. They treated leftism as a personal sentiment hoping to show stories of miseries to their happy endings.

Exploitation by Religious Priests. Not for nothing were these writers dubious of the Pundits and Maulavis indulging in religious rituals without restraint to exploit the addiction of the average Indian to superstition. The short Urdu fiction of the thirties and forties is replete with pithy references to these traders in human faith. The Godless Soviet society was, of course, a cherished ideal of the Progressives, yet they knew full well that the Indian society would not agree to live without their God. As such, they decided that He should be made to look rational, informal and directly accessible to the ignorant and the poor so that they might not have to depend upon an expensive agency to contact Him.

The Status of Women. The predicament of the Indian woman also attracted those writers to lay bare male chauvinism. Although the scriptures were rapturously chanted to sing female glory, yet in practice, women were deemed mere property rather than independent persons. They were supposed to be always prettily submissive to their men-folk. In some of the finest pieces of short fiction, Manto's women react sharply, and openly revolt against the framework of female decorum built up by man. Ismat Chugtai's women as well illustrate in her smart native idiom their determined will to live fully and freely, except in her superb *Cauthi Ka Joda* (The Trousseau of the Fourth Day) where the poor Apa pines away in submissive dejection, awaiting her acceptance by a man who daily gobbles the rich food the starved girl prepares fondly to win him.

The Utilitarian Note. The Utilitarian note in the writings of the Progressives should perhaps make them look more like social reformers than creative writers. In fact, it did, whenever they arbitrarily contrived to deliver a moral purpose, but when the purpose grew from and ripened on a story, it would attribute to the story a native flavour which enlivened the material interest of the reader. Vague and neutral settings, fed on abstractions, lack identity and stay, if at all but passingly in the reader's mind, while situations born of specific contexts in a contemporary moral order are at once recognizable and involving.

The manifesto that the progressive writers presented at their first All-India Conference held in April, 1936, at Lucknow, unequivocally affirmed their faith in specific, material realities of the times and condemned escapes to remote and weird islands of individualism. Delivering his Presidential Address at the Conference, Munshi Premchand observed: 'I have no hesitation in saying that I weigh, like all other things, art also with the utility it affords. Art which is the source of our joy must also cultivate the taste for beauty yet; if the sky grows red in the month of Aṣaaḍ (the first rainy month), the spectacle would not provide us with joy; for it signals an imminent famine.' (tr. from 'Urdu Mein Tarraqi Pasand Adabi Tehrik', pp. 48-49, *Khalilur Rehman Azmi*, 1972).

While according joy, art makes us experience the social realities of our life. Tagore's confessional message (ibid Azmi Khalilur Rehman, p. 63) to the Allahabad Conference of the Progressive Writers, held in March, 1938, is noteworthy in this regard. He considered his long-time aloofness from the people as a blunder and, from experience, warned writers of their failure unless they mixed up freely with all and loved them.

Exclusive Propaganda. The Urdu short story had, during the heyday of the Progressive writers, been going through a very desirable change and had now learnt to be naturally communicative. Yet, quite a few fanatics in the Progressive Writers' Association had started rallying to employ creative writing as a vehicle for exclusive political propaganda. Some of the genuine writers were also tempted to write mere slogans while non-writers, in a bid to come to the fore, wrote—what they called—short stories incorporating the entire manifesto of the Communist Party. Kanhayalal Kapoor (1910–80), an ardent admirer of most of the Progressive writers, satirized this tendentiousness in his crisp *To a Progressive Friend.*

The Halqa-E-Arbab-E-Zauq

Individualism. The members of the Halqa-e-Arbab-e-Zauq (The Circle of Friends with Good Taste) had regularly been meeting during this period in Lahore to discuss contemporary literature. Short story writers were frequently invited to their meetings to present their writings for critical scrutiny. Although the Halqa reacted sharply to the increasing tone of propaganda by the Progressives, many progressive writers also presented their stories at these meetings to benefit from discussions on their writings. In fact, in a quite desirable measure, the Halqa set a tradition of outright criticism unmingled with courtesies, a factor conducive to the well-being of a developing literature. Yet, as the fanatics from amongst the Progressive writers would have literature threaded into noisy slogans, fanaticism in the Halqa also would have creativity cribbed in narrow individualism. The genuine writer, however, perceived the dangers implicit in the prejudicial extreme positions and whenever he could

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write a significant piece of fiction, it was indicative of his personal conscience as well as social awareness.

The Journals

It is justly said of Maulana Salahuddin of the monthly *Adabi Duniya* and Maulana Shahid Ahmed of the monthly *Saqui* that, although they did not themselves write short stories, they were the makers of short story writers. Readers not only awaited the newer creative ventures of Krishan Chander, Manto, Bedi and the rest but also longed to know what the two great Maulanas thought of these ventures. The famous *Adab-e-Latīf* (Fine Literature) of the Choudhari Brothers took after the *Nayā Adab* (New Literature) and represented the Progressive angle while the *Humayun* of Mian Bashir Ahmed was uncommitted, though it published writers committed to Progressivism. The old *Narang-e-Kheyal* (Illusion) of Hakim Yusuf Ali went on presenting short stories in chaste language, incredibly establishing the supremacy of the good—the limited communal good—over the evil, that is, whatever is popularly evil. The quarterly *Nuqūsh* (Features), destined to grow into a massive literary force, had also joined the ranks, first under Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi (b. 1916), a short story writer of renown, and later under Moh'd Tufeil as its editors. In the South, Mumtaz Shireen started her quarterly, *Naya Daur* (The New Times) from Bangalore in collaboration with her learned husband, Samad Shaheen. The magazine served as a check on the excesses of Progressivism, although it also highlighted the works of the Progressive writers. The publication of *Naye Zaviye* (The New Angles) in two volumes, edited by Krishan Chander, included selected works (short stories as well as poetry) by the progressives and spurted a very engaging controversy as regards their role and status in Urdu literature.

Krishan Chander. Krishan Chander (1914–77), a very prolific writer, was the most popular after Premchand. He never flinched from progressivism but depended upon it as much as it depended upon him.

Krishan Chander is a realist with a romantic disposition and inspires hopes of fulfilment of ideals even in situations of dire despair. His *Unn Data, Zindagi Ke Mode Par* (On a Turn of Life), *Hydrogen Bomb Ke Bād* (Since the Hydrogen Bomb), *Galīca* (The Carpet), *Kalū Bhaṅgi* (Kaloo the Sweeper) and *Tai Iṣeri* (Aunt Isheri), are typically Krishanchandrian for their combination of humanity, satire and poetry. In his latest writing, generally found fault with for his repetitiveness and decadence, he happened to have written a masterpiece, *Ādh Ghanṭe Ka Khuda* (The God for Half-hour), in which a sturdy young lover doomed to meet with his death in not more than half an hour suddenly feels released from the life-long prison of earthly loves and hates and experiences a bliss of total liberation from all his tensions.

It is said that Krishan Chander gave only one immortal character, namely Krishan Chander. For, his characters lack individual, minute features of their own and closely resemble their creator.

Manto. Saadat Hasan Manto (1912–55) had studied, translated and written on the art of the Russian masters of fiction, Gogol, Chekhov and Gorky. His own sensibility, tempered with this literary education, was responsible for making his characters not only look but also talk, think and act like themselves. Mangoo Kochwan of *Naya Qānūn* (The New Law), Sogandhi of *Hattak* (The Insult), Khoshia of *Khoṣia*, Babu Gopi Nath of *Babu Gopi Nāth*—all seem to create situations and to react to them independent of Manto. It is a great single contribution of Manto to Urdu fiction to grant fictitious characters credence of their own making. Manto's stories depict the life of prostitutes repeatedly, and to the disgust of many squeamish critics, rather too openly. He very justly defends his open treatment of the unfortunate women in his article, *Mujhe Kuchh Kehna Hai* (I Have to Say Something) and wishes our social conscience-keepers to create circumstances whereby women do not have to become prostitutes, if they do not want him to draw their attention to how they live. In any case, won't it be ridiculously false if his prostitutes and their agents and customers dealt with one another with convent-school morality?

Comparing him with Maupassant, Mumtaz Shireen observes in 'Maghrabi Afsane Ka Asar Urdu Afsane Par' (Nuqūsh Afsana Number, 1954, p. 1007) that he writes stories of abnormal characters indulging in wild sex, torture and murder. But, as in Maupassant, even though his humans appear to be cruel and ugly, humanity is kind and plentiful. His stories do reveal an undercurrent of man's elemental humanity in all his apparently inhuman postures.

The reader would perhaps have Manto not to seek to alarm him uniformly with all his endings. Wasn't Maupassant also snubbed by some of his readers who thought they would be more alarmed at the end of his story if he did not alarm them?

Some of Manto's all-timers are *Toba Tek Singh*, *Khol Do* (Unfasten), *Babu Gopi Nāth*, *Phundane* (Tassles) and *Naya Qānūn* (The New Law). *Naya Qānūn* is the story of Mangoo Kochwan, a typical Punjabi coachman with the reputation of being very well-informed amongst his fellow-professionals. He attributes the Hindu-Muslim animosity of the times to the curse of a holy man who, hurt by Akbar the Great, told him that his Hindustan would always be infested with communal riots and that its people, ruled by foreigners. All his friends regard, whatever Mangoo Kochwan tells them, with profound respect. One day he hears his passengers talking of the New Law liberating the

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country from the British yoke from 1st April and awaits the red-letter day impatiently. His passengers discuss the New Law frequently and he listens to them gleefully, hastily deducing from their conversations the points which are so valid from his own point of view. He hates the Tommies most heartily and looks forward to the day when he would settle his scores with them. And, at long last, the day—the 1st of April—does come but Mangoo, plying his tonga through the streets of Lahore, is rather dismayed on finding that everything is as it always was. He regrets having spent his fourteen annas and a half to buy a new tuft for his horse to mark the day. He meets in the meanwhile a British Tommy who wants him to drive him to a brothel. He recognizes the Tommy who had quarrelled with and humiliated him the previous year. The New Law flashing in his mind, he picks a fresh quarrel with him to make the Tommy taste the new times but, on this day of the New Law, the old law hastens to put him behind the bars! It's always the same, old law for the poor! A very simple story, yet very sensitively told in its details to carve the personal aspiration of a poor, ignorant being!

Bedi. Mumtaz Shireen (ibid) rightly contrasted Manto with Rajinder Singh Bedi (b. 1910) to show that Bedi picked up his stories from a quiet surface of deep waters. According to Bedi, the provision for electric shocks may be good enough for a time but one has ultimately to resort to one's usual life and it is through usual habits that one makes or mars one's chances of happiness. Almost all his masterly stories from his earlier *Grehaṇ* (The Eclipse) to his later *Mithun* (The Intercourse) illustrate the evolvement of an uncommon human drama from routine life.

To Bedi, one feels, writing is a very painful act: in the tradition of the Sikh carpenters of the Punjab, he keeps chiselling his story, feeling its smoothness and is unhappy when it is not smooth enough. His stories, as such, are free from verbal or episodic surplusage and he wields each incident with a mastery over detail. Yet, his assiduity is not always without its betrayal and one wishes he contained life in letters as life would contain itself without strain. The effort in his later *Lajvanti* (Lajwanti), *Mithun*, *Apne Dukh Mujhe De Do* (Give Me All Your Woes) and *Caṣma-e-Bad-Dūr* (The Ominous Glasses) appears, however, effortlessly employed. 'Mithun' is an excellent story of a helpless, young woman, surrendering her body and soul to a statue which she herself has made. Kirti sells her art in wood and stone, which she inherited from her poor dead father, for a very meagre sum of money. Magan, the unscrupulous dealer, doctors such pieces of art into an ancient look and sells them at a high price to foreign tourists. He likes—even loves—Kirti but, having the soul of a trader, does not express his love lest the woman should ask more money for her work. He encourages Kirti to carve a nude female in stone if she wants a good price for her work. To earn more money for the treatment of her dying mother, she at last makes a beautiful nude, making herself the model, to the annoying gratification of Magan. He decides to pay her a hundred rupees, but actually pays forty when she declares that she will not charge less than fifty. The dealer now asks her to bring a large Mithun, a burning scene of a sexual intercourse. She does it and quietly unpacks her work before him to his rapturous joy. Looking at the piece of art with profound satisfaction he feels affectionately inclined to her and inquires after the health of her mother. She's dead, she informs him in a distraught voice but recaptures herself to demand, to his surprise, as much as a thousand rupees for her new piece of work. Not allowed to bargain, Magan pays the price and turns his fond eyes once again to her work: the woman in the Mithun scene is again Kirti, tear-dimmed and subdued by an aggressive man. Who is he?—Why, Saraj, his neighbour who would gobble a woman as he does his food!—The story sensitively weaves the entire threadwork to show a simple, innocent girl developing into a stubborn woman in search of a secure future.

Upinder Nath Ashk (b. 1910) became known for his wistfulness, as in his *Baingan Ka Pauda* (The Sapling of Brinjal). Of the other writings of the period, *Zafron Ke Phūl* (Saffron Flowers) typifies Khwaja Ahmed Abbas's (b. 1914) inclination to the theme of exploitation of the poor by the rich, *Peṣa* (The Profession), Ismat Chutgai's spontaneous prose, and *Jagga*, Balwant Singh's understanding of the rural Punjab.

The Non-Progressives. From amongst the writers not associated with the Progressives, Mohammed Hasan Askari's *Cai Ki Piali* (A Cup of Tea) and *Haram Jadi* (The Bastard) and Mumtaz Mufti's *Apa* (The Elder Sister) became famous just on their publication. Equipped with their knowledge of Freud, they came to grip their characters from inside their minds. Devinder Satyarathi (b. 1905), who wandered far and wide in the country to gather folk songs, published his *Lāl Dharti* (The Red Earth), a short story deeply rooted in folklore. *Anandi*, the title of a short story by Ghulam Abbas, is a one-word proverb given after the story to denote sustenance of human civilisation through our social institutions of sin.

The Partition of the Country

From the din of Partition resulting in mass migration of ruined population from India to Pakistan and vice versa, emerged a few very moving short stories seeking to know man by the same single humanity rather than by his particular religion, and recording heart-rending scenes breeding prejudices and divisions: *Khol Do* and *Toba Tek Singh* by Manto are hauntingly instructive. *Parmeṣar Singh* by Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi relates the story of Parmeṣar Singh, a large

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human vessel very roughly carved, slowly recognising his son, Kartara, whom he has lost in the communal riots during Partition, in a Muslim refugee boy, Akhtar. Loving Akhtar, the rough vessel of clay, looks brimmed with the milk of humanity. *Gudaria* (The Shepherd) by Ashfaq Ahmed is a classic story on the theme quite often singled out for its very wide impact. Pushing the old Daoji to shepherding his cattle, Ranoo seems cruel but he thus unconsciously reassigns to the pagan his original role, the civilized role to tend the sheep. Many more writings on the subject of Partition movingly record the sadness of a whole generation both in Pakistan and India, helplessly watching the turn in contemporary history.

The New Balance of Life

The migration of writers from their roots to new geographical boundaries decided by political expediency was their very sad and deep experience and they took quite a long time to recover from their stupor. Meanwhile, a new balance of life had painfully been shaping itself from the ruins and slowly as writers came back to themselves, they started settling in the present. The old-timers found the new writers, some of whom had also been writing earlier, rather strange—sometimes, even incomprehensible—at the outset, but later, as the dust settled, they could not help recognizing the new order.

Qurrat-ul-Ain Haidar. The new sensibility in Urdu fiction is readily perceptible in Qurrat-ul-Ain Haidar (b. 1928), whose *Jala Vatan* (The Exile) suggests the large role she was destined to play later. Her *Pat Jhar Ki Āvāz* (The Sound of the Falling Leaves) is a quiet story of the brazen new times cheerfully indifferent to the innocent, vague aspirations of an educated young woman and steadily metamorphosing her into a monument of indifference. The story could only have been conceived, delivered and fostered by feminine awareness born of the sufferings characteristic of the times. Toned with a make-up hardly visible, it presents a plain face intriguing the reader into so many subtle inquiries about contemporary living and relationship. In one of her latest short stories, *Saint Flora of Georgia Ke Etrafat* (The Confessions of Saint Flora of Georgia), the remote past mingles so familiarly with the present that both present and past seem living hand in hand and in the end, shrinking into a future, assured that they will likewise emerge from its haze. The story provides fresh possibilities of fiction when we treat human history with private sentiment: the wing of an angel happens to strike the bones of Saint Flora of Georgia lying dead for centuries and she comes back to life. On her request, the angel explains its inability to grant her flesh and blood but restores her native soul to her skeleton for a year. When she pleads for a companion, the angel grants life to another skeleton also, a Father Gregory. The story is very skilfully strung in ancient diction and incident; so the religious fervour, thus generated, works up an unstrained make-believe. The couple, padding their skeletons into real-life appearances, sets out travelling through contemporary Europe and the USA with a dissident intellectual pursuing them. The situation artfully illustrates how, even though Death follows Life, Life may also follow Death. The suggestion seems to provide the reader with the crux of matter and of time. Whatever convenience we may devise to divide time and life, they are indivisible and the same as ever. The subsequent adventures of the two ancients are narrated with a nimble undertone of mysticism and make us experience here and now man's remotest past and—since the wings of angels will always happen to strike skeletons in coffins—future.

The Plight of the Common Man. Indian political leaders had envisaged opportunities of freedom from slavery and starvation and of fulfilment of ideals presupposing that mere intentions might lead them to fulfilment. Their credulity furnished the wicked and active forces with their long-awaited chances to reap a rich harvest and use the newly acquired national freedom as an instrument of unrestrained personal power. Statistically, the country appeared to keep progressing in industry and commerce and human rights but the common man had become so poor that even paltry economic gains seemed more urgent to him than all his rights. Corruption and incompetence in bureaucracy, hoodwinked by its self-seeking political bosses enhanced human misery in the country. People came rushing to urban centres of industry, which had become too crowded to welcome them and personal survival rather than communal well-being was increasingly being accepted as the only rightful law. Slogans were, of course, being shouted more noisily than ever in the past but the new writer was determined to wrap them up.

The New Writers

Ramlal (b. 1923) would strike off platitudes and cliches from the prescription to allow the potion its original bitterness. He knits the new social realities into a skilful and enlivening plot, which makes his stories edifyingly readable. His '*O.C.*' is a refreshing study in bureaucratic sychophancy and strut. Bhīd (The Crowd), another story told very softly, recaptures a moment of personal past in the impersonal crowded present but before the fond moment is firmly gripped, it rolls into crowded invisibility. *Ukhde Hūye Log* (The Unsettled People), typical of his domestic stories, responds in soft whispers to similar old situations about which the old writers were perhaps unduly so loud. One witnesses in this story how he can pinpoint abstract female behaviour which makes his women so intimately known to us.

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In Anwar Azeem, (b. 1927) the earlier short story writer of *Lūḍhakti Cattan* (The Rolling Rock), full of sound and fury and drunken crash, steadily developed the perception of peaceful annoyance, that he indicated later in his *Sat Manzila Bhūt* (The Seven-Storey Phantom) and the *Qissa* series. These stories are thoughtfully still and presented pictorially rather than narratively. One would expect, however, that the admirer of Gorky was more artfully deliberate in pointing to his directions.

Ghias Ahmed Gaddi (b. 1928) was quite up to the sentiment of his *Narad Muni* and Iqbal Mateen (b. 1924), of his *Lakdi Ka Ādmi* (The Wooden Man) when they withdrew from earlier sentimentalism exhibited in their respective *Bābā Log* (Young Ones) and *Graveyard*. Both of them feature importantly today in Urdu fiction. *Taj Do Taj Do* (Give It Up) and *Prinde Pakadne Wali Gadi* (The Cart That Catches Birds) by Gaddi and *Agahi Ke Virane* (Deserts of Consciousness) by Mateen hopefully show a possibility of their engagement with even wider works.

Joginder Paul (b. 1925) is nostalgically appraised by some for his earliest stories of African environs. In *Mojiza* (The Miracle), a tract of grassy land holding Lake Kikuyu under it, shakes under the dancing feet of foreign picnickers. When one of them excitedly brings the miracle to the notice of a native, he blandly says the real miracle is why this piece of land alone shakes. Why not the whole of Africa?

As Qamar Rais observes in his Review on Rasai Shakhsaar 26, 27, 28, Paul's later stories pull him into total unsettlement from his earlier features. His *Bāz Yāft* (The Recovery) is symbolic of the yearnings of the modern man for a contact with his original being lost in the squalid surroundings of put-on relationships.

Ateequllah (Tanqueedi Tabsare Asari Agahi 2, 1979, pp. 59, 61) commenting upon Joginder Paul's recently published *Be Muhavara* (Unidiomatic) almost echoes Wahab Ashrafi (*Joginder Paul Ki Afsana; nigar; Aahang*, 52, p. 51) when he elaborates how the author's freely moving stream of consciousness seems to disrupt his stories on the way but towards the end, becomes one with their wholeness to bring about the harmony in meaning. The fly in *Be Muhavara* is at a loss to know, as perhaps also the story, where to settle in the tersely neat drawing room. The story suddenly reaches its consummation when the fly at last rushes straight into the human mouth ruminantly open for its entry.

Jeelani Bano (b. 1936), known for her ivory work of indoor life as in *Mom Ki Mariam* (The Wax Doll), has recently written an exquisite story, *Mein* (I), of a person said to have been lost and found when yet an infant. The loss of identity, in his case, is not merely an academic problem: he actually suffers it. Although his mother embraced and kissed him madly on his recovery, he recalls how she never seemed sure that he was really he. She always thought that children once lost could never be found. He believes her fears were not unfounded. Is he himself or is he lost somewhere? The situation of alienation is so concretely real.

Rattan Singh's (b. 1927) *Akhari Udās Ādmi* (The Last, Sad Man) and *Dukh Ki Umr* (The Duration of Sorrow) represent his crisp short stories, really short and picked direct from the life around him with a lot of breath stored in them. The last, sad man, in *Akhari Udās Ādmi* is, in fact, every man in our times pining away companionlessly, for no one will mourn his death.

Quasi Abdul Sattar (b. 1936) chose to depict, as in his very fine *Malkin* (The Mistress), the moving tragedy of the decaying zamindars of the U. P. in the new, inevitable order of life. His *Pītal Ka Ghanta* (The Brass Bell) is also a short story of nostalgia for the old-time decorum of the landed aristocrasy, written in his usual chaste language. The story touchingly dramatizes the crumbling glory of the past elite.

In *Do Bhighe Hūye Lōg* (Two Drenched Persons), Iqbal Majeed (b. 1934) avails himself of such a minor occasion as of shelter from rain, to examine who would wait on endlessly in such shelters and who would come out into rain for fun, exploration and adventure. It is perhaps only those having nothing on them to get wet and lost, who would venture into the open. His recent *Poṣāk* (The Dress) is a story with the ancient mien of the fable telling of modern sychophants. Referring to the creative urges of Iqbal Majeed, Anwar Azeem writes 'These urges flow from an experimental level of awareness, never losing its sense of direction. Majeed has a probing mind and is not averse to treading beyond the frontiers of obvious happenings' ('Light at the End of Tunnel,' *Indian Literature* vol. XXI, no. 6, New Delhi, 1978, p. 111).

The unaffected candour of Kalam Haideri (b. 1930) makes such stories of his as *Kis Ki Kahāni* (Whose Story) and *Zindani* flow into their reader's mind to become part of his consciousness; justly does Haideri not venture to wrench them from his consciousness to ascertain their pinpointedness. His stories are meaningful when taken in their entire contexts. Although in a different way, Ahmed Yusuf (b. 1931) also conveys his meanings as in his *Sadkami Ka Dūsra Lamha* (The Second Moment of Bliss), synthetically, not analytically. Both Haideri and Yusuf show how a single slice of life, as some people consider the short story to be, may fail to contain the free play of creative expansiveness. Abid Sohail (b. 1932), on the other hand, pinpointedly refers to situations of definite meanings, as in his *Andhere Ka Karb* (The Anguish of Darkness), to remind us in no uncertain terms, of similar circumstances in our own range of experience. His endings sometimes dramatically deepen the meaning of a situation which he may have already pronounced.

How a writer should tell his story is generally dictated to him by what he has to tell. Although Sharvan Kumar Verma

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(b. 1930) generally adopts a form which springs from the content as in his *Ek Afsāna* (A Story), a narrative story with symbols so natural and uninterrupting, yet he sometimes seems to presuppose the conditions of his story which undo his art; the abstractions in his *Talāś* (The Search) are hypothetical and designed to lead to a conclusion, without becoming the creative experience of the writer.

Two other writers, Surinder Parkash (b. 1931) and Balraj Mainera (b. 1935), find it convenient to employ symbols and abstractions for ampler expression. For example, *Rone Ki Āvāz* (The Sound of Moaning) by Surinder Parkash is so naturally surrealistic that to suppress its subconscious dreamy condition will cause suffocation to it; the story tells of a person who hears moanings from the neighbourhood and, while he is opening his door to go to make an inquiry, somebody knocks at the door and he finds his neighbour there to inquire of him why he has been moaning for such a long time. The episode, taken as such, may appear incredible, but the writer's experience of it makes it look really plausible. His *Barf Par Mukalma* (A Dialogue on Snow), however, starting so well, dwindles, despite its rich diction, into a fable with its symbols designed rather than conceived.

Balraj Mainera's pleasant control over his diction is indicated in some compositions of his *Composition* Series and *Woh* (He). One looks forward to reading him more frequently. But, unfortunately he has written rather sparsely. The expression in his *Akhari Composition* (The Last Composition) almost verges on poetry which is not quite the same as Krishan Chander's innocent sweep but one toned with halting urban awareness. *Woh* is symbolic of human passion craving for fulfilment, shown through a person maddened in his quest for such a trifle as a match to light his cigarette with. The innuendos in the story, taken together, create an under-current of meaning which never seeks to puncture its surface. But it is surprising that the same author should mar his story through a contrived use of symbols in his *Composition Do* (Composition Two). Symbols, as any other ingredients of the short story, are justifiably used when they unravel the story, not themselves.

Ewaz Sayeed's *Rāt Vala Ajnabi* (The Stranger of the Night), a recent collection of his short stories, contains, according to Alam Khundmeri, at least half a dozen stories which present his existential imagination at its peak. (Review on Raat Wala Ajnabi Jawas 7, 1978, p. 89). Yet, if the artist in him were much more companionably identifiable, Khundmeri's claim that Sayeed suffered the anguish of all mankind could be more easily subscribed to.

The Advent of Modernity

Modernity in Urdu fiction did not evolve, as some critics would have us believe, as a consequence of artificial attempts by pseudo writers importing western themes of alienation, despair and obscurantism in an arbitrary non-fictional form. This decadent attitude showed up in fact much later in the case of non-writers, not questing after truths but academically exercising their bookish knowledge of literary trends popular in the bored western society. Almost all the significant writers in the generation since Manto, Rajinder Singh Bedi and Krishan Chander have perceived meanings of truths in their fresh contemporary contexts and consequently experienced the inadequacy of old expression and form. Their education in western literary tradition did afford them a facility of clearer comprehension, yet the genuine modern story was evolved essentially through the modern writer's experiences of current Indian realities. Sensing the pretence in verbal idealizations of the status-quoists, he turned his back on the highways to tread unfamiliar paths in search of new perspectives. His writing no longer sought to clamp decisions but encouraged the reader to join him in his search for meanings of things and thus to participate in his creativity. This made short fiction more and more informal. She would now dress up for convenience rather than fastidious appearance. She was absurd, abstract or concrete just as she should naturally be for a fuller expression of her personality.

The New Journals. And as in the past, the new journals, especially the *Kitab* and the *Ṣabkhūn* (Night Raid) from amongst the monthlies played an important part in raising polemical issues about contemporary fiction. The *Kitab* played rather safely and, though not as a rigid rule, presented stories which had, as it believed, the bearing of an extension of Progressivism, while the *Ṣabkhūn* generally published works in sharp contrast to those of the old utilitarian stamp. It was through the *Ṣabkhūn* that the term, Modernity, started growing from an individual attitude into a literary movement of magnitude to counter Progressivism and to lay an exclusive emphasis on creativity and individualism and all that both may involve. Earlier, the *Sāhrah* (Mainstream), though privately owned, had almost been the official organ of the progressives. The *Ṣair* (Poet) of Bombay had also been publishing, particularly in its special numbers, significant contemporary short stories both by veterans and new comers. Two other journals of note are the *Tehrīk* (Movement), bespectacled on the 'right' angle from both its ears, and the *Āhang* (Harmony) claiming protective attentiveness to new short fiction. Of the quarterlies, the *Asari Adab* (Contemporary Literature) has a very notable record of presenting and evaluating modern short stories. The *Guftgu* (Conversation), the *Javaz* (Justification), the *Hamzuban* (Belonging to the Same Language), and the *Izhar* (Expression) from Maharashtra and the *Satūr* (Lines), the *Meyar* (Standard) and the recent *Ṣaūr* (Consciousness) and *Tanāzur* (Perspective) from Delhi are published sporadically, yet

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they are sought after for fresh fiction and news and views in the area.

Fellowship in Suffering. While surveys, articles, statistical data and above all, letters-to-the-editor, which almost all the present journals have been publishing regularly, remove some confusion about the new short story; they also create fresh confusions, sometimes seeking to divide literary opinions on the basis of extraneous political, social or personal prejudices. But luckily the genuine writer would rather be creatively purposeful than be purposefully politicking. He knows that no platitudes, whether hidden in style or ideology, can serve as alternatives to his readiness for suffering in fellowship with his characters. There are as many ways of writing a story as there are stories, and to write well the story a writer picks out, he must discover the same way as its characters pass through. It is the plain humility and submission of Daoji which Ashfaq Ahmed could not but have lived to bring his *Gudaria* (The Shepherd) to a reverberating symbolic ending. And, if we do come across similar authentic stories today, it is because the new writer also partakes of the humiliation, reluctance or protest of the new Daoji striving to contain baffling proportions of contemporary life.

The Newer Generation of Writers. It is heartening that most of the newer generation have evinced their intention to outgrow their recent rush for styles mechanically devised and too noisy to hold a story meaningfully. Kunwar Sen, Zafar Uganvi, Anwar Rashid, Qamar Ahsan, Shaukat Hayat, Rizwan Ahmed and just after them, Salam Bin Razzaq, Anwar Qamar, Anwar Khan, Hamid Suhrwardy, Sayyad Mohammed Ashraf, Abdul Samad, Ali Imam, Shafq, Husainulhaq, Farooq Raheb Shamsulhaq Usmani and Hajra Shakoor show sincere and uninhibited involvement in the art. When some or all of them grow mellower, they might also give us, in keeping with the tradition, enduring short fiction.

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Section 8

GENERAL PROSE

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Introduction

SUJIT MUKHERJEE

Functional or non-literary prose is in such general use today in every modern Indian language that it is easy to forget the fact that this situation arose only about one hundred years ago and was practically absent for another hundred years before that. The possibility of using prose, especially when written and preserved to serve a variety of purposes other than those of literature or of transactions or of inter-personal communication, became apparent not earlier than 1800 or so and is thus closely related to the presence of Europeans, and their impact on India.

Identity and Functions

In fact, it was only under European influence that a separate identity and function were bestowed upon prose composition. Until then Indian tradition had not found it necessary to distinguish sharply between prose and verse, nor between literary prose and non-literary or general prose. This has caused some confusion to western scholars, some of whom (like Albrecht Weber) have deduced that after an early beginning, utilitarian prose went out of favour in Vedic (i.e. pre-Sanskrit) composition, while others (like J. A. B. van Buitenen) have asserted that prose in the 'vernacular' languages of India came to be used for purely literary purposes only as a result of western influence. Neither position seems valid when we note that there is ample evidence of the existence of both kinds of prose in our classical as well as our modern languages from the ancient as well as the medieval periods of Indian history. What probably needs to be stated is the obvious—namely, that western prose forms and functions developed in India only under western influence.

No less obvious is the fact that, quite apart from western models of literary or non-literary prose, it was western technology in the form of the printing press which expedited the development of prose for all purposes in India. This was not so much a generally western or specifically British contribution, but almost exclusively the gift of Christian missionaries. The real advance made possible by the West was in the dissemination of prose; the birth of Indian prose and its employment for prosaic purposes had happened long before.

Earlier Uses of Prose

Functional prose is of older origin than literary prose if we grant that the earliest uses of prose in India known to us today were in the 'Samhita' portions of *Yajur-veda* and *Atharva-veda*, in the *Brāhmaṇas*, and in many of the Upanishads. If these are our oldest prose texts, the earliest consciously created prose form is probably the 'sutra' in Sanskrit, that aphoristic form in which some of the basic works relating to our philosphical systems were written. All these belong to some time before the Christian era. The enor-

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mous volume of Sanskrit composition that has come down to us through the many centuries since then is clearly predominated by verse works—even when the subject is grammar or poetics, medicine or astronomy, logic or erotics. But in Pali there are major prose works relating to the Buddha's life and teachings, while prose composition in various Prakrits having to do with Jainism served the cause of this faith for a much longer period than what was attempted in the modern Indian languages by Christian missionaries. Throughout the first 10 or 11 centuries of the Christian era, prose in our older languages was obviously used largely for purposes of exposition and commentary, more often than not of religious and philosophical texts, when it was not being used for the internal administration of kingdoms as well as for inter-state negotiations.

It has become customary to cite stone inscriptions of kings and those in temples, also copper-plates of land gifts and other deeds, as the earliest samples of prose in many of our modern languages. These go back in Kannada to c. 450, in Telugu to the 7th or 8th century, in Malayalam to about the 9th century, in Oriya to earlier than the 10th century, in Marathi to between 1012 and 1189. And from a time much before any of these centuries, there were the so-called Tamil-Brahmi cave inscriptions in which the language is recognizably Tamil but the script is predominantly Brahmi. Such samples, when not supported by larger evidence in the form of prose works, cannot tell us much about the maturity of prose composition in these languages in those times, whatever else they may have to offer for scholars in other disciplines.

Later Purposes

Instead, a review of the inferred reasons for the prevalence of non-literary prose in certain regions and at certain times would show that it grew out of local conditions and to meet some actual need. Thus, just as Buddhist monks had resorted to using the speech of particular regions where they spoke of and explained the way of the Buddha in prose, so did Jain scholars employ regional languages to explain and illustrate the tenets of Jainism. In Karnataka, prose works like *Vaḍḍārādhane* (c. 920) and *Trisasthilakṣaṇamahāpurāṇa* use Kannada to expound Jainism and describe the lives of the tirthankaras. In Maharashtra, a body of prose writings of the Mahanubhava sect from 1190 to 1310 argues against Vedic ritual and authority and presents instead a religion of the common people, in Marathi. Not in a specific location but wherever in the north-western region Urdu was beginning to be used, prose appeared in early 14th century 'malfuzat' collections. In Kerala, the organized performance of Sanskrit plays by Chakyar groups led actors to write down stage directions and practices in Malayalam prose and these were collected later in the form of manuals called 'āṭṭapṛakāram' and 'kṛamadīpika'; the oldest of these would go back to the 14th century. That century, in Gujarat, saw Jaina monks write the 'balavabodha' texts in prose, while Kulamandan incorporated explanations in Gujarati prose in his textbook on Sanskrit grammar, *Mugdhāvabōdha* (1394). When the 15th-century Oriya poet Sarala Dasa composed his Mahabharata and *Caṇḍi-purāṇa* in verse, he used prose where necessary in letters, despatches and proclamations inside the narrative portions, thus reminding us that these were indeed some of the natural and most common functions of prose.

Oriya in fact possesses a richer heritage of medieval prose than Bengali—which has very little, certainly much less than Assamese—although modern Bengali prose is generally rated higher in quality as well as in output than the other two. We get in Orissa, from the 13th or 14th century onwards, 'Brata Katha' tales in prose which glorify Śiva and Śakti as part of the observance of certain Śaiva and Śākta rites. In Assam, from the 16th century onwards, we find works like *Katha-Bhāgavat* and *Katha-Gīta* which were prose retellings of texts already translated or adapted in Assamese verse from the Sanskrit originals. This happened out of the feeling of Vaishnav scholars that the verse texts were inadequately understood by the common man, hence he had to be reached through prose. Similar need-based developments took place during the same century

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in Punjabi prose, as we see in the 'janamsākhi' form, which sought to record the life of Guru Nanak, and in the following century in Hindi (especially Brajbhāṣa) prose, as we see in the 'vārta' compositions which were biographical sketches of leaders of the Vallabhacharya sect.

Some Older Prose Works

Another view of the variety of pre-19th-century non-literary prose will be obtained from a sample survey of the earliest extant prose works in the modern Indian languages. Tamil can claim the oldest; Nakkirar's prose commentary on Iraniyar's *Kalaviyal* was probably composed in the 2nd century and written down by Nilakantan in the 7th century. Kannada may also have begun employing utilitarian prose during the earlier centuries of the same millennium, but *Kavirājamārga* (from the 9th century) does not, while mentioning many prose writers who obviously preceded this work, state whether they composed only literary works or not. The oldest in Malayalam would be *Bhāṣā Kauṭalīyam* from probably the latter half of the 12th century, a prose rendering of *Arthaśāstra*, which was also the first ever translation of this Sanskrit text into another Indian language. Marathi can claim the next older works, from the 13th century, all having to do with the founder of the Mahanubhava sect, Chakradhara, whether it be the account of his life by Mahindra Bhat (*Līla-caritra*, c. 1286) or a collection of his sayings by Kesavadas (*Siddhānta-sūtra*, c. 1290). By this time, in Telugu as in Kannada, 'vacana', a poetical prose form of utterance, had come into vogue, and the oldest collection of such prose in Telugu would be the 'Simhagiri Narasimha Vacanas' of Krishnamacharya in the 13th century. Not unlike in nature of the early Mahanubhava writings in Marathi or the older vacana collections in Telugu, is the earliest available manuscript in Urdu prose, which was written in 1308 by a devotee of the saint Maulana Vajihuddin in order to record his sayings. Far more functional than these prose discoveries is the oldest example in Gujarati, the 14th-century primer by Tarunprabha Suri entitled *Pratikramaṇ bālāvabōdha*. Given this range of prose texts that have survived, it may not be idle to speculate that an even greater variety had actually existed but is now lost.

Chronicle Prose

Many cultures elsewhere in the world have used prose to record and thus preserve national history. Such use was conspicuously lacking in ancient India—the rare historical records that have come down to us are in verse—and even in medieval India there is not much evidence of such effort except what was recorded in Persian by Muslim historians. The little evidence that we do have in Oriya, Assamese and Marathi has made these documents particularly significant. Oriya could have claimed pre-eminence through the *Madala Panji* records of the Jagannath temple at Puri going back to the 12th century, but their authenticity for the first three or four centuries is generally not accepted. A less known but more authentic effort of Oriya chroniclers is the as yet unpublished 'Cainika Kadaca', which was maintained through three generations from about 1476 to 1550. A longer though later span is covered by Assam's 'buranji' chronicles, begun by Ahom kings in the late 16th century, which continued unbroken until the conquest of Assam by the British in the early 19th century. Similarly, in Maharashtra we have the 'bakhar' chronicles, which began to be written systematically from the late 17th century with Sivaji's rise to power and continued till the end of Maratha rule in the early 19th century. Also from the period 1640–1880 in this region, a mass of nearly 50,000 letters in Marathi have been recovered. These await detailed scholarly scrutiny and publication.

Foundations of Modern Prose

The year 1800, which saw the founding of Fort William College in Calcutta, may be

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regarded as the official landmark in the development of prose in modern Indian languages. This date is being called official because, thereafter, the country's administration (then by the East India Company, later by the British Government of India) takes an increasing interest in directing the growth and employing the resources of 'vernacular' prose. In this activity the administrators built upon foundations already laid by Christian missionaries, but whereas the latter hoped to advance a religious faith, the former intended to consolidate political advantages. Thus, Fort William College was set up not for the advancement of Indian literary studies but to acquaint British personnel with the culture and languages of India so that they could become better administrators. However, the two strands mingled as soon as the Rev. William Carey was appointed Professor of Bengali in the newly founded and fortified college, and the Rev. John Gilchrist was appointed Professor of Hindustani. Their primary job was to prepare materials in Bengali, Hindi and Urdu prose to be used for instructing British civilians. To facilitate such work, the college employed learned Hindus and Muslims as resource persons, who, in their turn, became the pioneers of modern prose in their native languages. These early textbooks were printed at a press which had already been set up through missionary enterprise at Serampore, near Calcutta. Alongside the preparation of textbooks came the writing of grammars and compilation of dictionaries by Carey, Gilchrist and others. The Church and the State have never before or after collaborated to better effect in any other aspect of Indian life.

Christian Missionary Enterprise

In the other regions of the country, where this productive combination of forces was absent, the development of general purpose prose was slower and was sustained only by Christian missionary effort. Though the first bearers of this faith landed on the Malabar coast in the 3rd or 4th century, the earliest book in Malayalam prose, *Saṃskēpa Vedārtham* written by Father Clement, was printed only in 1772 and that too in Rome. Tamil prose was better served by missionaries who brought along printing equipment when they first settled at Tirunelveli and Father Henriques' *Tambirān Vaṇakkam* appeared as early as 1578; for a native effort in Tamil prose, however, we have to wait until Subbaraya Mudaliar's *Tamil Viḷakkam* was printed in 1811. The first book in Telugu prose was also of Christian inspiration, when one Benjamin Schultze translated the New Testament in the middle of the 18th century.

Early or late, the general pattern of development of prose born of missionary enterprise was more or less the same everywhere in India. It did not consist simply of translating the Bible or Christian tracts into the language of the region, but was an interlocking progression of steps. What happened in Orissa may be regarded as typical. In 1822 two missionary couples came from Serampore to Cuttack; by 1823 they had set up one English school and fifteen vernacular schools, all needing textbooks in Oriya which they began to prepare; the Cuttack Mission Press was established in 1837; between 1849 and 1861, they made three attempts to start a periodical in Oriya. Supplemented by the publication of grammars and dictionaries and other aids to language learning, the pattern repeated itself in Kerala (about 1810 onwards by the London Mission and the Church Mission Society), in Maharashtra (1813 onwards through the American Marathi Mission), in Punjab (about 1835 onwards through the Ludhiana Christian Mission), in Karnataka (about 1840 onwards by the Basel Mission), in Assam (1844 onwards by the American Baptist Mission), in Sind (about 1855 onwards), in Kashmir (about 1880 onwards). In course of time, as prose grew more self-confident in each language, derogatory epithets such as 'padre Malayalam' or 'Bible Telugu' or 'missionary Bangla' were used by later native practitioners of prose in these languages to characterize the earlier prose. Writing from outside the culture as the missionaries did, their prose managed to gain body but did not generate life. This had to wait for the insider, the native speaker of the language.

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The Modern Period

Outstanding works of general prose in each language, especially of the modern period, have been mentioned elsewhere in this volume. Quite often their writers were novelists or playwrights or poets who, when occasion demanded, employed prose for purposes other than those of literature. An overview will tell us that from about 1850 onwards, prose in all the modern Indian languages has increasingly fulfilled whatever new purpose that has emerged. Bengali had got a headstart over the other languages not only because movable types began to be used in its printing from as early as 1778 (the year Halhed's grammar appeared), but also because from this time onwards the presence of some of the finest British 'Orientalists' in our history made Calcutta the focal point of new ideas even while it became the nerve centre of British commerce in India. The most obvious proof of this was in the early spread of journalism and pamphleteering in Bengali during the first decades of the 19th century. Such means of expressing oneself in order to persuade others created as well as sustained modern Bengali prose. These conditions gradually became available at other urban centres controlled by the British, and other Indian languages benefited from the same advantages that Bengali alone enjoyed at one time.

As the 20th century advanced, prose forms and functions hitherto sparsely evident in India—such as autobiography, travelogue, history, literary criticism, philosophic discourse, polemics, expository writing—began to be practised with greater confidence and by an increasing number of people, until the writing of formal or informal prose was regarded as the hallmark of an educated and cultured person. Long ago, the composition of verse had carried this value. Further impetus to the growth of prose was received in each language after 1947, especially after the linguistic reorganization of states in the country, whereby the language of a particular State has been gradually adopted as its language of administration as well as its medium of instruction in schools and colleges. Each large extension in communication, whether through the printed word or by means of radio and other mass media, has created yet another function of prose. No Indian language today lags behind another in meeting such demands as they appear.

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Assamese

PURNANANDA SAIKIA

Early Prose

Religious Prose. The earliest Assamese prose was the religious prose of the 16th century which was born of religious verse. The Assamese religious scriptures were either translations or adaptations from their originals in Sanskrit. There was, therefore, an abundance of *tatsamas* in the diction of religious verse, which happened to be dignified in tone and metre. So was the case with religious prose. As religious verse was very often unintelligible, it was felt that religious tales and sermons of God should be made intelligible to the common man through prose.

Bhattadeva (Vaikuṇṭhanāth Kaviratna Bhāgavata Bhaṭṭācārya, 1558–1638) was the father of Assamese religious prose. Following the instructions of his religious preceptor Damodardeva, he wrote *Kathā-Bhāgavata* and *Kathā Gīta* as Assamese prose renderings of *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* and Gita respectively. He also rendered *Bhakti-Ratnāvali* and *Sātvata Tantra* into Assamese prose. Rudiments of this prose can be found in the dialogue of the classical drama (aṅkīyā-nāṭ) of Sri Sankaradeva. As Bhattadeva's prose was terse and artificial, it failed to attain popularity with those for whom it was meant. But his achievement lies chiefly in accepting prose as an alternative medium for verse to deal with lofty ideas and preachings of religion and philosophy abounding in the Gita and the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*.

Chronicle Prose (Burañjīs). The artificial religious prose, not at all akin to the spoken language of the people, was the vehicle only of religious and philosophical matters. So a simple prose was needed to deal with more mundane matters. The Ahom kings, who ruled Assam for six hundred years, till the early 19th century, introduced a novel system of writing chronicles. It was initiated in the language of the Ahom rulers. But this language, being foreign to the children of the soil, soon gave way to the spoken language of the people. This spoken language was at first a dialect of eastern Assam, where the Ahoms established their capitals. A team of learned chroniclers, appointed by the kings, began to record the day-to-day events of the royal court, the royal family and other affairs relating to the royal rule. These chronicles, known as *burañjīs*, came to be written in a prose-dialect which was at once simple in diction and style. The matter-of-factness of subject-matter freed the *burañjī*-prose from the fetters of classical idiom.

Not all the chronicles written during the Ahom rule of Assam have yet been fully recovered. However, a few very important chronicles were edited and published by the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Government of Assam. They are: the Asam *Burañjī* by Harakanta Barua, the *Deodhāin Āsām Burañjī*, the *Tuṅgkhuṅgiyā Burañjī* by Srinath Duara, the *Kachārī Burañjī* and the *Āsām-Burañjī*. Two other highly important chronicles, the *Puraṇi-Āsām Burañjī* and the *Pādsyāh-Burañjī*, were edited by two great scholars, Hemchandra Goswami and Surjyakumar Bhuyan respectively, and published by an antiquarian organization, i.e., the Kamarupa Anusandhan Samiti. All these chronicles are believed to have been composed over a long period, beginning from the late 16th century to the early 19th century.

The chronicle prose was also used for various other purposes: in writing epistles to the neighbouring kings on matters of political settlements and negotiations; in preparing genealogies of kings and nobles; in issuing copper-plates for land grants and other gifts; and in making chest-papers (*perākākat*) after census or land settlements.

Scientific Prose. Between the classical prose of Bhattadeva and the plain chronicle prose of the Ahom court, a scientific prose was developed under the patronage of the Ahom kings. This prose, not entirely free from *tatsamas*, was used in rendering many secular Sanskrit treatises into Assamese. The Assamese vocabulary was not rich enough at that time in *tadbhava* or indigenous diction to enable the substitution of words with specific uses in Sanskrit texts under translation. So a good number of *tatsamas* were used in this prose. It was, however, not the artificial prose of Bhatta-

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deva, nor was it the plain prose of the chronicles. It was prose lucid in expression and intelligible to the common man. This prose was used in treatises on medicine, astronomy, arithmetic, the art of dancing and architecture.

A monumental work in this scientific prose is the *Hastividyārṇava*, a treatise on the elephant, written by Sukumar Barkath in 1734 upon orders from Ahom King Siva Singha (1715–44) and his Queen Ambika Devi. The illustrations for the book were done by two famous painters, Dilbar and Dosai. This voluminous work deals elaborately with the nature and characteristics of several kinds of elephants and the methods used to train them. It also discusses various types of elephant diseases and prescribes specific medicines for their treatment. The basic material for this book was taken from the *Gajendracintāmaṇi* by Sambhunath.

Another book in the same category is the *Ghorā-Nidān*, a treatise on the horse by an unknown author. It is in two parts. In the first part it discusses various kinds of horses and their characteristics, and offers instructions to riders. In the second part it discusses various types of equine diseases and suggests specific treatments.

Christian Missionary Prose. There was a sudden set-back in the progress of the Assamese language and its literature with the fall of the Ahom monarchy and the advent of the British in 1826. The British rulers recruited for administrative purposes a clerical staff from outside, mostly from neighbouring Bengal. And as a result of this alliance between foreign rulers and the recruited clerks, Assamese was set aside from the court of law and the educational institutions of Assam in 1836. Instead, Bengali was made the official language of administration and the medium of instruction in schools. This was indeed the 'most unkindest cut of all' and had far-reaching consequences on the progress of the Assamese language and its literature. The noble heritage of the Assamese prose was thus kept in cold storage.

At this inauspicious moment of Assamese cultural crisis there came a missionary team of American Baptists seeking to spread the message of Christ. The most epoch-making event in this connection was the setting up of the first printing press in Assam, in 1844, by the Revs. Nathan Brown and Oliver T. Cutter. The prime object of the missionaries was to reach the common man, and that was possible only through the medium of Assamese. So the missionaries began learning Assamese and within just three months published the first Assamese primer for use in their schools. This was indeed the happy beginning of a process of regeneration of the Assamese language. The missionaries thereafter required lexicons and grammars to learn the language further. So the mission-press published the first Assamese grammar, *A Grammar of the Assamese Language* (1839) by W. Robinson. Next came *Grammatical Notice of the Assamese Language* (1848) by N. Brown. Two lexicons, the *Vocabulary* (1840) by Mrs. Cutter and the *Dictionary in Assamese and English* (1867) by Miles Bronson, were also published. To help them in their mission of spreading Christianity, an Assamese version of the New Testament, by N. Brown, was published. Prior to this, the first Assamese version of the Bible had been published in 1813 by the English missionaries of Serampore, Calcutta, with the assistance of an Assamese scholar, Atmaram Sarma. Thus the missionaries helped in creating the modern Assamese language.

Another epoch-making event of this period was the publication of a news-magazine, *Aruṇodaya* (1846), only two years after the setting up of the printing press. It was the first Assamese journal, and O. T. Cutter was its first editor. This journal published Christian tracts, Biblical stories, news and views of the western world, and the problems of concern to the Assamese. Besides the missionaries, promising Assamese writers also began to contribute to this journal. One powerful contributor was an Assamese-Christian, Nidhi Levi Farwell. His work *Natural Science in Familiar Dialogue* (1855) is a specimen of the earliest prose dialogue in Assamese. Another patriot whose writings in *Aruṇodaya* helped bring about the modern Assamese prose style was Anandaram Dhekial Phukon (Ānandrām Dhekial Phukhon, 1830–59). Through his consistent efforts and powerful writings, Assamese was recognized in 1873 by the British as a language of the court and a medium of instruction in schools. *Aruṇodaya* paved the way for a modern Assamese culture.

Modern Prose

The Birth of Modern Prose. Modern Assamese prose is a happy blend of three prose styles: religious prose, chronicle prose and Christian missionary prose. Religious prose was terse and artificial because of the preponderance of *tatsamas*. It was also made to appear dignified in order to provide the treatment of divinity with an other-worldly flavour and high seriousness. It was never a vehicle for mundane matters. It was cultivated in the *satras* (monasteries) by Sanskrit scholars. Chronicle prose, on the other hand, was entirely free from *tatsamas*, as religious matters borrowed from Sanskrit were not within its purview. It was full of *tadbhavas* and indigenous idioms and dealt with mundane matters only. It was cultivated by men of wisdom in the court of the Ahom kings. Each of these two prose styles in its finished form had but a very thin relationship with the spoken language of the people. The Christian missionary prose formed a bridge between the religious prose and the chronicle prose, particularly in the treatment of subject-matter. This prose was a prototype of the English prose style in syntax and idiom, embracing subject-matters religious and secular alike. It was entirely free from *tatsamas* and was solely dependent on the idiom of the people. It

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had no eye for the etymology, indigenous syntax and correct orthography of words. So the Assamese people could not accept this prose as their own. Yet, in the ease and flow of style as well as in the treatment of subject-matter, missionary prose was the immediate predecessor of modern Assamese prose, removing as it did the clouds of medievalism and opening up vistas of western culture and civilization.

Amidst the works of Christian missionary prose there appeared the first signs of the modern Assamese prose-style in the writings of Anandaram Dhekial Phukon, a proud patriot, who worked closely with the Christian missionaries for the cause of his mother tongue. His *Englandar Vivaran* (A Description of England, 1874), published in the Christian news-magazine Arunodaya, is an example in point. His anonymous publication *A Few Remarks on the Assamese Language* (1855), published from the Christian mission press performed a Herculean task in gaining Assamese recognition in its homeland. His *Bhūgol-Sikṣak* (A Study on Geography, 1849) and *Asamīyā-Sikṣak* (A Study of Assamese, 1849), two parts in the series *Asamīyā Larār Mitra* (A Companion for Assamese Boys, 1849), were prepared as school texts, but are a high water-mark of the finished Assamese prose style.

The colossal task of laying the foundations of the modern Assamese language in this transitional period fell on the shoulders of a great linguist and an indomitable personality, Hemchandra Barua (Hemcandra Baruvā, 1835–96). His monumental work was the *Hem-Koṣ* (1900), the first voluminous and scientifically prepared dictionary in Assamese, containing the etymology of Assamese words with their English equivalents. His *Asamīyā Vyākaraṇ* (1859), the first standard Assamese grammar, set at naught all prevailing controversies regarding the etymology and the syntax of the language. Corruptions in spellings and pronunciation that polluted the missionary prose were thus rooted out for ever. Another pioneering Assamese grammar that helped Assamese in its formative period was the *Bahal Vyākaraṇ* (Elaborate Grammar, 1920) by Satyanath Bora (Satyanāth Borā, 1860–1925). Besides founding the edifice of the language, Hemchandra was also concerned with its style. His school texts—*Ādipāṭh* (School Primer, 1873) and *Pāṭhmāla* (School text) are significant landmarks in Assamese prose style in this formative period. During this era there appeared yet another great literary figure, Gunabhiram Barua (Guṇābhirām Bharuvā, 1837–94), whose pen took modern Assamese prose to a height of perfection that had not hitherto been achieved. Gunabhiram, Anandaram and Hemchandra were the trio who chiselled Assamese into the finished form known today as modern Assamese.

Bronson's *Anglo-Assamese Dictionary*, containing 14,000 words, was the first dictionary in the language. Hemchandra Barua's *Hem-Koṣ*, with 22,346 words, was the second. The third voluminous dictionary, *Chandrakānta Abhidhān* (Chandrakanta's Dictionary, 1933), was published with a handsome donation given by Raibahadur Radhakanta Handique in memory of his son Chandrakanta who died prematurely at the age of 22. This dictionary, containing 36,819 words, was published in 1933 by a Trust Board set up by the Asam Sahitya Sabha (the Assamese Literary Association). The basis of the third dictionary was its predecessor, *the Hem-Koṣ*. These two dictionaries are the two massive pillars, supporting the edifice of the Assamese language.

Religious Literature. The religious scriptures on Vaishnavism and the biographies (*carit-puthis*) of the great Vaishnavite preachers, Sri Sankaradeva and Sri Madhavadeva, were in verse. With the dawn of the Assamese renaissance, the pioneers of modern Assamese literature wanted a thorough scientific study made of the lives and preachings of the two great Vaishnava saints. These studies resulted in a series of critical works written in modern Assamese prose, which considerably enriched the domain of Assamese religious literature.

The pioneer in this field was Lakshminath Bezbarua (Lakṣmināth Bezbaruvā, 1868–1938), who is better known as the Sāhityasārathi' (Charioteer of Literature). His *Kṛṣṇa-kathā* (Discourse on Krishna, 1963) and *Tattvakathā* (Discourse on Philosophy, 1963) are two important works on the Krishna-cult or the Vaishnavite faith. But his *Śaṅkaradeva* (1912) and *Śrī Śaṅkaradeva and Śrī Madhavadeva* (1916) are the first scientific assessments of the two great Vaishnavite preachers of Assam. These works, besides pointing out the manifold contributions the two great saints had made to the arts, culture and literature of Assam, also helped to renew the convictions of the enlightened in the Vaishnavite faith.

A renaissance outlook on religion is also seen in the writings of another pioneer of modern Assamese, Padmanath Gohain Barua (Padmanāth Gohāin Baruvā, 1871–1946). His monumental work, *Śrī Kṛṣṇa* (1930) is written in a highly dignified prose. In the tone and spirit of this book, Lord Krishna appears not as an incarnation of God, but as a great historical figure. Padmanath's other work, *Gītā-Sār* (Summary of Gitā, 1935) is a mini-Gita in lucid Assamese prose.

An independent view of monotheistic Hinduism is expressed by Kamalakanta Bhattacharya (1853–1936), a dauntless patriotic writer, in his *Guṭidiyek Cintār Dhau* (A Few Waves of Thought,). His *Aṣṭavakrar Ātmajīvan* (An Autobiography of Aṣṭavakra) is another interpretation of Hinduism in a novel way, seeing the religion unlike as in the Gita and the Upanisads.

Several other critical works, on the ancient faith of Kamarupa, on the Vaishnavite cult and on the Saints of Assam have also enriched Assamese religious literature. A few of these are: *Puraṇi Kamarūpar Dharmar Dhārā* (1952)

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by Bani Kanta Kakati; *Vaiṣṇava Dharmar Āti-gurī*, *Vaiṣṇava Dharmar Kramabistār* and *Juganāyak Śaṅkaradeva* (1968) by Dimbeswar Neog; *Śrī Śrī Śaṅkaradeva* (1949) by Maheswar Neog; and *Vaiṣṇava Darśanar Ruprekhā* by Manoranjan Shastri.

Journalistic Writings. The history of the growth and development of modern Assamese literature is initimately connected with the publication of a series of Assamese journals, beginning with the appearance of *Aruṇodaya*. This paper, devoted primarily to the cause of Christianity, and secondarily to science and humanities, continued to be published for over 30 years. The second Assamese monthly, the *Assam Bilāsinī* (1871–83), published from the Anuati Dharma Prakas Press as a religious mouthpiece of the Anuati *Satra* (monastery), was also a vehicle of public information and criticism. The third Assamese journal, the *Asam Mihir* (1872–73), was published by the Gauhati Chidananda Press. Next came the *Assam Darpaṇ* (1874–75), a monthly published from Viswanath in Tezpur. Some other journals, published from Nowgong, Gauhati and Goalpara were organs of religion, literature and scientific thought. Of them, the *Goālpārā Hitsādhinī* (1876–78), a weekly, is of importance. An Anglo-Assamese weekly, the *Assam News* (1880–81), edited by Hemchandra Barua, was popular, but was soon stopped. It was succeeded by the *Assam Bandhu* (1885–86), edited by Gunabhiram Barua. Then came the *Mau* (1886) and the *Asam Tarā* (1888–90), under the editorship of Harinarayan Barua and Sridhar Barua respectively.

Although these journals disappeared in time, mainly due to economic reasons, they succeeded in creating a reading public in Assam. The needs of this class were ultimately met by that epoch-making monthly, the *Jonākī* (Moonlight), published in 1889 from Calcutta. The journal was the mouthpiece of a literary organization, the Asamiya Bhasha Unnati Sadhini Sabha (The Assamese Language Developing Society), founded in 1888 by a dedicated band of young men from Assam who were at the time studying at the Calcutta University. Chandrakumar Agarwala was the first editor as well as the publisher of the journal. Strong currents of western thoughts and ideas began to flow into Assamese through the medium of this journal. All the masters of modern Assamese prose and poetry made their first literary appearance in the pages of *Jonākī*. This journal was followed by another monthly, *Bijulī* (Lightning), in 1890 under the editorship of Krishnaprasad Duwara. Both *Jonākī* and *Bijulī* rendered yeoman service in enriching the treasury of modern Assamese literature.

In the first decade of the 20th century two other epoch-making journals, *Uṣa* (Dawn, 1907) and *Bānhī* (Flute, 1909), appeared under the editorship of Padmanath Gohain Barua and Lakshminath Bezbarua respectively. These were followed in quick succession by *Alocani* (Magazine, 1909–17), the *Asam Bāndhab* (Friend of Assam, 1910–16), *Cetanā* (Consciousness, 1919–26), *Milan* (Union, 1922–30) and *Āvāhan* (Invocation, 1929). The last-named journal, edited by Dinanath Sarma (Dīnanāth Śarmā, b. 1915), was the most fertile soil for the efflorescence of Assamese romanticism in the thirties and forties.

With World War II (1939–45) came an atmosphere of turmoil and uncertainty that made the older generation of writers disillusioned and the younger generation more realistic. The Indian Nationalist Movement (1942) and Mahatma Gandhi had as much influence on the political scene as on the literary one, and a new wave of thought based on Marxist philosophy also swept over the literary field. The new trend in writing presented itself to the reading public in the journal *Jayantī* towards the close of 1943. This journal was followed by the *Pachowa* (West Wind, 1948). But the most outstanding journal of the period was *Rāmdhenu* (Rainbow), first published in 1950 under the editorship of Maheswar Neog and B. K. Bhattacharya (Bhaṭṭācārya, b. 1924). In the pages of this journal there first appeared all the prominent Assamese writers of the fifties and sixties of this century. The modern short story and modern poetry in Assamese reached unprecedented heights in *Rāmdhenu*. It was indeed unfortunate that this journal, despite its tremendous success, had to be closed down due to managerial reasons. But after the lull of a decade the journal reappeared in 1979 under the editorship of Radhikamohan Bhagavati.

Besides *Rāmdhenu*, several short-lived journals appeared, many of them experiments. But only two have survived: the first the *Asam Sāhitya Sabhā Patrikā* (1925), the mouthpiece of the Asam Sāhitya Sabha (Assamese Literary Association), and the second the *Āmār Pratinidhi* (1960), published from Calcutta under the editorship of Bhupen Hazarika, a doyen of modern Assamese music.

Besides the literary journals, several newspapers have appeared in Assamese since the publication of the first, the *Assam News*. A full-fledged Assamese weekly, the *Sādiniyā Asamīyā*, was published in 1918 by Chandrakumar Agarwala. It was later converted into a daily for some time, and continued to be published till 1957. This paper played a major role in ventilating the grievances of the Assamese during a most critical time of their history, which included the struggle for independence. In 1948, another Assamese daily, *Natun Asamīyā*, was started and it survived several storms and stresses till the seventies. The most successful and widely circulated Assamese daily is the *Dainik Asam*, published by the Tribune Publications, Gauhati. The most popular Assamese weekly, *Asam Bāṇī*, is also published by the same group. These two journals, besides offering news and views, have contributed much to Assamese literature by providing a platform. Another daily, *Janambhūmi*, appearing from Jorhat in Upper Assam, has been serving the people for over two decades.

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Essays (Belles-lettres). When decadent medievalism met westernism, writers had to play a reformist role by exposing various vices in the social order as well as by ridiculing the idiosyncrasies of the social snob. The essay of the *belles-lettres* type was the fittest vehicle for this purpose. So this type of writing originated from the pens of the founding fathers of modern Assamese scientific prose in the latter half of the 19th century and came to a peak in the early 20th century.

Bāhire Raṅgchang Bhitare Koābhāturi (All that Glitters is Not Gold) by Hemchandra Barua is a pungent satire on the social evils of the time. In it, the evil motives and malpractices of a section of the priestly class are exposed. In *Kaṭhin Śabdar Rahasya Bākyā* (Explanations of the Mystery of Difficult Terms) by Gunabhiram Barua, some innocent jokes are made through the humorous interpretation of some oft-used terms. The *Sadānandar Kalāghumati* (Sadananda's Nap) by Lambodar Bora (1860–92) is a mild satire on some of the vices prevailing in the society.

Belles-lettres came to a peak with Lakshminath Bezbarua, who is popularly known as 'rasarāj' (King of Humour). A series of prose-satires, laced with abundant wit, established Lakshminath as a first-rate Assamese satirist. The series consists of the *Kṛpābar Baruār Kākatar Topolā* (1904), the *Kṛpābar Baruār Obhatani* (1909), two posthumous collections, *Kṛpābar Baruār Bhābar Burburani* (1951) and the *Barbaruār Bulani* (1964). The role of Kripabar in the series reminds one of the role of Pickwick in Dickens. Kripabar is a reflection of the writer's self lashing out at the follies of his compatriots in order to correct them.

The *Ātmānandar Ātmakāhini* (Atmananda's Autobiography, 1935) by Dandinath Kalita (1890–1950) is a satire on the contemporary way of life.

In the post-war period a second generation of writers appeared and their *belles-lettres* began to be increasingly popular with the Assamese readers. A nuance in the method of narrating an experience is more important than the experience itself in the works of these writers. The impact of such English essayists as Charles Lamb and G. K. Chesterton is also evident in these writings.

Travelogues. The Assamese travelogue dates back to the 17th century when Arjun Das Boiragi and Ratna Kandali Sarma went to the kingdom of Tripura as envoys of King Rudra Singha of Assam and wrote a chronicle on Tripura. This chronicle not only contains the history of the rise and fall of the Manikya dynasty of Tripura, but also describes the road to Tripura as well as the manners and customs of the country. The *Kathā Guru-Carit* (Prose-Biography of Preceptors), a prose-biography, centering on the two great Vaishnavite saints of Assam, contains some travel writing in the midst of other narrative. The authorship of this great medieval prose classic and the exact date of its composition or compilation are not known, but the textual evidence suggests a date after 1716.

The history of the Assamese travelogue is not very rich. A real start in this field was made only at the beginning of the 20th century, but travelogues began to flourish only after the attainment of Independence when many an educationist, student and politician got the opportunity to travel abroad. The pioneers in the field were Ananda Chandra Agarwalla, Jnanadabhiram Barua and Birinchi Kumar Barua. But it was with Hem Barua (Hem Baruvā, 1916–77) that this genre of literature came to a peak. Simplicity of diction, witty expression and an elegant manner of story-telling are some of the noteworthy features of Hem Barua's travelogues. The most popular of them, *Sāgar Dekhichā?* (Have you Seen the Sea?, 1956) is a pleasant account of his journey to the U.S.A. passing through some European countries. His other travelogues include accounts of his travels in the Soviet Union, Israel and South-East Asia. Though Hem Barua's travel accounts have attained popularity for his expression and narration of personal experiences, they do not acquaint the reader with the socio-economic backgrounds of the countries in which he travelled.

Two trend-setting travelogues in Assamese, throwing a flood of light on the socio-economic lives of the peoples of the Soviet Union (1958) and Afghanisthan (1961), have been written by a prominent scholar, Amalendu Guha. There have been several other travelogues on European countries, Afghanisthan, the Andaman and Nicobar islands, Japan, China and Nepal. Of all these, special mention should be made of a two-part travel account on China *Ākou Chin Chāi Āhilon* (China Revisited: vols. I, II, 1975, 1977) by Hemango Biswas (b. 1914), wherein the author presents a socio-economic picture of life in Socialist China.

Besides accounts of travel in foreign countries, several discerning works on travel in different parts of India have appeared in Assamese. Many of them present in a vivid manner the different facets of the socio-cultural-religious lives of the people of the areas visited.

Histories, Including History of Literature. We have already discussed how Assam was rich in chronicles during the Ahom monarchy and how some of their rare chronicles were scientifically edited and published by the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies and the Kamarupa Anusandhān Samiti. Apart from such institutional efforts, several writers have produced their own histories of Assam. The most prominent among them are Gunabhiram Barua, Rajani Kanta Padmapati, Hiteswar Barbarua, Suryya Kumar Bhuyan and Benudhar Sarma.

Hiteswar Barbarua's (Hiteśvar Barbaruvā, 1877–1939) *Āhomar Din* (the History of Assam under the Ahoms), is a classic in this genre. The author had striven for over ten

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years, starting from 1913, to compile this authentic history of Assam, which however remains unpublished.

To Suryya Kumar Bhuyan (Sūrya Kumār Bhūñā, 1894–1964), research in Assam history was a mission of life as seen from his books *Āhomar Din* (1918), *Burañjīr Bāṇī* (1951), etc. Benudhar Sarma (Veṇudhar Śarmā, b. 1896) is an authority on the modern history of Assam, as revealed by his works *Sātāwan Śāl* (The Year 1857, 1927) and the *Congrechar Kāciali Radat* (A Glimpse of the Congress Movement in Assam, 1959). A special mark of Benudhar's style of writing history is his inimitable mastery over Assamese idiom which makes his histories works of literary art as well.

Pioneering attempts to write the history of Assamese literature were made by Debananda Bharali and Debendranath Bezbarua in the twenties. But the scholar who succeeded in this form of writing in Assamese was Dimbeswar Neog (Dimbeśvar Neog, 1899–1966), who was influenced by his reading of English literature. His literary histories, *Asamīyā Sāhityar Burañjī*, (A History of Assamese Literature 1957), written in Assamese, and *New Light on the History of Asamiya Literature* (1962), written in English, are indeed exhaustive accounts of Assamese literature, particularly of the pre-Vaishnavite and Vaishnavite periods. But while dealing with his immediate predecessors and contemporaries, the writer fails to appear in the mantle of a pure historian because of his strong idiosyncrasies.

A few bold attempts at objective literary histories have been made by two prominent scholars, Satyendranath Sarma and Maheswar Neog. But their works are more like guides to students and general readers than exhaustive literary interpretations. The task of preparing an exhaustive history in Assamese, with detailed accounts of various literary movements and textual criticisms, still remains to be undertaken. However, a few exhaustive histories on certain branches of Assamese literature—the drama, the novel and the narrative epic—have come from Satyendranath Sarma, and are unparalleled in these fields.

Informative Writings on Science, Humanities, etc. Informative writing on science and general knowledge has not been very gratifying. However, a few critical prose works on art and culture have been produced by such prominent essayists as Satyanath Bora, Benudhar Rajkhowa, Nilmoni Phukon, Jatindranath Dowera (Duarā), Birinchi Kumar Barua and Maheswar Neog. In the works of Satyanath Bora and Nilmoni Phukon is found the flavour of a Baconian prose style, and a unique experiment of prose-poetry is seen in *Kathā Kavitā* (1933) by Jatindranath Dowera, one of the few pure romantic poets of Assam.

Special mention should be made of a synthetic approach to Science and Philosophy by two erudite scholars—Radhanath Phukon and Bhabananda Dutta. An increasing interest in the collection of folk literature and culture is shown in some of the works by Prafulla Dutta Goswami and Hem Barua. Some highly popular works on sex have been produced by Tarunram Phukon, Lalit Kumar Barua and Atul Chandra Barua. A few valuable contributions on anthropological studies have been made by Bhubonmohan Das. The *Gāndhibād*, a treatise on Gandhian philosophy, by Bijoy Chandra Bhagawati is another important work.

A series of essays on hunting-adventures have been written by Tarunram Phukon, a famous hunter from Assam. These essays, reminding one of Jim Corbett's work, are indeed priceless contributions to Assamese literature.

It should be noted here that the Assam Science Society has been playing an important role in recent times to popularize science through a series of publications, which have also become invaluable assets in the treasury of Assamese literature.

Research, Linguistic and Literary. Hemchandra Goswami (Hemcandra Gosvāmī, 1872–1928), a renowned Assamese scholar, dedicated himself to antiquarian research and recovered from all parts of Assam many valuable manuscripts written in Assamese and Sanskrit. He managed to preserve these rare manuscripts under the auspices of the Kamarupa Anusandhan Samiti. Goswami's monumental work, *Asamīyā Sāhityar Cāneki* (A Glimpse of Assamese Literature, 1929) is in seven volumes and may be called a literary encyclopaedia in Assamese. It contains specimens of Assamese writings from ancient to modern times. It is the result of a monumental task which should have been the responsibility of an organization, but which was accomplished by an individual. Goswami's *Asamīyā Puthir Tālikā* (A Descriptive Catalogue of Assamese Manuscripts) was published in 1930 by Calcutta University.

Scientific research on linguistics in Assamese owes much to the scholar, Banikanta Kakati (Baṇīkānta Kākati, 1894–1952). His *Assamese, Its Formation and Development* (1940), that won for him the Ph.D. from Calcutta University, is indeed a *magnum opus* in Assamese linguistics. It was Kakati who initiated the noble venture of guiding research in Assamese, and the tradition established by him still continues. Other important names in the field of research are Surya Kumar Bhuyan and Birinchi Kumar Barua, who have consistently carried out and guided research activities in Assamese over a long period.

The roles played by the Assam Anusandhan Samiti and the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in fostering research have already been mentioned. The establishment of two Universities—Gauhati and Dibrugarh—has added further momentum to the proliferation of research. Two other major institutions, the Asam Sahitya Sabha and the Publication Board, Assam, are also doing commendable work, encouraging research and publishing the findings in Assamese.

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Bengali

SWAPAN MAJUMDAR

Though Bengali may not claim the hoary antiquity of Tamil, it is hard to accept 1800, as it is sometimes done, as the year of its birth. True that verse was the medium of literarye xpression till the end of the 18th century, but it is difficult to imagine that people till then conversed in metrical compositions, or that the royal courts ran their sessions in rhymed verses. The fact is that the development of Bengali prose as a major literary mode followed the same pattern as those of the other modern Indian languages.

Early Records

The earliest traces of rudimentary Bengali prose discovered so far cannot perhaps be dated earlier than the 15th century. Some scholars, Susilkumar De, most prominent among them,[1] want to accept some interspersed passages, supposed to be of an older date than their verse counterparts, of *Śūnyapurāṇ* by Ramai Pandit as the earliest specimens of Bengali prose. We enter the dated and recorded history of Bengali prose, however, with a letter written by King Naranarayan of Cooch Behar to the Ahom King Cukampha Svarghadeva in 1477[2] which is the earliest extant document of its type. Letters like these were certainly not fruits of literary pursuit, but we may discern in them a certain state of growth of Bengali prose. From the 16th century onwards, mainly through the endeavours of the Vaishnava writers, it attained some stable form. For example, in *Caityarūpaprāpti*,[3] ascribed to Chandidasa and copied in 1674, the aphoristic style appears to be calculated for communication only among the initiated and none else. In less than a century such abstruse prose became so elevated that the Vaishnava theoreticians were able to produce an intricate music of prose rhythm while remaining within the restrictions of a code of expression.[4]

The Islamic impact in Bengal was also of some importance in the development of prose. In the early years of Muhammadan rule, Persian replaced Sanskrit as the court language. Official transactions or conveyance deeds, as a result, were all written in a language in which the bulk of vocabulary was of Perso-Arabic extraction while the verbal forms identified its native structure.[5] Esoteric as the Vaishnavas were, they could somehow maintain their homogeneous prose style till the beginning of the 18th century. But in later years, Perso-Arabic words also infiltrated into their religious tracts,[6] which proves that even sectarian writers did not have inhibitions against the so-called *mleccha* (non-Hindu) vocabulary. Strikingly enough, Persian influence on creative literature went on increasing with the waning of the Islamic rule till English became the virtual *lingua franca* in Bengal. Even Sanskrit *paṇḍits* (native scholars) who did not approve at first of the growth of indigenous prose for the preponderance of Persian words in the language, gradually drifted to the vernacular and began writing in it. By the 18th century some exquisite prose pieces were produced by them. Unfortunately nobody took notice of this achievement and finally they were shelved in museums.[7]

From this brief discussion at least three types of premodern Bengali prose styles become apparent: (i) *indigenous*: developed from regional dialects with a store of words in colloquial use of the 'low' people; (ii) *Sanskritic*: derived by grammatical principles from Sanskrit, used

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mainly by people of some erudition and social status; and (iii) *Persianized*: based mostly on loan words from Persian, especially words connected with the court and used basically by men of property.

The styles were current simultaneously and used by people in different walks of life. Some amount of inevitable intermixing among these resulted in a crude cacophony of words. By the first quarter of the 18th century a happy amalgamation of these styles could be effected, and this prose readily became the language of the urban gentry. The language of Nandakumar (d. 1775) in his private correspondence[8] is a fitting example of this combination. His style could have been the core of later standard Bengali prose. But owing to political reversals its natural evolution was thwarted, and experimentations began from an altogether different perspective.

Missionary Endeavour

Western sailors and Christian missionaries trailing behind them, meanwhile, made their appearance on the eastern coast of India. Their avowed interest in the language of the Bengal Subah can easily be interpreted in terms of their tacit objectives. Whatever the motive, the Portuguese missionaries were the foremost in deriving a grammatical structure of the language and of prose in particular. The credit for the first printed Bengali book goes to them, though it was in Roman transcription. They came as traders but most of them stayed on and then settled in eastern and southern Bengal. As a result of their mingling with the local people they developed a sort of Feringee Bengali, which continued to be the language of their religious preachings.

In 1743 two books called *Brāhmaṇ-Romān Kyāthalik Saṁbād* (a dialogue between a Brahmin and a Roman Catholic) and *Crepār Xāstrer Orth, Bhed* (Catechism of the Christian Doctrine) were published from Lisbon in Portugal. The first was written by a native Christian convert, Dom Antonio de Rozario, and was subsequently translated into Portuguese by Manoel de Assumpcao, who happened to be the author of the second title (translated into Bengali by another native) as well as the compiler of a Bengali grammar and a Bengali-Portuguese vocabulary. The language of these two books clearly reflects an intimate understanding of the basic pattern of Bengali prose rhythm as well as style. But later European writers failed to maintain the trend. In early Bible translations into Bengali, not excepting the celebrated William Carey's (1761–1834) *Maṅgal Samācār Matiur Racita* (1801), the very collocation of words goes against the rhythm of the language.

For administrative reasons, however, compilations and translations of native legal systems governing Indian society became a desideratum, and civilians of the Hon'ble Company set their hands to this exercise. But the singular incident that paved the way for an enlightenment was the punching in 1778 of movable Bengali types. The onus of cutting the Bengali punches goes to the credit of a native smith Pancanan Karmakar (d. 1802), who carried out the entire project under the supervision of Charles Wilkins (1750–1836). The types were first used in printing Nathaniel Brassey Halhed's (1751–1830) *A Grammar of the Bengal Language* (1778).

The greatest contribution of the missionaries to the making of Bengali prose was the adoption of improved methods of printing which encouraged authorship in the native language on the one hand and helped, on the other, the creation of a viable reading public. The role of the Baptist missionaries of Serampore, once a Portuguese colony near Calcutta, deserves special mention in this regard.

Certain other factors which helped the promotion of Bengali prose were socio-political. During the last years of the Mughal period Bengal experienced a rule of pandemonium. Since the decisive battle of Plassey in 1757 social stability was gradually restored, but no place other than Calcutta afforded the necessary tranquillity for any literary enterprise. Economically too the city lured enterpreneurs from all over Bengal, who virtually became middlemen between the British traders and native consumers. Therefore the thrust of fortune-seekers was diverted towards Calcutta. The Muslim nawabs, native landlords and Brahmin pandits were so far the only promoters of literature. In the changed circumstances, the *nouveaux riches* of the metropolis became its patrons. With Calcutta's rise to importance the language of the city and its vicinity naturally became the accepted medium of communication and in due course the core of modern Bengali literary prose, of which the makers and consumers were the urban middle class. With the help of printing presses thousands of copies could be printed at a low cost. It meant a quicker spread of the authors' fame as well as an assured and convenient means of livelihood.

Athorities in England also thought it advisable to make its new recruits conversant with the language of the colony. Precisely this attitude led Wellesley (1760–1842) to establish Fort William College in Calcutta in 1800. These factors collectively helped the growth of Bengali prose during the early years of the 19th century.

Bengali Prose Born Twice. Fort William College (1800–54) was established at a very opportune moment, but it failed more or less to inherit the legacy of Bengali prose of the early 18th century. William Carey, in charge of the Bengali department, brought together as teachers some of the best native pens of his time belonging to both the Sanskritized and Persianized schools. His own endeavours were also devoted to collecting specimens of the native idiom including that of women writers. That Carey was conscious of existing differences in the rhythm of speech patterns of diverse

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social classes is evident from his compilation of colloquies in *Kathōpakathan* (Conversations, 1801). A missionary by profession, there is hardly anything strange about Carey's interest in colloquial language, which in all propriety could be the medium of his religious campaigning. Perhaps as a result of his constant company with native scholars of Fort William College, he was drawn towards a conscious experiment in the standardization of literary prose, which was to be a golden mean between the ornate Sanskritic and euphuistic Persianized styles. Secondly, the sort of colloquial language Carey collated was that of the 'low' people of the society which, he immediately realized, could hardly be the model of literary prose. In *Itihāsmālā* (Historical Sketches, 1812) is revealed Carey's change in attitude. Here he feels the pulse of the impersonal narrative prose.

In all probability Carey was influenced in this regard chiefly by two of his colleagues, Ramram Basu (1757–1813) and Mrityunjay Vidyalankar (1762–1819) who represented the two major prose patterns of the time, one Persianized and the other Sanskritic. Other teachers of the Fort William College such as Goloknath Sarma (d. 1803), Chandicharan Munsi (c. 1760–1808), Tarinicaran Mitra (1772–1837), Rajiblocan Mukherji and Haraprasad Ray represented either of the styles in their works. Luckily all major Bengali writers right from the days of Fort William College wrote capably and consciously in all the three prominent styles, namely ornate, literary and colloquial, which still continue to be in vogue. Mrityunjay's *Prabodhcandrikā* (The Moonlight of Knowledge, written in 1813, published posthumously in 1833) will bear testimony to our statement.

Rammohan Roy (1774–1833) was not connected with Fort William College in any way and yet he had absorbed the best of the qualities of the prose developed there and had added a flair to it by incorporating some of the techniques of Augustan English prose. Eminent in more fields than one, he employed prose effectively in tracts other than textbooks with definite utilitarian objectives in mind. He had the zeal of a crusader for the cause of *de vulgari eloquentia*, and his prose had enough guts to withstand the arrows and slings inflicted on him by his fellow-men or to sort out disputations on abstract concepts. It lacked, however, lucidity and elegance, the moment and the milieu conditioned him to be a pamphleteer. The threat of Christianity to Hinduism as well as the corrupt state of religion in practice, impelled him to assume a polemical attitude as is evident in his disputatious prose. In his two major works *Vedāntagrantha* (1815) and *Vedāntasār* (Essentials of Vedanta, 1817) Rammohan vindicated monism with support from the *Upaniṣads*. But his method of argumentative deductions was greatly influenced by western logic. Obsessed with the purpose he could hardly concentrate on literary grace.

Rise of Functional Prose

Though primarily designed to be textbooks, works of the teachers of Fort William College bore distinct marks of individual characteristics. The true functional prose suitable for mass education was devised by other authors who either compiled or translated books for the Calcutta School Book Society (1817) and the Vernacular Literature Committee (*later* Society, 1851). Radhakanta Dev (1783–1867), Ramkamal Sen (1783–1844), Felix Carey (1886–1922) and John Clark Marshman (1794–1877) were among the most important who contributed titles to the former society's publications, while the latter's lists were enriched by the pens of Haracandra Datta, Anandacandra Vedantavagis (1817–75), Edward Roer and Madhusudan Mukherji. The missionaries, especially the Baptists, lent their ungrudging support in this regard and some of the best specimens of missionary Bengali can be found in these textbooks. The content, informative or moral, was narrated lucidly. Moreover, these textbooks were the basic tools through which western ideas first infiltrated our society. Prose had so far been employed for the explicit purpose of narration. These textbooks on the other hand introduced a neutral prose that could be the vehicle for empirical knowledge as well. To achieve this, technical terms in Bengali had to be improvised, which in its turn enlarged the expressiveness of the language. The most challenging enterprise sponsored by the Vernacular Literature Society was a monthly journal *Bibidhārtha Saṅgraha* (A Compendium of Knowledge, 1851) edited by Rajendralal Mitra (1822–91). The rhythm of its prose was, it is true, less impressive, but it showed balance, and might well be the standard media language in Bengali.

What the authors of textbooks aimed to do within the limited circle of students, early journalists attempted on a broader scale. With the publication of the first Bengali periodical *Digdarśan* (The Compass, 1818) by the Serampore missionaries, Bengali prose began to be adopted for the various expressions imperative in daily life. The long list of periodicals from *Samācār Darpaṇ* (the Mirror of News, 1818) to *Saṁbād Prabhākar* (The Sun of News, 1831), from *Jñānānveṣaṇ* (the Pursuit of Knowledge, 1831) to *Vidyādarśan* (the Mirror of Learning, 1842), from *Tattvabodhinī* (Guide to Wisdom, 1843) to *Bibidhārtha Saṅgraha* and thence to *Baṅgadarśan* (The Mirror of Bengal, 1872) corresponds with the period of consolidation of Bengali prose. The period of its efflorescence begins with the journal *Bhāratī* (The Divinity of Art, 1877) and completes the cycle with the publication of *Sabujpatra* (Green Leaves) in 1914. Other important 19th century magazines like *Somprakāś* (Rising of the Moon, 1858), *Sulabh Samācār* (News at Low Cost, 1870), *Jñānāṅkur o Pratibiṁba* (Sprouting Knowledge and Reflection, 1882), *Sāhitya* (literature, 1890), and *Sādhanā* (Pursuit, 1891) contributed to the

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variety of Bengali prose style. During the period from *Pravāsī* (The Immigrant 1901) to *Paricay* (Introduction, 1930) Bengali prose attained the maturity of becoming an effective medium of expression for any branch of human interest. The first three decades of the 20th century which corresponded with the creative years of later Rabindranath saw the emergence of several journals which reflected either the attitude of complete surrender or concerted opposition to the Master's literary ideals. Among these should be mentioned *Bhāratvarṣa* (India, 1913), *Mānasī* (The Muse, 1915), *Kallol* (Surging Waves, 1923), *Śanibārer Ciṭhi* (Saturday Letters, 1924) and *Vicitrā* (Miscellany, 1927). A number of periodicals dealing with the world of education, philosophy, religion, science or the affairs of children and women gained great popularity. That an entire periodical could be devoted to cartoons (*Vasantak*, A Jester, 1875) or to the condition of labourers (*Bhārat Śramajīvi*, Indian Labourers, 1874), proves the encouragement received from the newly emerged patrons, the reading public. This awareness of the life and society around can be noted in Bengali journals, periodicals and newspapers since the early years of the national awakening in Bengal. *Amṛtabāzār Patrikā* (1868–78), *Vasumatī* (The World, 1880), *Vaṁgavāsī* (The Bengalee, 1881), *Sañjīvanī* (The Elixir, 1883), *Sandhyā* (The Evening, 1904), *Svarāj* (Self-rule, 1906) and *Jugāntar* (End of an Epoch, 1906) played an inspiring role during the years of militant nationalism. During the Gandhian era several important periodicals including *Ātmaśakti* (Self-power, 1926) and *Vāṅglār Kathā* (Bengal Speaks, 1927) which reappeared in 1929 as *Navaśakti* (New Strength) and *Vāṅgavāṇī* (Message from Bengal), *Navajug* (New Age, 1941), *Janasevak* (Servant of the People), *Svarāj*, *Svādhinatā* (Independence) (all in 1946) and *Loksevak* (Servant of Man, 1948) initiated the Bengali reading public into a party-oriented political awareness. At the moment *Ānandabāzār Patrikā* and *Deś* (The Country, 1933) of one house, and *Jugāntar* (1937) and *Amṛta* (Nectar, 1961) of another are quite popular and prominent vehicles for the formulation of public opinion in Bengal.

In the early phase of Bengali journalism the language was generally more narrative in expression. The right idiom and style of a Bengali periodical was first envisaged by Isvarcandra Gupta (1812–59) for his *Saṁbād Prabhākar*. Endowed with an innate sense of history Isvarcandra belonged to the last generation of men that knew no English. His biographical sketches of old Bengali poets and his empirical surveys of the districts of Bengal speak volumes for his awareness of journalistic responsibilities and acumen. Informative, argumentative and contemplative prose styles were to develop during the later stages of Bengali journalism.

Stalwarts of Modern Prose

A new wave of enlightenment brought about as a result of the contact with England in the era of post-Industrial Revolution coupled with the introduction of printing machines in Bengal helped a speedier growth of prose. For journalism, for textbooks, even for religious controversy, prose became a powerful tool. No conscious urge of creativity impelled Akshaykumar Datta (1820–86), Isvarcandra Banerji—popularly known as Vidyāsāgar (1820–91)—or Devendranath Tagore (1817–1905) to wield the pen. They wrote because they had a social purpose in mind. In the columns of *Tattvabodhinī* Akshaykumar fought against the false and superstitious beliefs in the country; Vidyasagar's primers and stories were meant to develop character without being didactic; Devendranath's understanding of the design of the cosmos taught men to appreciate its fearful symmetry.

The pages of Akshaykumar's *Tattvabodhinī* used to carry all kinds of scientific, philosophic and historical discourses. His two prose masterpieces[9] may not be highly original works of contemplation, but his observations and opinions are important. His greatest contribution lies, however, in the development of a prose for the adequate expression of an analytical mind, and in devising a precise compact language capable of conveying objective knowledge. His prose works were to keep his countrymen abreast of the recent developments in modern thought. This is why he compiled primers on the one hand and pamphlets[10] on the other.

The efforts of Akshaykumar were complemented by Devendranath's expositions of abstract philosophical and religious concepts. An orator in essence, he used prose replete with flashes piercing through the soul and aroused among his auditors a resonance of his ecstacy.[11] The prose of his autobiography (1898) or letters conveys intense, passionate feelings, though its vehemence is such that it sounds almost like an argument. Balance in his prose of humour and pathos makes his descriptions of religious revelations delightful reading even for a non-believer.

In their company Vidyasagar occupies the unique position of being the first conscious artist of Bengali prose. He took upon himself the dual responsibility of moulding the taste of his readers through amusing tales[12] and instructive biographies[13] which he gathered from Sanskrit and English sources and of fighting against social evils,[14] by unconventional and unsuspected interpretations of the very scriptures. His choice of stories for *Śakuntalā* (1854) and *Sītār Vanavās* (The Banishment of Sita, 1860) reflected his mission of the emancipation of women. Though well acquainted with western literature, he still preferred classical Indian authors. But while writing a short review of Sanskrit literature,[15] he could maintain a remarkable critical detachment. As a Sanskrit scholar he knew full well the consequences of both Sanskritization and its opposite in the language. His endeavours were to achieve a golden mean. The important place he occupies in Bengali literature pre-

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cisely rests on this effecting of a beautiful prose style with necessary punctuation marks inserted for the first time into Bengali for indicating the sense pause. It was he who first set the standard model for the structural pattern of the Bengali sentence as also for the store of vocabulary. The neutral quality of his balanced prose left enough room for his future followers to develop individual idioms.

If not for anything else, the three masters will be ever remembered for achieving in Bengali prose a craftsman's perfection. It should, however, be borne in mind that all three, probably for their connection with the Brahmo movement, were somewhat inhibited against the use of gross expressions or argot words. Occasional compositions (Vidyasagar's, for instance, on the widow marriage controversy)[16] which may seem to contradict this principle are basically conditioned by the current vocabulary rather than by individual choice. This conclusion is strengthened by the mode of expression in social sketches like *Ālāler Gharer Dulāl* (Spoilt Child, 1858) and *Hutom Pyāñcār Nakśā* (1862) written respectively by Pyaricand Mitra (1814–83) and Kaliprasanna Sinha (1840–76).

However, an inclination to use the colloquial language of Calcutta and its neighbourhood was not a novel feature in Bengali prose. Bhavanicharan Banerji (1787–1848), a journalist by profession, had also used such language in his popular social sketches[17] written for burlesquing the bourgeois elite of the metropolis. Both in style and content Bhavanicharan may rightly be called a precursor of the authors of *Ālāl* and *Hutom*, though between the latter books their styles were distinctly different. Pyaricand (in *Ālāl*) copies the dialect of a particular section of the society. It may be effective in delineating what is called 'the slice of life', but is incapable of expressing any higher emotion or a comprehensive experience. *Hutom*, on the other hand, is methodically composed in the style of a young man in a hurry who does not overlook the minutest details of mechanical inelasticity in human behaviour and loves to ridicule these. For the sake of humour the author often goes beyond the limits of propriety and hovers on the border of good taste. Later writers chose a middle style, the best example of which was available in the works of their illustrious contemporary Vidyasagar. Even Pyaricand and Kaliprasanna themselves changed their styles in their more serious works.[18]

Inspired by the example of Vidyasagar and hoping that their books might also be picked up as textbooks, some former students of Sanskrit and Hindu colleges took to writing. Tarasankar Tarkaratna, an ardent admirer of the verbose style, translated *Kādambarī* (1854) and *Rasselas* (1857). Ramgati Nyayratna (1831–94) in *Bāṁglā Bhāṣā o Sāhitya Viṣayak Prastāb* (Essays on Bengali Language and Literature, 1872) attempted the first and still useful chronological history of Bengali literature. Ramkamal Bhattacarya (1834–60) translated some of the essays by Bacon. His younger brother Krishnakamal (1840–1932), a positivist, was one of the pioneers in intermediating with French masterpieces. Dvarakanath Vidyabhusan (1820–86), Girischandra Vidyaratna (1822–1903), Rajkrishna Banerji and Nilmani Vasak won some literary reputation because they closely followed the Master's prose style.

The Hindu College group included stalwarts like Krishnamohan Banerji (1815–85), Rajendralal Mitra, Bhudev Mukharji (1825–94) and Rajnarayan Vasu (1826–99). Krishnamohan as, a young turk, had early embraced Christianity but was opposed to Christianized Bengali prose, preferring the moderate line from his middle years. He published the first Bengali encyclopaedia *Vidyākalpadrum* (The Wishing Tree of Knowledge, 1846 ff) all on his own. His *Ṣaṛdarśan Saṁbād* (Notes on the Six Branches of Philosophy, 1867) proves his expertise in dealing with subtle philosophical problems. Rajendralal possessed the flair of a Renaissance man. He was more famous for his scholarly works in English and Sanskrit, and his varied interests and wide range of knowledge can be seen in the two Bengali journals he edited, namely, *Bibidhārtha Saṅgraha* and *Rahasya Sandarbha* (Investigative Essays, 1862). There he introduced, for the first time in Bengali, serious and critical reviews of contemporary literary works. Bhudev, an uncompromising traditionalist, tried to uphold in his social and literary essays[19] the reasonableness of the scriptural society, specially of the superiority of the Brahmins. But in *Svapnalabdha Bhāratvarṣer Itihās* (A Dream History of India, 1875) he emerges as a nationalist favouring communal harmony. Rajnarayan is virtually an index to the spirit of his times. Almost all his major works[20] were primarily composed as speeches and hence bear the warmth of eloquence. His autobiography[21] and his discourses are invaluable sources of information on the state of transition of the then society. Despite his English education and reputation as a scholar of English, his advocacy of a wider use of the mother tongue proves the genuineness of his love for the language. This is true of most of their generation. It took no time for them to apply their theory to practice. It is their basic integrity of character and honesty of opinion notwithstanding their retrogressive impulses at times that invest their language with grace and charm.

The Age of Bankim Chandra

The advent of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee (1838–91) on the Bengali literary scene marks an epoch by itself. Immersed in the western world of letters, he upheld the occidental models against the narrow perspectives of Bengali literature. The problems of this interaction are present in his writings. Almost all of the first generation of Bengalis who had undergone western education had to face these opposite pulls which gave rise to some contradictions in them. They were proud enough of the superiority of the

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traditional culture, and yet could not help imitating their western contemporaries, even if at the cost of traditional values. Since it was in the spirit of the age, even Bankim Chandra, the most powerful of his contemporaries, naturally bore these signs of dichotomy in a proportionate ratio. But what was deadly for the lesser lights contributed to the liveliness of a man of genius. Bankim Chandra thrived in spite of his contradictions.

By the time Bankim Chandra took to writing, the structure of literary prose had already reached an acceptable form. All his efforts, therefore, could be applied to its stylistic development. So far only the choice of words determined the individuality of the authors. With Bankim Chandra the entire mode of writing came to bear his signature. The language of his novels was different from the language of his essays and *belles-lettres*, but the author's seal on both remained distinctive. He was not ashamed of borrowing techniques from English prose rhetorics and could afford to juggle with the more mature devices simultaneously. He professed to prefer the language of *Ālāl* to that of Vidyasagar, but in practice he did the reverse, finally resolving the problem in his own way. Basically adopting the predecessor's neutral manner he modified it by infusing passion and vigorous polemic in agreement with his utilitarian objective. The language of his novels was coloured by romantic enthusiasm. But in his serious essays on literature, history, sociology and anthropology the thinker shook hands with the artist. The discipline of his mind and an innate sense of propriety, his method of argument and marshalling of facts found a suitable language which was charged with idealistic fervour though it seemed to be objective and dispassionate. In *Lokrahasya* (An Enquiry into Human Understanding, 1874) and *Mucirām Guḍer Jīvancarit* (The Career of Muciram Gud, 1884) he successfully effected a mixture of classical and popular styles so that his idealism, veiled behind an ironical vein, could be expressed with delightful effectiveness. *Kamalākānta* (1885), modelled after *The Pickwick Papers*, reveal the idealist's sighs of melancholic agony. But the supreme success in prose composition can perhaps be achieved only when a happy union takes place between the emotion and the intellect. And for Bankim Chandra that union of the head and heart was achieved in *Kṛṣṇacaritra* (The Personality of Krishna, 1886). A commentary on, as also a reconstruction of, the character of Krishna in the Mahabharata in terms of the 19th-century concept of the hero, this work was considered by its author his *magnum opus*. Here can be seen both clarity and simplicity—the two principal qualities of good prose according to Bankim Chandra—displayed at its best even while dealing with the complex and intricate problems of human existence in general. Apart from the stylistic virtues, the quality by which Bankim Chandra excelled as a prose writer was the feel of conviction and veracity which he could instil in the minds of his readers. As a result, he succeeded in bringing together some of the best young minds of his time around *Vāṅgadarśan*, the journal he edited, and thus founded a regular school of new prose writers.

Among the members of the *Vāṅgadarśan* group Rajkrishna Mukharji (1845–86), Ramdas Sen (1845–87), Rajanikanta Gupta (1849–1900), Lalmohan Vidyanidhi (1845–1916), Praphullachandra Banerji (1849–1900), Chandrasekhar Mukharji (1830–1922), Sanjivchandra Chatterji (1834–89), Purnachandra Vasu and Chandranath Vasu (1844–1910) were important. The catholicity of Bankim Chandra's mind can be assessed from his friendly attitude to both Purnachandra and Chandranath though one was conservative and parochial, and the other liberal. What counted for him was the syllogism of deduction more than personal preferences. Two other maestros of Bengali prose of this school were Akshaycandra Sarkar (1845–1917) and Haraprasad Sastri (1853–1937)[22], both possessing keen powers of observation, astute judgement and great sarcasm, all of which made their language racy and readable. To Bankim and the contributors of his *Vāṅgadarśan* goes also the credit of initiating a viable approach to comparative criticism in Bengali.

Outside the circle of *Vāṅgadarśan*, next in prominence to Bankim was Rameschandra Datta (1848–1909). Though better known as a novelist, the compilations of ancient scriptures in Bengali translation[23] remains his masterpiece. The work was inspired by Bankim Chandra and aided by scholars like Krishnakamal Bhattacarya (1840–1933), Kalivar Vedantavagis (1842–1911) and Satyavrata Samasrami (1846–1919). The style and music of the prose made this achievement monumental.

Among the Brahmos—the religious opponents of Bankim Chandra—were prose writers of the eminence of Dvijendranath Tagore (1840–1926), who was a catalyst of western philosophical ideas in Bengal. The distinctive styles of his dissertations[24] on ontology, of the interpretative commentary on the Gitā and of his religious and literary controversies were carefully wrought to reflect different levels of mood. Kesavchandra Sen's (1838–84) spiritual revelations[25] and the objective yet respectful delineations of the awakening of Bengal[26] by Shivnath Sastri (1847–1919) are also fine prose writings of the period. For characteristic style and subject-matter, two other contemporaries of Bankim Chandra demand attention: Kaliprasanna Ghosh (1843–1910) and Jogendranath Vidyabhusan (1845–1904). Jogendranath set a new trend with his biographical accounts of the heroes of Italian unification. These heroes became idols in Bengal and contributed to the growth of nationalism. The writer of the only prose epic[27] in Bengali, Mir Mosurraf Hosen (1847–1912), was also a contemporary of Bankim. The treatment of a religious story from the Islamic tradition has given it a familiarlity of everyday life. His other works including his autobiography[28] deal with the woes of the minority community dirctly caused by the alien indigo-

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planters. Without using strong words of protest the style is calculated to arouse deep resentment against the oppressors. Women also contributed to Bengali prose from the middle of the 19th century. An emancipated woman speaks charmingly in a characteristic simple and intimate style in Rassundari Dasi's (1810–97) *Āmār Jīvan* (My Life, 1868). It is a remarkable autobiography by a woman.

There is a rich variety of styles and themes in 19th century Bengali prose. It kept pace with the fast growing store of knowledge. The authors also did not lack vision. But the achievement in producing fine prose compositions is not proportionate to volume.

Rabindranath and his Age

Young Rabindranath Tagore (Ṭhākur, 1861–1941) was warmly received as a rising man of letters by Bankim-Chandra. The scope and strength of Bengali literature grew so enormously during his lifetime that it may be said to have been reborn in the process. From primers to philosophy, from physical astronomy to rhetorics, and criticism, virtually no aspect of Bengali literature in prose was left untouched by him. His career as a prose writer may be divided into three major periods. Major works of these periods include:

(i) 1881–1901: *Yurop-pravāsīr patra* (Letters from Europe, 1881), *Bibidha Prabandha* (Miscellaneous Essays, 1883), *Ālocanā* (Discussions, 1885), *Ciṭhipatra* (Letters, 1887), *Samālocanā* (Criticism, 1888), *Yuropyātrīr Diārī* (Diary of a Traveller in Europe, 2 vols., 1891 and 1893), *Pañcabhūt* (The Five Elements, 1897).

(ii) 1901–16: *Aupaniṣad Brahma* (1901), *Ātmaśakti* (The Power Within, 1905), *Bicitra Prabandha* (Varied Essays), *Cāritrapūjā* (Homage to Lives), *Prācīn Sāhitya* (Ancient Literature), *Loksāhitya* (Folk Literature), *Sāhitya* (Literature), *Ādhunik Sāhitya* (Modern Literature, 1907), *Rājā Prajā* (Ruler and the Ruled), *Samūha, Svadeś, Samāj, Śikṣā* (1908), *Śabdatattva, Dharma* (1909), *Śāntiniketan* (1909–16), *Jīvansmṛti* (Reminiscences), *Cinnapatra* (Torn Leaves, 1912).

(iii) 1916–41: *Sañcay, Paricay* (Introduction, 1916), *Jāpān-yātrī* (A Visit to Japan, 1919), *Yātrī* (Traveller, 1929), *Bhānusiṅher Patrāvalī* (Letters from Bhanu Sinha Thakur, 1930), *Rāśiyār ciṭhi* (Letters from Russia, 1931), *Mānuṣer Dharma* (1933), *Canda, Pārasya-bhraman* (A Visit to Persia), *Sāhityer Pathe* (Towards Literature, 1936), *Kālāntar* (A Change of Era), *Viśva-paricay* (Introduction to the Universe, 1937), *Pathe o Pather Prānte, Bāṅgābhāṣā Paricay* (Introduction to Bengali Language, 1938), *Pather Sañcay* (1939), *Celebelā* (Childhood, 1940), *Sabhyatār Saṁkaṭ* (Crisis of Civilization, 1941).

During the phase of growth, between 1881–1901, his prose was establishing a distinctive vocabulary and firm ideas. A romantic dilemma with regard to the oughts in life and literature had already set in. The second phase, covering the period between 1901 and 1916 sought solutions in traditional values deduced from the *Upaniṣads*. A dedicated search for roots in contemporary social values had also begun. From 1916 onwards, his prose records the emergence of a universal man.

Like many of his contemporaries Tagore's career also began with grateful admiration for British benevolence, but ended in an altogether metamorphosed conviction to the contrary, which also brought about significant inflexions in his language. So far as literature is concerned, he started where Bankim had left. It was only gradually that he discovered his personal idiom. It marked the end of enlightenment ideals and the coming of the romance in Bengali literature. As early as 1881 he did not hesitate to publish *Yurop Pravāsir Patra* written in a colloquial style. But doubts in the plausibility of this style made him vacillate till 1914, the year of publication of the journal *Sabujpatra*, edited by Pramatha Chaudhuri (1868–1946). After that he never again used the old style seriously.

Rabindranath's style was as much the image of his mind as his command over the language was the fruit of his exercise. It did not merely stimulate readers' intellect; nor did it put it to sleep, nor did it excite solely the imagination, withal his prose causes a profound sense of recognition in the reader by moving him to the core of his being. The prime force of his prose is its simplicity which never stands as a barrier between him and the reader. Even his occasional ornamental style never seems to be merely artful, nor the chaste prose an elusive trickery. It is determined by the criterion of its fitness. Till 1905, the year of the proposed partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon, nationalism was his passion. The stormy emotions, however, were presented in a language that hardly raised its tone. In his essays on sensitive themes like the ruler-and-the-ruled relationship, communalism or the problem of untouchability, nationalism, fascism, communism or democracy, we can readily respond to what he says in the right spirit without being unreasonably aggressive. The appeal is not so much to our reason as to our good sense. We admire the restraint, but hardly reciprocate. When he writes about his personal God and distinguishes Him from the institutional One, or prays for no heavenly gift except the grace to bear with His even-handed justice, the calm composure of his mind is overwhelming. This control of thought expressed in undertones induces one to participate in the completion of the thought cycle. His prose does not merely paint, portray or prove. An urbanity of thought and expression is Tagore's most valued contribution to Bengali prose. But at the same time it was essentially a poet's vocabulary. Reason is often replaced by telling images, analogy takes the place of arguments. It is as much auditory as it is to be understood. He endowed prose with literary grace and

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succeeded in doing away with the apparent differences between prose and poetry. Most of his later literary prose could well be read as lines of verse, as his later poems could easily be set in run-on paragraphs. The poet's proclivity for the music of the language which can be traced back to his early letters, or personal essays of his middle years, occasionally drove him in later years to a playful competition in neologism and punning, with younger authors who had labelled him as an outmoded mid-Victorian Hindu idealist. The mock battle in *Śeṣer Kavitā* (Parting Poems, 1929) with his own accustomed style, was however a nimble treat which converted many younger opponents to idolators again.

Most contemporaries of Tagore were so overwhelmed by him that they could hardly establish their originality. Only Swami Vivekananda (1863–1902) was somewhat different. In a colloquial, dignified yet passionate style he wrote on the East-West relationship and on the emergence of the working-class movements long before Marxist ideas entered India.[29] Historically, he anticipated the later adoption of the colloquial style as the medium of literary expression. Jogeschandra Ray (1859–1956) was also unique for lucid and emotionally neutral expositions of complex topics such as linguistics or the astronomical interpretations of the *Purāṇās*. Among Tagore's disciples in style Jagadischandra Basu (1859–1937), Ramendrasundar Trivedi (1864–1919), Jagadananda Ray (1869–1933) and Charuchandra Bhattacharya (1883–1961) wrote for popularizing science among the masses. Ramendrasundar was a mature thinker while Jagadishcandra was capable of elevating the dry scientific notions to the height of a treatise on philosophy. But writers of historical prose such as Akshaykumar Maitreya (1861–1930), Rampran Gupta (1869–1927) and Rakhaldas Banerji (1884–1930) clung to a turgid style, and journalists like Brahmavandhav Upadhyay (1861–1907), Ramananda Chatterji (1865–1943), and Sakharam Ganesh Deuskar (1869–1912) still used oratorical phrases to spread militant nationalism. In a lighter vein of prose Lalitkumar Banerji (1868–1929) and Pramatha Chaudhuri, both exponents of continental literary ideals, explored new dimensions of literature. The latter succeeded, to a great extent, again with the aid of Tagore, in obtaining a wide acceptability of his campaign for the colloquial language as the medium of literary expression. Colloquial dialects had of course been used before, especially in dialogues of drama by Dinavandhu Mitra (1830–73), for instance. But it was Pramatha Chaudhuri who made it a cause which was largely aided by the establishment of the Calcutta broadcasting station in 1927. Even then quite a few authors, mostly cherishing conservative values, found the chaste style more congenial. Authors of the old school who deserve mention include Thakurdas Mukherji (1851–1903), a literary critic of rare insight, Dineschandra Sen (1866–1939), the historiographer of Bengali literature, Nagendranath Basu (1866–1938) and Amulyacharan Vidyabhushan (1879–1940), the encyclopaedists, Hirendranath Datta (1868–1942), the militant vedantist, Panckari Banerji (1866–1923) and Sureschandra Samajpati (1870–1921), the watchmen of 'right emotions' in literature.

Balendranath (1870–99) and Abanindranath (1871–1951), both related to Tagore, stand out as great craftsmen in the prose of this period. Both the nephews received some practical training in composition from Rabindranath himself, which accounts for the partial similarities in style. Abanindranath in his creative and reminiscent writings shows great urbanity and an exquisite sensibility.

With the turn of the century the literary scene virtually became a 'battle of the books'. Considering that his literary ideals were immoral, irreligious and 'unreal', people like Vipinchandra Pal (1858–1932), Dvijendralal Ray (1863–1913), Hemendraprasad Ghosh (1876–1962), Nareschandra Sengupta (1882–1964) and Radhakamal Mukherji (1890–1968) waged scurrilous attacks on him. Sajanikanta Das (1900–62) and his friends continued to pay their homage in the same fashion till the centenary year. Mohitlal Majumdar (1888–1951), a purist in ideas toying with Arnoldian jargons, often found Tagore at fault. Fortunately, younger talents like Charuchandra Banerji (1877–1938), Satyendranath Datta (1882–1922), Saurindramohan Mukherji (1884–1966), Ajitkumar Chakravarti (1886–1918), Manilal Ganguli (1888–1929), and Narendra Dev (1889–1971) consistently stood by Tagore. Ajitkumar in particular had the requisite command over language and a fine grip over critical principles to blunt the attacks while keeping within the norms of criticism.

With Tagore at the height of his glory, his younger contemporaries found the situation bleak. They could not help being captivated by the Master's spell. Their entire vocabulary was virtually drawn from him. The only alternative left for them was to prove their mettle in the choice of topics. Contacts with the continental literature were once again revived through some eminent young Bengali writers who had lived in Europe, Dilipkumar Ray (1897–1980), Manindralal Basu (b. 1897), Annadashankar Ray (b. 1904) and Humayun Kabir (1906–69) among them. They sought to adopt western themes and ideas on their own. *Sabujpatra* became the intermediary of French ideas, *Kallol* familiarized its readers with Scandinavian writings, while *Paricay* opened up the world of the western *avant-garde* thought movements.

The attack on the part of the young authors moved Tagore so much that he organized a literary meet where he sought to explain his position and tried to appreciate their points of view. It did not help. The reconciliation, however, came shortly after, following the publication of his novel *Śeṣer Kavitā*. The scene changed so completely that almost every author of the younger generation aspired to write something important on Tagore which might prove to be a measure of his own literary stature.

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The entire Bengali vocabulary after Tagore is inescapably Tagorean. The works particularly of Indira Devi (1873–1960), S. Wazed Ali (1890–1951), Abdul Wadud (1896–1970) or Pramathanath Visi's (b. 1901) follow the Master's style. Atulchandra Gupta (1884–1961), Dhurjatiprasad Mukherji (1894–1962) and Annadashankar Ray followed, however, the style of Pramatha Chaudhari and had displayed more probity than the followers of Tagore in a varied range of topics. Academicians like Surendranath Dasgupta (1886–1952), Sunitikumar Chatterji (1890–1977), Srikumar Banerji (1892–1970) and Sasibhushan Dasgupta (1911–64), when introducing modern critical approaches, could not dispense with the old chaste style even in the second half of this century. But the Marxist critics, Bhavani Sen (1909–72), Nirendranath Ray (1896–1966), Hirankumar Sanyal (1899–1978) and Gopal Haldar (b. 1902), for instance, adopted the modern colloquial style using a lot of improvised technical terms. This mixed style is a hurdle for writers on social sciences. Binaykumar Sarkar (1887–1949) solved the problem in his own idiosyncratic way with unconventional analogy and a vigour of conviction. But with further sophistication in the disciplines, scholars like Niradchandra Chaudhuri (b. 1897), Vinay Ghosh (1917–80) or Shivnarayan Ray (b. 1921) have not yet been able to create a specialist's language which is graceful but direct that might reach the masses. The only exception is perhaps Amlan Datta (b. 1924), who writes on serious issues in a subtle language. Another alternative was furnished by Rajasekhar Basu (1880–1960) in his essays and translations of the Indian epics. His crisp style brilliantly reflects a precise mind. Expressions attain in him a hymnal brevity. Undaunted by the general readers' unconcern, another type of prose writing, the personal essay, has been mushrooming in Bengali. In any case, good personal essays are difficult to write. Authors like Achintyakumar Sengupta (1903–76), Saiyad Mujtaba Ali (1904–74), Shivram Chakravarti (1903–80) and Narayan Ganguli (1918–70) succeeded because with consummate skill they could bend the language to suit their purpose. New aspirants are often tempted by the form, but their failure is miserable.

Only the literary and critical vocabulary since Tagore can be said to have greatly developed in Bengali. The rich melodious opaque prose of Buddhadeva Basu (1908–74) on the one hand, and the terse balanced transparent prose of Sudhindranath Datta (1901–60) on the other, were the two major trend-setters of the post-Tagorean era. Inimitable as both are in their own ways, many subsequent writers were tempted to follow them but none very successfully. With an essentially Tagorean taste and vision, Abu Sayid Ayyub (1906–82), however, effected a happy conciliation of these complimentary styles. The originality of thought in his prose provokes readers to think and his style helps to nourish sympathy and imagination simultaneously. Walking on the borderline of literature and other arts he successfully avoids cliches, confused connotations and poetic exuberance. Ayyub's individual style has by now been adopted as the general style of serious literary criticism. Gifted with a natural control over language and having a sensitive ear for rhythm, Sankha Ghosh (b. 1932), in a different way, is a class by himself. He uses rhetoric but it does not divert the readers' attention unnecessarily. Critical insight and judgement distinguish him as a critic.

Stylistic experimentation is rare nowadays. Frequently condemned as gibberish and clever, the sincere and delightfully experimental prose of Kamalkumar Majumdar (1918–79) has not as yet affected the main stream of Bengali prose.

Present-day writers do not apply prose so much for literary excellence, as for various pragmatic purposes. Reason is gradually gaining ground over imagination. Technological innovations in printing technique are also available. A stable moderate style of Bengali prose is now ready for use. New ideas are pouring in and the moment is favourable.

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Gujarati

RAMANLAL C. SHAH

Prose literature in Gujarati is quite rich, having developed considerably during the British rule in India. The Gujarati language can legitimately be proud of its prose literature in the medieval period also.

Medieval Prose

In the 13th century a common language was spoken in Gujarat and Rajasthan. During this period, and during the next four centuries, Jainism flourished in western India. Many of the Jain monks, who moved from place to place, particularly in Gujarat and Rajasthan, were scholars of Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhransha and the Gujarati language. Several of them have written short and long poems such as *Pada*, *Stavana*, *Sajzāya*, *Phāgu*, *Rāsa*, *Prabandha*, etc. Some of these scholars have also written prose works such as the *Bālāvabodha* stories, *Tika*, etc.

The Jains used to get their manuscripts prepared by the professional manuscript-writers and then donate them for public use to the Jain repositories called *Jñan Bhaṇḍāras*. There are thousands of manuscripts in each of the *Bhaṇḍāras* in Patan, Khambhat, Palitana, Surat, Ahmedabad, Vadodara, Jesalmer, Bikaner, Jodhpur, Jaipur, etc. There are, in fact, more than one and a half million manuscripts in the Jain *Bhaṇḍāras*. Most of these manuscripts are still unpublished. When they are published, the history of medieval Gujarati literature will have to be written again.

Muni Jinavijayji has edited and published *Prācīn Gujarāti*

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Gadya Sandarbha, a collection of specimens of old Gujarati prose. *Pratīkramaṇ Bālavabodh*, written by Tarunprabhasuri, and *Mugdhāvbodh Auktika*, by Kulamandan Gani, in the 14th century, are specimens of the oldest Gujarati prose. In the 15th century we have Manikyasundarsuri's *Pṛthvīcandra Carita* dealing with the love story of Prithvichandra, the king of Paithana, and Ratnamanjari, the princess of Ayodhya. This story, written in short rhythmic sentences and narrated in poetic style, is a remarkable achievement in medieval Gujarati prose.

Between the 15th and 18th centuries several prose works were written by Shubhasheel Gani, Samayasundara Gani etc. of the Jain sect. *Vacanāmṛta* (1923), a collection of lectures delivered by Swami Sahajanand (Svāmī Sahajānand, 1781–1830), the founder of Swaminarayan sect, is also a valuable contribution to the prose literature of this period.

Modern Prose

Durgaram Manchharam (Durgārām Mancāram, 1809–1876), known as Mehtāji, established a society named Mānav Dharma Sabhā. He recorded in his diary, a part of which was burnt, the efforts of society to eliminate social disparity, blind faith, compulsory widowhood, etc. A rational and fearless thinker, Durgaram is considered the first modern prose writer in Gujarati.

Dalapatram (Dalpatrām, 1820–98), Narmad (Naṛmad, 1833–86) and Durgaram Mehtaji are among the pioneers of modern Gujarati prose. Dalapatram is also the pioneer of the modern Gujarati essay. In addition to *Bhūt-Nibandha* (about Ghosts), which is considered the first essay in Gujarati, Dalapatram also wrote other essays such as *Jnāti-Nibandha* (about society), *Bālvivāh Nibandha* (about child marriage), *Punarvivāha Nibandha* (about remarriage) etc. His essays on social reform are serious, didactic, full of observations and interesting anecdotes, and simple in style. But these are generally in the form of a treatise on a subject.

The first essay of literary form *Mandali Malavāthi Thatā Lābh* (Advantages of Meeting in an Association) was written by Narmad, who had been greatly influenced by western education. He was a social reformer who wrote with great fervour on child marriage, widow remarriage, death rites, women's education, social customs, etc. He was a member of Buddhivardhak Sabhā and several of his essays were first read and discussed at the meetings of this Sabha. He later started a fortnightly, *Dāṇḍiō*, in which his essays were published. All his essays are collected in his *Narma-Gadya*. After his fervent dissertations, in later life Narmad became more sober, this change being effected by his studies of oriental religion and culture.

Navalram Pandya (Navalrām Pāṇḍyā, 1836–88), an educationist, poet, dramatist and a noted critic, has written several essays on social and educational subjects in *Śālā Patra*, a journal, of which he was editor for a long time. These essays, together with his other articles, have been published in a collection called *Naval Granthāvali*. As an essayist Navalram is mature, sober, progressive, frank and, at times, sympathetic.

Govardhanram Tripathi (Govardhanrām Tripāṭhi, 1855–1907), one of the foremost Gujarati authors, has written several essays, both in Gujarati and English, on social and philosophical subjects. *Sākṣar Jīvan* is an incomplete treatise, in which the author compares the scholarship of European writers with that of Indian writers. 'Adhyatma Jivan' is another incomplete essay by the same author. Though both these works reveal high ideals, they did not become popular because of their pedantic presentation and difficult language.

The best essayist in the Pandit Yug is Manilal Nabhubhai Dvivedi (Maṇilāl Nabhubhāī Dvivedī, 1858–98), a poet, dramatist and scholar versed in Sanskrit literature and Indian philosophy. During his short life span he achieved literary eminence. Manilal was editor of the periodicals *Priyamvadā* and *Sudarśan*. Most of his essays were first published in these two periodicals and later collected in *Sudarśan Gadyāvali* (1909). Manilal, an Advaitist, held pro-Aryan views on social and cultural matters. Though he leaned towards oriental culture, he never opposed the best elements of western culture. His search for truth is evident in his essays. Manilal also wrote short essays, particularly for school girls, which were published under the title *Baḷ-Vilās* (1893). These essays on social and moral subjects are written in a simple language but are didactic in nature.

Ramanbhai Nilkanth (Ramaṇbhāī Nīlkaṇṭh, 1868–1928), a social reformer, lectured and wrote several articles on religious and social subjects, which were published in the two parts of *Dharma anē Samāj* (Religion and Society, 1932). Many of these articles were replies to Manilal. Ramanbhai was a Prarthana Samajist and therefore they could both hardly see eye to eye. Like a lawyer, as he himself was, Ramanbhai tends to defend his stand instead of searching for the truth. His style is sometimes lengthy and eloquent.

Narasimharao Divatia (Narasiṃharāv Divaṭīyā, 1859–1937), a poet, critic and philologist of the Pandit era, wrote on miscellaneous subjects. *Abhinayakaḷā* (1930), *Vivartalilā* (1933), etc. are his collections of essays. *Abhinayakaḷā* is a treatise on stage-acting. The author compares the Gujarati stage with the western stage and discusses several matters connected with stage craft which, of course, has advanced greatly since then thereby rendering some of Narasimharao's ideas and thoughts old fashioned today. *Vivartalilā* is a collection of his personal essays, letters etc. Because of his pedantic and complex style, Narasimharao is sometimes difficult to understand for the average reader.

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A major contribution in the area of reflective essays was made by Anandshankar Dhruv (Ānandśaṅkar Dhruv, 1869–1942), one of the most outstanding literary critics of the Pandit period, who wrote *Āpano Dharma* (Our Religion), *Kāvya Tatva Vicār* (Thoughts on Poetry), *Sāhitya Vicār* (Thoughts on Literature), *Niti Śikṣaṇ* (Moral Educacation), *Dharma Varnan* (About Religions), etc. He expresses his views with profound scholarship, wisdom and without prejudice. Sometimes, as in his *Vārtikās*, he selects a stanza or a saying from the classical texts and expands it, bringing out its latent shades of meaning with illustrations.

Balvantrai Thakore (Balvantrāi Ṭhākōr, 1869–1952), a poet and critic, has written several articles, originally lectures or introductions to books by other authors, which have been collected in his publications *Pañcōtēramē* (At Seventy-Five, 1926), *Vividh Vyākhyānō* (Lectures in Three Parts, 2 vols., 1945–48), *Pravesako* (Introductions in Two Parts) etc. Most of these articles are on literary subjects. However, he has also written on problems of society, education, history etc. He frankly expresses independent views, but his style lacks lucidity at times.

Nanalal Kavi (Nānālāl Kavi, 1877–1946), one of the best Gujarati poets, has written several essays, some of which are quite appealing. *Sansārmanthan*, *Sāhityamanthan*, *Ardhaśatābdina Anubhavbol*, *Citradarsano* etc. are collections of his essays, lectures, etc. Nanalal studied history and was a great admirer of Indian culture and religion, about which he wrote his essays. These essays, full of lofty ideas, possess a poetic language and style.

Among philosophical writers, one of the most outstanding is Shrimad Rajchandra (Śrimad Rājcandra, 1868–1901), in whom Gandhiji saw a friend, philosopher and guide. Rajchandra, a man of wide knowledge who had realized his previous incarnations, wrote his *Mōkṣamālā* at the age of 16. This is still esteemed a standard work on Jain philosophy. Rajchandra's several philosophical letters to his associates have been published under the title *Vacanāmṛt*. These letters, some of which are read every day in Rajchandra Ashramas, reveal the high spiritual achievement he attained during his short life.

Chhotalal Master (Choṭālāl Māster, 1862–1912), known as 'Vishvavandya' and 'Master Saheb', a disciple of Shri Nrisimhacharya (of Shreyah Sadhaka Adhikari Varga), wrote several articles on Indian philosophy and Yoga. These were published in the journal *Mahākāl*. In his articles, written in chaste Gujarati, he teaches how a philosophical life can be compatible with one's normal daily duties.

Gandhian Influence

The impact Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948) had on Gujarati literature was very great. Literature to Gandhiji was only a medium of expression, nevertheless his contribution to it is quite substantial. His autobiography has been translated into almost all the main languages of the world.

Though he actively participated in politics, Gandhiji was at heart a man more concerned with moral and spiritual life. As the leader of millions of people, he advised them through the journals *Young India*, *Navajīvan* and *Harijan*. Many of his writings are essays. *Dharmananthan*, *Vyapak Dharmabhāvana*, *Kelavanino Koyado*, *Mangal Prabhat*, *Nitinashane Marge*, *Tyāgmūrti Anē Bija Lekho*, *Khari Kelavani*, *Sarvodaya* etc. are collections of his essays in which he has discussed several social, educational, political and religious problems. Moral and spiritual values have the highest place in his thoughts. Yet he has examined everything rationally and does not advocate blind faith.

Gandhiji's style is simple, his language lucid. He writes in short but sharp sentences and straight from the heart. Gandhiji has also influenced several other Gujarati writers.

Kaka Kalelkar (Kākā Kalelkar, b. 1885), a Maharashtrian by birth and a resident of Gandhiji's Satyagraha Ashram, ranks among the best essayists in Gujarati. *Jīvananō Ānand* (Pleasure of Life), *Rakhaḍvānō Ānand* (Pleasure of Wandering, 1953), *Jīvan Sanskṛti* (1939), *Jīvan Vikās* (1936), *Jīvan Bhāratī* (1937), etc. are collections of his essays. *Jīvan* (life), a favourite word of Kalelkar, features in all his essays. Kalelkar loved travelling and his prose attains poetic grace when he writes on the beauties of nature such as the sky and the stars.

Kalelkar, a patriot who participated actively in the Freedom Movement, worked for some time as the head of Gujarat Vidyapith. Hence he has written on several educational topics as well. He was particularly influenced by Gandhiji's ideas on basic education. Kalelkar had studied the Sanskrit classical works as well as the medieval poetry of the Indian saint poets and draws inspiration from them when he writes on religious or philosophical subjects. He has been writing for over five decades. There are, therefore, some repetitions of subjects and ideas in his essays. Wit, colloquialisms, puns, similies etc. make his essays interesting reading. These essays are a landmark in the history of the development of the Gujarati essay.

Kishorelal Mashruwala (Kiśorelāl Maśruvālā, 1890–1952), a close associate and, for some time, a personal secretary of Mahatma Gandhi, was also editor of *Harijan Bandhu* for a while. He has written several articles on various subjects, which have been collected in his books *Jīvan Shodhan* (Search in Life), *Samūlī Krānti* (Deep-rooted Revolution, 1948), *Sansār anē Dharma* (Society and Religion, 1948), *Kēḷavanīnā Pāyā* (Foundations of Education) etc. In his essays, Kishorelal is original and rational. He is not carried away by blind faith and tradition. He fearlessly criticises the harmful, orthodox elements of society, religion, education, etc.

Also an educationist, Kishorelal felt the limitations of the modern Indian educational system and has discussed

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the basic principles of education in his essays. Though his views may not be acceptable to all, Kishorelal's lucid, logical and systematic presentation of any subject is appreciated.

Pandit Sukhlalji (Sukhlālji, 1880–1978), a blind scholar who studied at Varanasi, was for many years in Gujarat Vidyapith. He was also for some time Head of the Department of Prakrit and Jainism at Benaras Hindu University. Throughout his life he wrote numerous articles on religion, philosophy and other social subjects, which have been collected in two voluminous publications *Darśan anē Cintan* (Vision and Thought, 1957). Panditji was an outstanding scholar in comparative religion and philosophy. He has edited several works, such as *Tattvārth Sūtra*, *Sanmati Tark*, etc. and adorned them with his highly learned introductions. His *Bhāratiya Tattvavidyā* is another outstanding contribution. He is original, logical, balanced and unorthodox in his writings.

Swami Anand (Svāmī Ānand, 1887–1976), another associate of Mahatma Gandhi, wrote an account of his travel to the Himalayas on foot in Marathi while Kaka Kalelkar, his co-traveller, wrote his in Gujarati. The Swamiji's other publications include *Kulkathāō*, *Dharatinūlūn*, *Dharatini Ārati*, *Badrināthan Navalān Darśan*, *Mahādevthi Motērā*, etc. which are remarkable for their powerful style and picturesque detail. His narration of the last days of Jesus Christ in *Iśunūn Balidān* (1922) is extremely moving.

K. M. Munshi (Munṣi, 1887–1971) is a well-known novelist, dramatist, critic and historian. His essays are collected in his publications *Kēṭalāk Lēkho*, *Ādivacanō* etc. Munshi strikes at what is traditional, but in later life he was in favour of preserving the Aryan traditions.

Ramanlal Desai (Ramaṇlāl Desāi, 1892–1954), the most popular novelist of the Gandhian era in Gujarati literature, was a social thinker. He expressed his views on several social problems in his novels. Ramanlal was also an essayist and has written several essays on art and literature, culture and civilization. In his publications *Kalā-Bhāvana*, *Sāhitya anē Cintan* (1951) and *Jīvan anē Sāhitya* (Life and Literature, 2 vols. 1936–38) he has discussed several topics on life and literature from the social and moral viewpoints. In his *Bhāratiya Sanskriti* (Indian Civilization) he has studied the various salient features of Indian civilization. Among all Gujarati authors, Ramanlal Desai is the only one who has exhaustively studied the life, customs and problems of prostitutes. He has written five volumes on this subject under the title *Apsarā* (1946, 1948, 1949).

Vishnuprasad Trivedi (Viṣṇuprasād Trivēdī, b. 1899), one of the most prominent literary critics of the Gandhian era, has given Thakkar Vasanji Madhavji lectures which are published under the title *Arvācīn Cintanātmak Gadya* (Modern Reflective Prose, 1950). In these lectures he has discussed in detail, with scholarship and insight, the reflective writings of modern prose writers during the period 1844–1905.

Ramanarayan Pathak (1887–1955), Dhumketu (1892–1965) and Jhaverchand Meghani (1897–1947) are other eminent essayists of this period. All of them have written serious and light essays. However, they are better known for their contributions in other fields of literature.

Umashankar Joshi (Umāśaṅkar Jōśī, b. 1911), the most prominent Gujarati poet, dramatist, short story writer, critic, research scholar and educationist, has written both serious and light essays which are collected in *Gōṣṭhī* and *Ughādi Bāri* (Open Window). In *Gōṣṭhī* (1951) Umashankar is quite informal, sometimes using the style of a conversationalist, sometimes quoting lines or incidents from his vast reading of western and oriental literature, and sometimes writing sarcastically but not bitterly. *Ughādi Bāri* is a collection of his editorial articles, which regularly appeared on the first page of his monthly *Sanskriti*. Here Umashanker is more serious and his wisdom and high moral character are reflected in his essays.

Jayanti Dalal (Jayanti Dalāl, 1909–70), an eminent writer of short stories and one-act plays, has written creative essays which have been collected in *Śahēranī Śērī* (The City Street, 1948), *Pagadīvānī Pachhītēthī* (From Behind the Rear Wall, 1940), etc. Dalal has, in some of his essays, drawn touching pen-portraits of average middle class people living on the footpath. He writes from personal experience, with frankness and understanding. His remarks are often full of wit.

An outstanding contemporary novelist, Ishwar Petlikar (Īśvar Petlikar, b. 1916), has regularly been writing columns in the daily newspapers and other journals on current social problems. He sometimes writes on political subjects and examines each situation thoroughly, advocating the path or the solution which is in the larger interest of society.

In post-independence Gujarati literature, the essay is not as popular a literary form as it was in the Pandit and Gandhian periods. With the influence of western 'isms' and western writers such as Sartre, Camus, Kafka and others, the trend of Gujarati literature in general was changed. Among modern writers, Suresh Joshi (Surēś Jōśī, b. 1921) is the ablest essayist. He has influenced the generation of modern writers with his essay collections *Janāntike* (1965) and *Idam Sarvam* (This All, 1971). In his essays he draws pen-pictures from memory, narrates his experiences, recollects parallel incidents or apt quotations. His essays possess a rare originality.

Father Vales (b. 1925), a Roman Catholic priest from Spain who has spent more than 25 years teaching in Gujarat, has completely identified himself with Gujarat and has been regularly writing essays in Gujarati journals. *Navi Pedhīne*, *Sadācār*, *Kuṭumb Dharma*, *Vyakti Ghadatar*, etc. are collections of his essays. His emphasis is on character building and faith in God. He is frank and friendly in his views,

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often quoting from personal experience. This and his simple style have made him a popular essayist with the younger generation.

Chandrakant Baxi (Candrakānt Bakṣi, b. 1932), a novelist and short-story writer, writes under the heading *Picnic* essays on different current topics in a daily paper. His essays are informative and interesting. He has also written essays on the different civilizations of the world and the different communities of Gujarat.

The Parichaya Trust has published under the editorship of Vadilal Dagli five hundred booklets on different topics written by experts on the subjects. These interesting booklets have largely contributed towards informative Gujarat, prose. So have several journals.

Light Humorous Essay. The light humorous essay found a place in Gujarati literature right at the beginning of Gujarati prose. Navalram's *Othārio Hadakavā* is a good example of the humorous essay to be found in the Sudhārak (Reformist) period. But by and large this was a literary form.

Among the writers of the Pandit period Ramanbhai Nilkanth is the only writer who has made a worthwhile contribution in this field. Nilkanth, a social reformer and major humorist of his time, is best known for his humorous novel *Bhadrambhadra* (All Is Well, 1900). He has written light essays on miscellaneous subjects which have been published in his collection *Hāsyamandir* (Temple of Humour, 1915). Ramanbhai has a natural gift for humour and he creates humour in his essays from situations or through eccentric characters. With sarcasm, far-fetched imagination, absurd logic, ridiculous similies, irreverent dialogue, humorous anecdotes, poetry quoted out of context and satire, he creates humour and makes his essays lively. Of course, his humour is sometimes broad and superficial, and some of his subjects are now outdated. Some light essays written by his wife, Lady Vidyagauri Nilkantha, also appear in *Hāsyamandir*.

Ramnarayan Pathak (Rāmnārāyaṇ Pāṭhak, 1887–1955) has written several humorous essays published in the journal *Prasthān* under the pen-name 'Svairvihāri'. These essays are collected in the two parts of *Svairvihar* (Roaming at Sweet Will, 1931, 1938). As his pen-name indicates, Pathak jumps from one topic to another at will. Normally a serious-minded scholar and critic, Pathak is seen in an entirely different mood in his light essays. He writes on a variety of social subjects with subtle humour, exposing the inconsistencies of human nature.

Vijayrai Vaidya (Vijayrāi Vaidya, 1897–1974), a well-known critic, has written (under the pen-name 'Vinodkānt') several humorous essays which have been collected in his publications *Nājuk Savārī* (A Delicate Ride, 2nd ed., 1940), *Ūḍatān Pān* (Flying Leaves, 1945), *Prabhātnā Raṅg* (Colours of the Morning Sky, 1927), etc. The essayist is at his best when he writes on literary and educational subjects and narrates his personal experiences as the editor of a journal or as a college teacher. His humour is intelligent and subtle, with references to literary works, and therefore it is sometimes beyond the comprehension of the average reader.

In the first quarter of the 20th century, a few writers tried their hand at the light essay in the journals *Visami Saḍi* and *Gujarati*. Among these writers were Hariprasad Bhatt (Masta Fakir), Jagajivan Kothari (Aulia Joshi) and Dahyabhai Jagirdar. However, their humour is crude and is based mainly on exaggerated narration of unbelievable incidents and descriptions of eccentric characters.

Dhansukhlal Mehta (Dhansukhlāl Mehtā, 1890–1974) has written several light essays which have been collected in his *Mīṭhī Najarē* (From a Sweet Angle, 1940) *Ārām Khuraśīēthī* (From an Armchair, 1945) and *Sarjanne Āre* (On the Bank of Creation, 1956). Jokes, anecdotes and satire are used commonly by him to create humour. However, his humour is mild compared to that of his contemporary Jyotindra Dave.

Jyotindra Dave (Jyōtīndra Davē, b. 1901) is the foremost Gujarati humorist. For more than four decades he continuously wrote light humorous essays which are collected under the titles *Raṅg Taraṅg* (1944–50, 6 vols.), *Guptāni Nondhpathi* (Gupta's Diary), *Alpātmānun Ātmapurāṇ* (Autobiography of a Small Soul, 1947), *Pānanān Bīḍān* (The Chewing of Betel Leaves, 1946), *Rētīnī Rōṭlī* (Bread of Sand, 1952) etc. Jyotindra Dave has written on a very wide range of subjects. His humour is based upon human inconsistencies and weaknesses. The pun is much exploited by him. He narrates ridiculous anecdotes and defends absurd propositions. He is popular both as a humorous writer and as an orator.

During his sixties, his humorous articles suffered on account of repetition, hackneyed anecdotes and arguments, the absence of freshness, and his verbose style.

After Jyotindra Dave we see remarkable wit and humour in the light essays of Bakul Tripathi (Bakul Tripāṭhi, b. 1926). His range of subjects is very wide and he has a natural gift for intelligent humour. *Sacrācarmān* (In the Universe, 1965) and *Somavārni Savāre* (On Monday Morning) are his collections of light essays. He started writing his light essays in the monthly *Kumār*. Later, he wrote regular columns such as *Somavārni Savāre* (On Monday Morning), *Kakko Anē Bārākhaḍi* (The Alphabet) and *Taraṅg anē Tukkā* (Fancy and Ideas) in daily papers on current events. These columns have become quite popular in Gujarat.

Bakul Tripathi, a well-read humorist, is quick to strike at human weaknesses, inconsistencies, conceits, etc. Logical and intelligent arguments in favour of wrong propositions, twisted interpretations, puns on words, silly comparisons, humorous dialogue etc. are some of the characteristics of his light essays. For some time now he has been using

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his pen more to criticise the present day dishonest politicians. Current topics have made his essays more readable and interesting but they have, to some extent, harmed their artistic form.

Madhusudan Parekh (Madhusudan Pārekh, b. 1927) writes under the pen-name 'Priyadarshi', a regular humorous column called *Hum, Shāni Anē Shakarābhāī* (I, The Wise Wife And Shakarabhai) in the *Gujarat Samācār*, a Gujarati daily. Three collections of his light essays have been published, namely, *Hum Shāni Anē Shakarabhāī*, *Suḍi Anē Sopari* (Betel Nut and its Cutting Tool) and *Ravivarni Savar* (The Sunday Morning, 1971). Parekh usually writes on current social and political topics. He creates humour using satirical dialogue, to narrate incidents in the day-to-day life of average middle class families. He uses puns and exaggeration, and strikes at human weaknesses, without bitterness.

Vinod Bhatt (Vinōd Bhaṭṭ, b. 1938) is also one of the most popular writers among the present Gujarati humorists. He writes essays, letters, stories, caricatures, etc. *Idam Tritīyam* (And this Third One, 1973). *Vētāl Pachīsī* (Twenty-Five Vetal Stories), *Idam Caturtham* (And this Fourth One) and *Vinōd-nī Najarē* (In Vinod's Eyes, 1979) are collections of humorous articles. He is frank and satirical and uses parody effectively. He writes a regular humorous column, *Idam Tritīyam* in a daily paper. This has a large readership.

Travel Literature

In Gujarati there are travel accounts of western explorers as well as travelogues by several Gujaratis who travelled in India and abroad. Thousands of Gujaratis left India over a century ago, and are spread all over the world.

In the 19th century it was considered a sin in some communities to cross the seas. Travelling to England required courage, both social and moral. Mahipatram Nilkanth, an education officer, and later Karasandas Mulji, a journalist and social reformer, travelled to England. Both have narrated their experiences in their travelogues. *Englandni Musāfarinun Varnan* (Description of Travelling in England, 1862) by Mahipatram is the first book of its kind in Gujarati. It is full of information and is particularly interesting from the point of view of an educationist. *Englandmān Pravās* (Travel in England, 1866) by Karsandas Mulji is written in a better literary style and has more information and illustrations.

Poet Kalapi (Kalāpi, 1874–1900), who toured Kashmir, has narrated his experiences in *Kāsmirno Pravās* (Tour of Kashmir, 2nd ed. 1919). This travelogue is written in beautiful prose and reaches poetic heights at times. The author's personality is also reflected in this work.

K. M. Munshi was among the early writers who travelled to Europe. He has written an account of his tour in *Māri Binjavābdār Kahānī* (My Irresponsible Tale, 1943), which is full of information, particularly about art and sculpture in Europe.

The most valuable contribution to the field of travel literature in Gujarati has been Kaka Kalelkar's. He has shown that travel literature can be as interesting as a novel or a short story. *Himālaynō Pravās* (Tour of the Himalayas, 1941), *Brahmadēśnō Pravās* (Travel in Burma, 1932), *Rakhadvāno Ānand* (The Pleasure of Wandering, 1953), *Pūrva Africamān* (In East Africa, 1951) etc. are some of his works in this genre, of which *Himālayanō Pravās* is the best. In this account of his journey on foot to Jamanotri, Gangotri, Kedarnath and Badrinath, the author reaches poetical heights in his descriptions of natural beauty. With his knowledge of the mythological, historical and cultural backgrounds of the places he visited, with his powerful imagination evoking beautiful similies and with his command of language and style, Kaka Kalelkar has captured such beauty in travel writing as no one else has in Gujarati literature.

After Kaka Kalelkar, a significant contribution in the field of travel literature was made by Sundaram (Pseud. of Tribhuvandās Luhār, b. 1908). In his *Dakṣiṇāyan* (Travelling in the South, 1952), he describes in detail his experiences on a tour of South India. This was the first Gujarati travelogue on South India and is full of the author's views on the architecture of the temples, the religion, the culture and the traditions of the people.

Chandravadan Mehta (Candravadan Mehtā, b. 1901), a poet, dramatist and biographer, has travelled a lot abroad in the last three decades and has written such informative travelogues as *Safar Gatharia* (An Account of Travel Experiences, 1956), *Raṅg Gatharia* (An Account of Drama and Theatre, 1965), *Dhruv Gatharia* (An Account of Travel in the Polar Region, 1976) etc. Chandravadan, a creative dramatist and an experienced theatre critic, gives in his travelogues, detailed accounts of his meetings with the great personalities of the world stage and describes the theatres and plays he has seen.

Navā Gaganani Nīche (Under a New Sky, 1970) is an interesting account by Gulabdas Broker (Gulābdās Brōker, b. 1909) on his tour of Europe, which he undertook in 1959 primarily to attend the P.E.N. International Congress held in Frankfurt. Broker writes of the persons he met and makes shrewd observations about the way of western life. Rasik Jhaveri (Rasik Jhavērī, 1911–70), a journalist, who stayed for some time in England and Europe, has narrated in *Algāri Rakhadpatti* (Wandering Aimless, 1970) his experiences of places, persons and life. The descriptions of his experiences abroad have also been collected and published in two parts, in *Dilni Vāto* (Personal Talks, 1970, 75). These were first published in a daily, *Mumbai Samachar*, where they attracted the attention of many readers.

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Research in Gujarati Literature. The Gujarati language is quite rich in medieval literature. It is due to the Jain monks that thousands of manuscripts of old Gujarati literature are preserved and are still available. But research in old Gujarati is laborious and tedious, especially if the research scholar has not sufficient practice of reading old scripts. Hence this field is not as much explored as it should be.

With the advent of the modern era and the printing press, Dalpatram, Forbes, Narmad and others devoted much of their time to collecting historical data and the manuscripts of poems recited by the people. They also collected biographical data of the medieval poets. This was the beginning of research in Gujarati literature. Of course, the scholars then were more enthusiastic than scientific in their approach. Later, Ichcharam Suryaram Desai and Hargovinddas Kantavala edited the series *Bruhad Kāvya Dohan* and *Prācīn Kāvya Mālā* respectively and published several volumes. Competition between them was so keen that they accepted whatever was available without much checking whether the material was genuine or spurious. Hence fraud took place in the case of the plays of Premanand and some of the *Ākhyānas* of Premanand, Vallabh, Bhalan, etc.

In the field of Jain *Rāsa* and other medieval Gujarati literature, Chimanlal Dahyabhai Dalal edited the series *Prācīn Gurjar Kāvya* and Jivanchand Jhaveri edited the series *Ānand Kāvya Mahodadhi*. In Jain literature Mohanlal Dalichand Desai (1885–1945) has done much pioneering work after consulting thousands of old manuscripts. His *Jain Gurjar Kavīō* (Jain Gujarati Poets, 1926, 1931, 1944) in three volumes is a great contribution to medieval research. Such single-handed research work in Gujarati is still unparalleled.

A research scholar and translator of some of the classical Sanskrit works, Keshavlal Dhruva (Kēśavlāl Dhruva, 1859–1937) has edited such medieval Gujarati works as *Kādambari* (1916), *Anubhavbindu* (2nd ed. 1953) etc. and written scholarly introductions and notes to them. Muni Jinvijay (Śrīmān Jīnvijay, 1888–1976), a learned Jain monk who renounced the order and worked as a teacher at Gujarat Vidyapeeth, Shantiniketan and Bharatiya Vidyabhavan, was the editor of several publications dealing with research and critical study on old Jain Gujarati literature. The most important publications of his are *Prācīn Jain Lekhā Saṅgraha* (Collections of Old Jain Inscriptions), *Jain Aitihāsik Gurjar Kāvya Sañcay* (Collection of old Jain Poems, 1926), *Prācīn Gujarāti Gadya Sandarbha* (Reference of old Gujarati Prose), *Prabandha Cintāmaṇi* (Biographies of Great Historical Persons) and *Jain Itihāsani Jhalak* (An Outline of Jain History).

Keshavram K. Shastri (Keśavrām Śāstri, b. 1905) has done pioneering work in his *Kavi-Carit* (Lives of Poets, Part I & II, 2nd ed. 1952) and *Āpaṇā Kavio* (Our Poets, 1942) collecting biographical and literary data on several major and minor poets of the medieval period. He has also edited *Kādambari* and *Nalākhyān* by Bhalana, *Hansauli* by Asait, some Parvas of the Mahabharata written in Gujarati, and some Ākhyānas of Premananda and other poets.

Bhogilal Sandesara (b. 1917), a noted scholar of Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhransha and old Gujarati, has contributed much research in Gujarati. He has edited, providing introduction and notes, the authentic texts of several old Gujarati works such as *Rupa Sundar Katha*, *Simhāsanbatrisi*, *Nala Davadanti Rasa*, *Ushaharan*, *Prācīn Phāgu Samgraha* etc. *Agamomān Gujarat* and *Vastupāl and His Literary Circle* are also noteworthy contributions to Gujarati research.

Umashankar Joshi has contributed substantially to the research work on the poet Akho. He has also edited, together with others, *Akhegita* by Akho and *Daśamskandh* by Premanand. *Puranomān Gujarat* is also a noteworthy research work by him. Kantilal Vyas has edited the authentic texts of *Vasant Vilās* and *Kānhadade Prabandh*, providing notes and introduction. Harivallabh Bhayani (Harivallabh Bhāyāni, b. 1917) has published critical editions of *Sandeshak Rasa*, *Madan Mohanā*, *Ratnachuḍa Rasa*, etc.

Research work for the degree of Ph.D. in Gujarati is being done in several universities and more than a hundred theses have so far been accepted for the degree. Some of these have also been published. But there is still a lot of scope for research in Gujarati as hundreds of 'rasas' and other works of medieval poets remain unpublished.

Philology and Linguistics

Gujarati literature has a great treasure of old manuscripts and therefore there is much scope to study the development and characteristics of the Gujarati language. From the beginning of the modern era, scholars in Gujarati have paid attention to this study. Narmad prepared single-handed the Gujarati Dictionary, the first of its kind in the language. Navalram also discussed the meaning and etymology of several words. Vrajlal Shastri is the first scholar to devote attention to the study of language, publishing *Utsargamālā* and *Gujarati Bhaṣano Itihāsa*. And the Rev. J. V. S. Taylor published his *Gujarati Grammar* and *Dhātukosh*.

Narasinharao Divatia (Narasinharāv Divaṭīā, 1859–1937), a very learned scholar, has discussed in detail and at length, several important characteristics of the Gujarati language. In his essay submitted to the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad held in 1905 he discussed the problem of Gujarati spellings. This essay had a great effect on literary circles and made educated people, and writers in particular, more conscious of Gujarati spellings. In his Wilson philological lectures and Thakkar Vasanji lectures on literary and historical topics, Narasinharao adopted a scientific

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approach and discussed the broad accent of A and O, nasal pronunciations, the origin and constitution of the Gujarati language, case terminations, etymology of certain Gujarati words, etc.

Keshavram K. Shastri has discussed the form and characteristics of the Gujarati language, particularly of the medieval period. In his introductions to some medieval texts and in some chapters on medieval literature he has discussed several topics of Gujarati grammar and linguistics. He has also published independent works and has compiled a Gujarati dictionary.

Bhogilal Sandesara (Bhōgilāl Sāṇḍēsarā, b. 1917) is known for his studies in old Gujarati. He has discussed the etymology and meaning of several words in old Gujarati. In his *Śabda anē Artha* (Word and Meaning, 1954), he has discussed the principles of semantics, giving numerous examples from Gujarati.

Harivallabh Bhayani, a noted scholar of Prakrit, Apabhransha, old Gujarati and also linguistics, has made a substantial original contribution in the field of linguistics, particularly with reference to the Gujarati language. *Vāgvyāpār*, *Anuśīlan*, *Śabdakathā*, *Apabhransha Vyākaran*. etc., are some of his publications in this field.

Prabodh Pandit (Prabōdh Paṇḍit, 1923–75) is an outstanding scholar with an international reputation. His contribution in the field of linguistics is substantial, original and scientific. His *Dhvani Swarūp anē Dhvani Parivartan* (Phonetics in Gujarati, 1966) is an important original work on the Gujarati language.

Literary History

As literature keeps developing, scholars like to survey its growth and study its salient characteristics as well as the forces that moulded its growth. Therefore the history of literature can never be complete.

Narmad wrote biographies of some of the medieval poets. Later, Govardhanram wrote in English about some of these poets in his *Classical Poets of Gujarat*.

Milestones in Gujarati Literature and *Further Milestones in Gujarati Literature* by Krishnalal M. Jhaveri were the first attempts to write a history of Gujarati literature in English. These two volumes have been translated into Gujarati. This history deals more with medieval literature than with modern literature. It also often deals more with the lives of literary persons than their works. Some of the data presented in these volumes are now out of date.

Dahyabhai Derasari (Ḍāhyābhāī Dērāsarī, 1857–1937) wrote a short history of Gujarati literature. But his *Sathinā Sāhityanun Digdarśan* (Literature of the last Sixty years, 1911), as the title indicates, gives only an outline of Gujarati literature during the sixty years from 1848 to 1908. But its significance is that this is the first work of its kind on Gujarati literature written in the Gujarati language.

K. M. Munshi has written an in English a history of Gujarati literature, called *Gujarat and Its Literature* (1935). This work covers the period from the 16th century to 1935. The modern period is, however, not dealt with in detail. Munshi has quoted profusely from the original texts of the medieval poets. The history, however, sometimes lacks precision and has no sense of proportion.

Gujarati Sāhitya (*Madhyakalin*) (Medieval Gujarati Literature, 1954) by Anantrai Raval (Anantrāi Rāval, b. 1912) is a commendable effort to write a concise history of medieval Gujarati literature. Anantrai Raval is a scholar and well-known critic of mature and balanced judgement. His history, which displays these characteristics, is comprehensive.

An exhaustive history of Gujarati literature has been published in four volumes by the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad. This is the most comprehensive history written so far. In this history, each chapter is the contribution of an expert. Hence, at times, the work lacks continuity and suffers from overlapping.

In his *Gujarati Sāhityani Vikāsrekhā* (Outline of Gujarati Literature, 1954, 1966) written in two parts, Dhirubhai Thakar deals with both medieval and modern literature. The part on modern literature, covering the period 1845 to 1971, is more exhaustive. The author has discussed the salient features of the different periods as well as various authors and forms of literature.

Mansukhlal Jhaveri's (Mansukhlāl Jhavērī, b. 1907) *History of Gujarati Literature* (1978), in English, has been published by the Sahitya Akademi. This is the only history in English which covers both the medieval as well as the modern periods of Gujarati literature. But due to the limits and scope prescribed by the Akademi, the author had to restrict his observations to a few lines each in the case of some of the modern writers.

Diary Literature. Several literary persons have kept diaries, but only those diaries which have something to say and which have historical and literary value are worthy of publication.

Govardhanram of the Pandit Era maintained a diary in English called *Scrap Books* (1888–1906). He started this diary at the age of 30 and maintained it almost till his death. This diary is quite helpful in studying his life and literature as he has expressed his personal views and sentiments on several incidents and subjects.

Manilal Dwivedi also maintained a diary. He has narrated in detail several personal and some confidential experiences, hence his diary is helpful in studying his life. Narasinhrao Divatia's *Rojanisoi* (Diary, 1953) contains information on contemporary literary activities and on his meetings with literary persons.

Shrimad Rajchandra maintained a diary, but instead of recording personal incidents in it, he recorded his philoso-

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phical thoughts and the views that he expressed to some of his associates.

Gujarati diary literature is much the richer for the diaries of Mahadev Desai (Mahādev Dēsāī, 1892–1942). Of the many volumes, thirteen have been published so far. Mahadev Desai, the personal secretary of Mahatma Gandhi, is called the Boswell of Gandhiji. It was his intention to write an exhaustive biography of Mahatma Gandhi, which is why he started his diary from 1925 till his sudden death in 1942. The most important characteristic of these diaries is that the author has recorded more incidents relevant to Mahatma Gandhi than to himself. These diaries are full of information about Gandhiji and his contemporaries and are, therefore, historical documents of the life of the leader as well as of India's struggle for freedom.

Miscellaneous Works. These have been published in the fields of history and lexicography, art and sculpture, birds and animals, geology and geography, astrology and astronomy, biology and medicine, mathematics and statistics, physics and chemistry, economics and sociology, psychology, political science, etc. Several original works of high merit have also been written by well-known authors.

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Hindi

NAGENDRA

Ancient and Medieval Period

Although the myth that Hindi prose is of recent origin has been exploded by now, the fact remains that it compares most unfavourably with Hindi poetry in both quality and quantity. In almost all the major sub-languages of Hindi, Rajasthani, Brajbhasha and Khariboli, with the exception of Awadhi, there has been considerable activity in the domain of prose. Prose writing in these languages during the ancient and medieval periods from the 12th century up to the middle of the 19th century can be divided broadly under two heads: (i) literary prose and (ii) non-literary prose. Literary prose consists mainly of romantic narratives with historical, semi-historical and purely imaginative themes. Non-literary prose comprises records of historical events, short biographies, memoirs, philosophical discourses, commentaries, small treatises on medicine and, astrology, and official documents.

From the chronological point of view, the oldest specimens of prose are found in Rajasthani which possibly belong to the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries. They are religious treatises written by Jain scholars on various aspects of Jainism. The language is one or the other dialect of Rajasthani which is deeply laden with Apabhramsa vocabulary and grammatical forms.

During the medieval period ranging from the 15th to the middle of the 19th century, enough work was done in Brajbhasha, Khariboli and Rajasthani. The special feature of Brajbhasha prose is the *Vārtā* literature in which two volumes, *Caurāsī Vaiṣṇavan kī Vārtā* and *Do Sau Bāvan Vaiṣṇavan kī Vārtā*, which contain biographical sketches of 84 and 252 dignitaries of the Vallabha Sect are more

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prominent. Their prose style is lucid and facile and vocabulary rich and varied. Being descriptive and matter-of-fact, by and large, the prose is devoid of ornament and poetic flourish and comes very close to standard prose, in spite of a few archaic usages and loose syntax here and there. Although the former *Vārtā* is ascribed to Goswami Gokul Nath, who flourished in the 17th century, later researches seem to indicate that both the *Vārtās* were compiled by his disciples and followers at a later date. Besides, there are many other religious treatises which consist of the discourses of Vaiṣṇava Ācāryās of different sects—such as Vallabhācārya, Viṭṭhala Nātha, Hitaharivamśa and others. Their style is naturally more academic—abounding in technical terms and phraseology. The third variety of Brajbhasha prose is found in the commentaries on philosophical and literary classics. This prose, of course, is involved and disjointed because it follows rather crudely the Sanskrit pattern of annotation, in which the original text is explained in parts—phrase by phrase.

The present Khariboli was geographically the dialect of Kurupradeśa extending from Meerut to Ambala, and its original name was possibly Kauravī. Being the spoken language of the metropolis of Delhi, it was patronized by the rulers and developed as the medium of civil activities of administration and court as also of public transactions. Khariboli prose was written in three different styles. The language of most of the prose works written in central India was more or less natural Khariboli with a little tinge of Brajbhasha here and there. Khariboli prose written in Punjab, quite often in Gurumukhi script, was influenced by Punjabi not only in its vocabulary but in grammatical forms as well. Biographies, memoirs and records of religious discourses of the Sikh Gurus and their eminent disciples form a large bulk of this special variety of Khariboli prose.

The third style of Khariboli prose was Dakhini which flourished in the South. Verse and prose romances were written in Dakhini by Sufi saints and their followers. Dakhini had two distinct complexions: prose writings which were deeply laden with Arabic and Persian words really form part of Urdu literature, whereas others with Sanskrit vocabulary come within the fold of Hindi. Of the two most prominent prose works of Dakhini, *Mīrāzul Āśikin* by Banda Nawaz and *Sabras* by Mulla Wajahi, the first one positively belongs to Urdu literature, but *Sabras* can be claimed by Hindi as well. Dakhini Hindi has played a very significant role in the development of modern Hindi, prose as well as poetry.

Modern Khariboli Prose

Right at the beginning of the 19th century, came the four pioneers of modern Hindi prose, namely, Munśi Sadāsukha Lāl, Inśā Allāh Khān, Sadal Miśra and Lallūjī Lāl. Of late, there has been some controversy about Sadāsukha Lāl's work *Sukhasāgara*. However, the consensus is that it is one of the earliest sustained works in modern Hindi. In spite of some deviations here and there, its style is characterized by a certain neatness of syntax which paved the way for the descriptive prose of the modern period. Inśhā Allāh Khān's *Rāṇī Ketakī kī Kahānī* is an authentic as also an original work, without doubt, written in a lively and sportive style. Its peculiar feature is the absence of Sanskrit as well as Arabic-Persian words. The author announces at the very outset that he will consistently use Hindavi or Khariboli without the admixture of any classical language or local dialects and fulfils his pledge to a great extent. Sadal Miśra and Lalluji Lal were in the service of Fort William College and wrote according to a schedule drawn for a specific purpose. Their famous works are *Nāsiketopākhyāna* and *Premasāgara* respectively. Quite obviously, they are not original writings: they are renderings in Khariboli of two Brajbhasha prose translations. So far as their linguistic complexion is concerned, Lallūjī Lāl's *Premasāgara* is deeply coloured by Brajbhasha usages and forms, whereas Sadal Miśra's prose has distinct marks of Awadhi. On the whole, these two works lack the raciness and flow of Sadāsukha Lal's and Inśā's prose. It was with this legacy that modern Hindi prose started its chequered career.

The modern age in India starts with the establishment of British rule in the middle of the 19th century, when contact and conflict with western culture gave birth to an Indian Renaissance. In Hindi literature, Bharatendu Harishchandra (Bhāratendu Hariścandra, 1850–85) was the leader of this new movement. Although he was a versatile genius, his historical importance is based primarily on his contribution to Hindi prose in its various literary forms. Hindi prose before Bharatendu had only a descriptive or discursive style employed generally for narratives or religious discourses. Bharatendu used it effectively as a vehicle for dramatic dialogues, stories and novelettes, socio-religious discourses, travelogues, journalese etc. His prose is characterized by a variety of styles. In his lyrical dialogues, the style is coloured with emotion, in satires it is pungent, in journals it is fresh and racy, and in a reflective discourse it acquires the requisite sobriety and seriousness of tone. As, for example, in the following piece of dialogue in his play *Bhārata Durdaśā* (The Sorry Plight of Bhārata):

> 'Wake up, Bhārat Ma! Get up. See, this agony has become unbearable. For how long will you remain sunk in this stupor? Wake up! See, your progeny has been ruined. Broken up and divided, they are all suffering the torments of hell. Such is their plight and yet they do not wake up. Alas! I cannot bear to see it. Wake up, dear ones!
>
> (tr. Bhishma Sahni)

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In this way, he paved the way for the future development of the diverse forms of Hindi prose. In this enterprise, he was ably assisted by a team of associates like Badarīnārāyaṇa Caudharī, (1855–1922), Balakrishna Bhatta (Bālakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa, 1844–1914), Pratāpa Nārāyāṇa Miśra (1856–94), Jaganmohan Singh (1857–99) and others who made their own contribution in fashioning different styles of Hindi prose.

In 1900, with the publication of the journal *Sarasvatī*, this period of adolescence came to an end and Hindi prose entered into the second phase of its development under the leadership of Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi (Mahāvīra Prasāda Dvivedī, 1864–1930), who made a sustained effort to give it a proper shape. Like Dr. Johnson in English, Pandit Dwivedi set a standard of correct writing governed by rules of grammar and idiom. He curbed all kinds of irregular usages in vocabulary, syntax and linguistic structure. Whereas his predecessors pushed in a few expressions of Brajbhasha, Awadhi or their own local dialects, he took special care to expunge them.

Pandit Dwivedi was a purist in the sense that he would not excuse any deviations from grammatical and syntactical norms. But so far as language complexities were concerned, he was rather liberal. Being a Sanskritist by training, he insisted on the use of standard Sanskrit words, and yet he welcomed the use of derived words as also words of Arabic-Persian origin which had become a part of common parlance. His colleagues and associates joined hands with him and, in this way, Hindi prose acquired a well-defined linguistic pattern. A kind of objective maturity of style was developed at the cost of freshness and liveliness which characterized the writings of the Bharatendu era. As an example of Dwivedi's prose, see the following extract from his essay 'Poet's Indifference towards Urmila':

> Alas, Valmiki, that you should have shown such indifference to Urmila! Alas, you failed to see her, when, hardly an hour later, like a creeper cut from its roots, she was rolling on the floor of her desolate chamber, as her husband was repairing to the forest for fourteen long years, in the company of Rama and Sita. Even then you showed your 'poverty of speech' in respect of her.
>
> (tr. Bhishma Sahni)

Thereafter came the golden era of modern Hindi literature and a galaxy of talented authors appeared on the scene. Whereas Premchand (Premcanda, 1880–1936) and Prasad (Jayaśaṅkara Prasāda, 1890–1937) enriched the two major genres of prose—novel and drama—Ramachandra Shukla (Rāmacandra Śukla, 1884–1940) exploited the potentialities of reflective prose and raised it to a hitherto unknown level. Premchand was initially an Urdu writer and he took about a decade to develop a natural style in Hindi. Being a true exponent of a composite culture, he was able to cultivate a unique representative style capable of reflecting effectively the variegated aspects of social life in Hindi regions.

The following extract (from his novel *Godān*) depicting the last moments of Horī is illustrative of his style:

> Death had drawn quite close. The smoke had subsided, the fire was about to blaze. He looked at Dhaniyā with beseeching eyes. Two tear-drops trickled down from the corners of his eyes. In a faint voice he said, 'Forgive me Dhaniyā for my acts of omission and commission. It is time to go. The yearning for the cow remained unfulfilled after all. The little money that you have, will now be spent on the last rites. Don't cry, Dhaniyā, how much more would you want me to live? Everything went to pieces. Let me die now.'
>
> (tr. Bhishma Sahni)

Jaishankar Prasad was a romantic by temperament with a rich cultural background. His prose style, extremely colourful and laden with picturesque expressions of Sanskrit, reads like poetic prose. With all his wealth of romantic imagery, Prasad developed a highly ornate style of imaginative prose in Hindi. The extracts given below are two pieces of dialogue taken from his play *Candragupta* spoken by Cāṇakya and Suvāsinī respectively:

> (i) *Chanakya*: I am a Brahmin, Chandragupta. Compassion was my only empire, love my religion. The Isle of Peace in the Sea of Joy was my abode. The Sun, the moon and the stars were my lamps, the boundless sky my canopy, my bed, the green and tender earth. There, contentment was wealth, and the cultivation of the mind, the only work. Where have I come to, leaving my birth place, the Brahmins' birth place? Here, instead of friendship and trust, I have found intrigues. There are no flowers here, only thorns, no love, only fear; not the bliss of knowledge, but wicked counsels.... How much lower can one fall? Take it, Maurya Chandragupta, take back your authority. I shall then be reborn.
>
> (ii) *Suvasini*: Suddenly in the grove of life, lurking in the shadow of a full moon night, enters the sweet spring. The flower-beds of the body acquire green foliage. The cuckoo of beauty begins calling and questioning all. And then, Princes, shoot forth the buds of love hiding within fearful memories like honey.
>
> (tr. Rajiv Varma)

Ramachandra Shukla was a critic of great erudition and sound literary judgement. His prose is naturally suited to the requirements of his profession and is characterized by analytical precision, maturity of expression and a remarkable compactness of syntax as evidenced by the following extract:

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Poetry does not give us glimpses of the beauty of the form and colour of objects only; it also brings to us very affecting scenes of the beauty of actions or mental states. Just as it depicts the beauty of a full-blown lotus flower or the face of a woman, it also impresses upon the mind the beauty of actions and mental states like generosity, heroism, sacrifice, kindness, the exaltation of love etc. Just as it gives glimpses of the sordid business of dogs and jackals tearing dead bodies, it disturbs us by the murderous intentions of the cruel and the envy of the wicked, etc. The existence of this ugliness should be understood as being necessary for the vivid and complete expression of beauty. Poetry discovers for us the beautiful form even of those mental states which are normally seen only in their evil aspect. Who would not be enamoured of the beauty of the wrath of Rama, slayer of the Ten-headed?

(tr. Rajiv Varma)

Among the prose-writers of the younger generation during the same period, Mahadevi Varma (b. 1907) and Hazari Prasad Dwivedi (1907–79) stand out prominently. Mahadevi Varma has drawn a number of pen portraits in pictorial prose. This prose is bedecked with a variety of homely images to suit the context. With clear outlines and soft flowing colours, this pictorial prose of Mahadevi has a peculiar emotive appeal. Her prose style flows like a rivulet through a blossoming valley. Hazari Prasad Dwivedi introduced the colourful style of Sanskrit romances in Hindi with marked success. Whereas he borrowed their cultural imagery and pictoral qualities freely, he was much too sensible to indulge in their extravagances. Although tastefully ornate, this prose flows spontaneously from the author's pen. Hazari Prasad thus lent a rich cultural content to Hindi prose. An example of his prose is given below:

'The irresistible indifferent flow of humanity through thousands of years is clearly visible to me. I can see it trampling all vain attachments to civilization and culture in its forward movement. Countless religious practices, faiths, customs and austerities have been washed away in this flood. Man has derived fresh energy from conflicts. Society as it exists today is the outcome of, one knows not how many, acceptances and rejections. The pure culture of a country or a race is a later concept. Everything has been adulterated; everything is impure. Man's will-to-live alone is pure. Like the unobstructed, uncontaminated flow of the Ganges, it remains holy even after having devoured everything. Attachment to civilization and culture presents an obstacle for a moment; for a while, ideas of right conduct which have become part of our inner consciousness try to obstruct the flow but all are ultimately carried away in the relentless stream. Whatever adds to the strength of this life-force becomes a part of it; the rest is cast away.

(tr. Rajiv Varma)

Another remarkable writer of the same generation was Pandey Bechan Sharma Ugra (Pāṇḍeya Becana Śarmā Ugra, 1900–75), who wrote in a sensuous and passionate style which became brutally frank at places.

The third phase is, therefore, the harvest period of Hindi prose when various styles attained a high level of perfection to serve as effective media of different genres. Its range extended from a live popular prose to a profusely ornate and sophisticated style, from simple and naive narrative prose to the highly intellectualized prose of speculative criticism. It was marked by the wit and passion of Ugra on the one hand and by the serenity of reflective writers on the other.

In the forties, new vistas opened up in the various branches of Hindi literature. The impact of some of the current ideologies and trends in western literature was felt more directly by our writers at this stage. Hindi prose became more precise with the growth of a finer scientific sensibility. The two names, radically different from each other, which shot into prominence in the domain of creative literature, were S. H. Vatsyayan Ajneya (Saccidānanda Vātsyāyana Ajñeya, b. 1911) and Phanishwar Nath Renu (Phaṇīsvara Nātha Reṇu, 1921–77). By his long and sustained studies in contemporary English and American literature, Ajneya has succeeded in cultivating a pointed style, characterized by scientific objectivity and exactitude. He lacks the warmth of his predecessors, but excels them in finesse and subtlety of expression. Since his style has been cultivated with conscious effort on the pattern of western masters, it carries some marks of imitation here and there, which the writer has failed to conceal in spite of his best manipulations. 'Renu', that way, is obviously more original —although the sophistication of Ajneya is missing in his writings. His prose, however, has the freshness and fragrance of the soil. The local colour becomes much too deep at times with the result that his language is over-laden with colloquial expressions and becomes quite ambiguous now and then. Critical prose style which had attained a high level of maturity in the works of Acharya Ramachandra Shukla becomes more analytical and technically more precise in the writings of some of his successors like Nagendra (b. 1915). With his systematic studies in Indian and western poetics, Nagendra formulated a standard language of criticism in Hindi—making full use of the researches in terminology with which he was closely associated. The following extract is from his book *Rasa Siddhānta*:

Rasa Siddhānta (the Theory of Rasa), unfettered by technical conventions and in its comprehensive and

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progressive form, is a universal theory of poetry which can provide criteria for an appropriate appraisal of the creative literature of all times and all countries of every genre of literary art. Its conception is so all-pervasive that with the basic element of human consciousness—'Rasa' (sentiment)—as the pivot, it embraces within its fold all other significant human instincts. The theory of Rasa, therefore, is in perfect harmony with all aspects and with variant values of life wherein all contradictions, inherent in different critical attitudes, are completely merged. (tr.)

The Essay

The essay is the most representative genre of creative prose. If prose is a test case for poets, essay is the touchstone of good prose.

The origin of the Hindi essay can be traced back to the Bharatendu era. Bharatendu himself had written in his journals a number of interesting notes on topical as well as classical subjects which possess the qualities of the literary essay: namely, the subjective approach, unity of form, and racy expression. Bharatendu was followed by a team of contemporary writers such as Pratāpa Nārāyaṇa Miśra, Bala Krishna Bhatta and Badarī Nārāyaṇa Caudharī Premaghana, who contributed to the growth of Hindi essay, each writing in his own way. Bala Krishna Bhatta and Pratāpa Nārāyaṇa Miśra have been described by critics as the Addison and Steele of Hindi. Bhatta's pen moved with equal ease from classical to popular modes of expression—from colourful Sanskritized diction as in *Candrodaya* to the racy style of common parlance in essays like *Devatāoṁ se hamārī bātcīt*. Misra, however, maintained the popular tone in all his essays which are interspersed with humour, social irony, poignant idioms and illustrative proverbs. The topic of his essay could be anything such as *Buḍhāpā* (Old age), *Dāṁt* (teeth), *Bāt* (Talk), etc. These essays of the Bharatendu era are very close to the definition given by Johnson as they are basically loose sallies of the mind—free from pedantry and logical rigidities.

The essay in the Dwivedi era assumed the form of a compact intellectual discourse. In consonance with the literal meaning of its Hindi equivalent, *Nibandha*, it became a close-knit pattern of sustained arguments supported by appropriate examples, as and when necessary. Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi led the way by writing essays on literary and socio-ethical themes. These essays which have been compiled under the titles of *Rasajña Rañjana* and *Sañcayana* are marked by clarity of expression, but they lack literary flavour and intellectual depth, by and large. The prominent essayists of this period are Bal Mukund Gupta (Bāla Mukunda Gupta, 1865–1907), Purna Singh, Shyam Sundar Das (Śyāma Sundara Dāsa, 1875–1945), Ramachandra Shukla, Gulab Rai (Gulāba Rāy) and Padum Lal Punnalal Bakshi (Padumlāla Punnālāla Bakśī, b. 1895).

Shyam Sundar Das's essays are scattered in some of his major works and deal with literary subjects. Although superior in intellectual content, they are not really creative. The other towering personality in this field was Ramchandra Shukla, whose essays are published in '*Cintāmaṇi* (a mythological stone supposed to fulfil one's desires) volume I. Writing on different human instincts and sentiments in dignified prose, his work is immensely rich in thought-content. With a kind of subjective approach to intellectual topics, these essays present a fine synthesis of the traditional well-knit discourse and 'a sally of the mind'. Purna Singh wrote subjective essays with romantic fervour. Gulab Rai's essays have been published in collections entitled *Phir Nirāśā Kyoṁ* (Why then Despair?), *Ṭhaluā Klab* (The Idlers Club) and *Merī Asaphalatāyeṁ* (My Failures). Though serene in their overall tone, his essays contain strains of delightful humour. Bakhshi's essays are written in colloquial style and appeal to the reader by their homely treatment of the subject.

During the Romantic period which followed the Hindi essay broke through its rigid frame to traverse the golden realms of imagination. The essays of Hazari Prasad Dwivedi compiled in *Aśoka ke Phūl* (The Flowers of Aśoka), *Vicāra-Pravāha* (Stream of Thought), *Kuṭaja* etc. with their rich cultural content, fanciful treatment and pictorial diction are typical representatives of their age. Although some of his junior contemporaries like Ajneya differed from him in content as well as in style, their content being more modern and style more precise, the echoes of his picturesque compositions were heard in a few later writers like Vidyā Nivās Miśra and Kuber Nāth Rāy. The social essay of the Bharatendu era with its satire and irony reappeared once again after almost three quarters of a century in the writings of Hari Shankar Parsai (Hari Śaṅkar Parsāyī). With the revival of the trend for shorter compositions, the essay in Hindi which seemed to have lost its popularity during the middle of this century is again coming to the fore.

Travelogue

Travelogues are a composite literary form containing elements of the descriptive essay, personal reminiscences and in several cases social criticism as well. The earliest specimens of travelogues in Hindi as also in most of the other Indian languages are related to pilgrimages. The language of *Vanayātrā Gusāīṁjī* (1553), '*Vanayātrā-parikramā*' (1954), etc., is Brajabhasha. The tone is obviously religious. The literary travelogue like other prose-forms came into being in the Bharatendu era. Bharatendu himself gave the lead by publishing some travelogues such as *Saryū pār kī yātrā*, *Haridvār kī yātrā*, etc., in his magazines.

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They are written in a pictoral style with touches of humour. His colleagues also followed him and quite a few interesting travelogues were written during this period.

The tradition was continued a little more seriously by the writers of the 20th century and a number of travelogues entitled *Uttarī-Dakṣiṇī Dhruva kī Yātrā*, *Vilāyat kī Sair*, *Yuddha-Kṣetra kī Sair*, *Jāpān kī Sair*, *Rāmesvara-Yātrā*, etc. were published in leading magazines like *Saraswati*, *Indu* and *Maryādā* in the form of descriptive essays. Among the authors who wrote their reminiscences about foreign countries, special mention can be made of Gajādhara Simha who gave a picturesque account of his trip to England at the time of King Edward VII's coronation (1903), of Swami Satyadeva Parivrājaka (*Amarīkā-digdarśana*, 1911), Jawaharlal Nehru (*Rūs kī Sair*, 1926) and Rahul Sankrityayan (*Tibbat meṁ Savā Baras*, 1933). All these writers, in spite of the difference in their professions and interests have directly or indirectly one objective in view—namely to highlight the socio-political and industrial progress of the advanced countries vis-a-vis India. Rahul's main object was, of course, to unearth the ancient Indian literature buried in the obscure monastries of the Himalayan belt. Depending on the cultural and literary make-up of the authors, these books deal with the natural sights and sounds, social conditions, scientific advancement and political awareness in the various countries they visited and evince a variety of prose styles. Among the books of travelogues relating to India, there is a marked fascination for the Himalayan lands on the one hand and the southern states, especially the coastal areas, on the other. Some of these travelogues are written in a pictorial style bordering on poetic prose as in Manoranjan's *Uttarākhaṇḍa ke patha par* (1936).

In the thirties, the impact of Marxist ideology was felt all over India and Indian authors were drawn to leading communist countries like Russia and China. This interest in a new world resulted in a number of travel books full of useful information and enlightenment. Dr. Satyanarayana's *Romāñcak Rūs* (1939), Rahul Sankrityanyan's *Rūs meṁ paccīs māsa* (1952) and Yashpal's *Lohe kī dīvār ke donoṁ or* (1953) present revealing accounts of the political and economic progress, social improvements and literary activities in the Soviet land. Bhagavata Śaraṇa Upādhyāya's *Kalkattā se Pekiṅg* (From Calcutta to Peking) is possibly the most interesting book of travels regarding China.

Ajneya's *Ek būṁd Sahasā uchalī* and Nirmal Varma's *Ciḍoṁ Pār Cāṁdani* (1964) may be cited as examples of literary travelogues.

The writers of travelogues in Hindi have evinced a varied taste for, and interest in, different aspects of life in India and abroad and have adopted a variety of techniques to convey their impressions and reminiscences in a lively style.

Hindi Journals

Hindi journalism came into existence at the beginning of the Indian Renaissance to serve as a vehicle of the new national awakening in the country. The first Hindi journal, according to experts, was *Udanta Mārtaṇḍa* (The Rising Sun), which appeared in 1826. Two famous journals of the closing decades of the 19th century were *Hindī Baṅgavāsī* (1890) of Calcutta and *Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara Samācāra* (1896) of Bombay. The other journals during the first phase were *Bhāratamitra*, *Bihār-Bandhu*, etc. With the growth of socio-political consciousness, journalism in Hindi as also in other major languages of India developed rapidly, and a number of weeklies and monthlies were published.

Monthlies. Among monthlies, *Sarasvati* played an important role in giving a new dimension to Hindi literature and shaping the complexion of Hindi. Mahavira Prasada Dwivedi set forth three objectives before himself as the editor of *Sarasvati*: (i) to standardize the Hindi language, (ii) to bridge the gulf between the language of poetry and the language of prose, and (iii) to raise the moral tone of Hindi literature. For two whole decades, Dwivedi reigned supreme in the Hindi world and a number of budding authors had clustered round him. In the third and fourth decades of this century, *Mādhurī*, *Sudhā*, *Cāṁd* and *Viśāla Bhārata* occupied premier positions among monthly magazines. *Mādhurī* and *Sudhā* were essentially literary magazines and stalwarts like Premchand, Nirālā and Kṛṣṇa Bihārī Miśra were closely associated with them. *Cāṁd* had a marked socio-political bias and its special number on Capital Punishment, by highlighting the atrocities of the British Rule in India, created a tremor in the government circles and was ultimately proscribed. *Cāṁd's* literary role, however, should not be underestimated. The literary image of Mahadevi Varma emerged through this magazine. *Viśāla Bhārata* had a progressive socio-political approach but its editors lacked the required aesthetic imagination to appreciate literary trends. The age of monthlies has almost ended by now and we do not have any standard magazine at present.

Weeklies. Hindi journalism actually started with weeklies, which paved the way for future development. During the early half of the 20th century, quite a few weekly journals participated actively in India's struggle for freedom: such as—*Pratāpa* of Kanpur, *Sainika* of Agra, *Abhyudaya* and *Deśadūta* of Allahabad. *Āryamitra* was primarily concerned with religious and social uplift. Most of them have ceased to exist now or lost their glamour. At present, there are two major weeklies—*Dharmayuga* (Bombay) and *Sāptāhik Hindustān* (Delhi). They have a very large circulation all over the country and cater to the varied tastes of our reading public.

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Dailies. The daily is a direct offspring of India's National Movement. The first Daily in Hindi was *Hindosthān* edited and published by Rājā Rāmapāla Simha of Kālākāṅkar in Uttar Pradesh. This paper survived till 1910 and had the honour of associating Madana Mohana Mālavīya with its editorial board. There was a spate of dailies when Mahatma Gandhi launched the Satyagraha Movement. *Viśvamitra* (Calcutta), *Āj* (Varanasi) *Bhārata*, (Allahabad), *Vīra Arjuna* (Delhi) and *Navabhārata* (Nagpur) were some of the most important daily journals during the second phase of India's struggle for freedom. By the middle of the century two other important dailies, namely, *Hindustān* and *Navabhārat Times* came to the fore. These dailies have their magazine sections also which contain serious literary and informative articles for the elite.

Histories of Literature

There was no regular tradition of historiography in India. As such, the earliest histories of ancient as well as modern Indian literatures were written by foreigners. The first history of Hindi literature was published in 1839 (Part I) and in 1846 (Part II) by a French author Garcin de Tassy. It was followed by another major work entitled *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindostan* by the famous indologist Sir George Abraham Grierson in 1889. This presents a more sustained and critical study of the development of Hindi literature, highlighting some of its renowned poets. Grierson's critical appraisal of Tulasidas remains a classic even now. The first significant history of literature written originally in Hindi is *Miśra-Bandhu Vinoda*, which is an encyclopaedic work dealing with more than 4000 authors and running into four volumes. It was published in 1913 and continued to provide source material to the later historians for a long time. Ram Chandra Shukla's history of Hindi literature entitled *Hindi Sāhitya kā Itihāsa*, published in 1929, is a landmark in literary historiography. The system of periodization introduced by the 'Miśra-Bandhus' was given a more rational basis in the light of the predominant literary trends in different ages. With the introduction of Hindi literature in the syllabi of higher studies in universities, a large number of authentic histories of Hindi literature have been published such as '*Hindī Bhāṣā aur Sāhitya* (1930) by Dr. Shyam Sundar Das, *Hindī kā Ālocanātmaka Itihāsa* (1938) by Dr. Ram Kumar Varma, *Hindī Sāhitya kī Bhūmikā* (1940) and *Hindī Sāhitya* (1952) by Hazari Pradad Dwivedi and *Hindī Sāhitya kā Itihāsa* (1973) by Dr. Nagendra. The most monumental work in this field is *Hindī Sāhitya kā Bṛhad Itihāsa* in 17 volumes, of which 15 are already out, running into about ten thousand pages of royal octavo size. This is obviously the greatest history of literature published in any language.

Commentaries

The tradition of literary commentaries in Hindi is very long and rich. The largest number of commentaries has been written on *Rāmacaritamānasa* and *Bihārī-Satsaī*. The most significant works in this field are *Mānasa-Pīyūṣa* (ed. 1955) by Anjanī Nandana Sarana, *Bihārī-Ratnākara* (ocean i.e. Ratnakara of Bihari, 1955) by the last great Brajbhasha poet Jagannātha Dāsa Ratnākara, *Sañjīvana Bhāṣya* (1920) on a couple of hundred couplets of Bihari written by Padma Simha Śarma and *Padmāvat*: *Sañjīvanī Vyākhyā* (1955) by Vāsudeva Śarana Agravāla.

Literature of Knowledge

The post-independence era showed enormous activity in the field of literature of power as also of literature of knowledge. In the literature of power, however, there was hardly any qualitative improvement. The new writers generally wrote in a mood of irritation which was not very unnatural under the circumstances. Their main achievement, therefore, is a pungent style in poetry as well as in prose. Quite a number of these writers have lifted without reservation slangs from popular speech from different strata of society. The so-called bold venture has raised a controversy even in the camp of new writers themselves and quite a number of them have denounced it as an offence to aesthetic sensibility.

There was still greater and also more fruitful activity in the literature of knowledge or technical literature. As soon as it was declared the official language of India, the problem of Hindi assumed an entirely different form. One aspect of the problem was purely political with which many a gallant warrior tried his strength and is still doing so. We have for him the same feeling of reverential awe that a timid intellectual generally has for a hero of war. But there is also a literary aspect of the question which is our concern. Hindi had sufficiently developed its resources—Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi had given it a standard form, Padma Singh Sharma had imparted clubbable qualities to it. Premchand had made it a successful medium for the criticism of contemporary social life, Ram Chandra Shukla had given it maturity to communicate the depth of thought, Ajneya had lent finesse to express the finest shades of emotion and thought—and in 1947 Hindi flourished as a fully developed language. But with its adoption as the lingua franca of India, many problems sprang up, and the language which had admirably played the role of a literary vehicle began to totter for a while under the weight of new obligations. Its background was, however, quite solid, and scholars like Raghuvira exploited it to the best advantage. Several others like Rahul Sankrityayan (1893–1963) and the well-known lexicographer Ram Chandra Varma (Rāmcandra Varmā, b. 1890) readily joined him. Raghuvira had to face violent opposition at the outset. But as they probed deeper

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into the spirit of words, most of the scholars were convinced that with all his faults Raghuvira's was the correct method. As a matter of fact, his faults caught their attention earlier than his merits. His main fault was that he did not possess an intimate knowledge of Hindi language and literature, and that he was a maker of words rather than a master of style. Yet, in his field he had no equal. He had great control over the vast resources of the Sanskrit language, and used them with a master's skill. His one obvious achievement was that almost single-handed he coined or standardized more than a hundred thousand words, but still greater was his discovery (or at least the successful practice) of the basic principles of word-making. His effort met with opposition from all directions, but ultimately his methods were adopted even by those who made fun of him. This work was subsequently taken up in all earnestness by the Ministry of Education who have by now prepared several lakhs of useful technical terms in Hindi with the help of renowned linguists and experts and there are several published volumes of the Technical Dictionary. This vocabulary is obviously more broadbased. Firstly, because it is the result of joint deliberations of many scholars who worked together on various committees, and secondly because it has the sanction of the Government it has gained wider currency than Raghuvira's glossary. The work of the Ministry of Education is being actively supplemented by a high-power Commission for the preparation of legal terminology. Translation of legal documents of all levels has already been made in Hindi. Some handy English-Hindi dictionaries have also come out in the meantime—such as the dictionaries by Hardev Bāharī (b. 1907) and Father Bulcke (b. 1909), etc. Another new venture in the field is the *Vyavahār Kośa* (Dictionary of usages) by Naravaṇe which gives at one place the equivalents in all the modern Indian languages for the same word. An encyclopaedia in Hindi has also been planned by the Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Varanasi, and many volumes have already been published. All these efforts are now bearing fruit and the Hindi language is making steady progress in three directions: (i) new words are available in large numbers, (ii) meanings of words have been and are being defined, (iii) the language has acquired new powers to connote subtle shades of differences in meaning and the precision which Hindi possesses today was unknown before 1947.

There is the other side of the picture too. Many of the scholars have a fear that the growing influence of Sanskrit is gradually eclipsing the essential character of Hindi. This fear is not unfounded, but the Sanskrit influence is likely to do more good than harm in the long run. The dignity, pictorial quality and expressive power of Hindi can be more enriched from the treasure-house of Sanskrit than with words picked up at random from here and there. There is yet another charge against this language that is evolving, and this also cannot be ignored. Are we not creating a translation-language in this way? The new vocabulary that has come into being consists of translated synonyms. One sometimes has this feeling, but the answer is not far to seek. No live language can for long remain a translation-language. The translated synonyms which have been imported today will soon become part and parcel of Hindi as they pass through the creative processes in the hands of master-artists. The language of this great nation, which has absorbed one race after another ever since the dawn of civilization, will not take long to absorb a few thousand verbal shades.

As for scientific writing in the modern sense, besides translations of classics, quite a number of original works have been published on various subjects in the humanities and social sciences. *Prācīna Bhāratīya Veśabhūṣā* (1950) by Motīcandra, *Pāṇini-Kālīna-Bhāratavarṣa* (1956) by Vāsudeva Śaraṇa Agravāla, *Samskṛti-Darśana* by Devaraja, *Madhya Eśiā kā Itihāsa* (Parts I & II, 1954) by Rahul Sankrityayan, etc. are some outstanding titles.

As is clear from this short survey, in spite of its comparatively belated development, the over-all progress of Hindi prose has been phenomenal.

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Kannada

V. M. INAMDAR

Kavirājamārga is the earliest literary work available in Kannada. It dates back to the 9th century. Ostensibly a treatise in verse on poetics, what it says about the then current literary forms and the state of the language is as important as what it implies about the presumable existence of an earlier literary tradition both in verse and prose extending over at least two earlier centuries. It directly mentions earlier writers of prose like Vimala, Udaya (or Vimalodaya), Nagarjuna, Jayabandhu and Durvinita. Immediately relevant here is the mention of a literary form entitled *Gadyakathā* which literally means 'a narrative in prose', though the author of *Kavirājamārga* describes it as a type of composition which used both prose and verse, or, probably, a type of composition which used both prose and verse, or, probably, a type of composition predominantly in prose occasionally interspersed with verses. It is possible that these narratives followed the manner of the then popular Sanskrit prose works like Bana's *Kādambarī* or Dandin's *Daśakumāracarita*. Though the works themselves have not come down to us, the reference establishes the fact that Kannada prose was used as a vehicle of literary expression earlier than the middle of the 9th century and that its use had already crystallized into a tradition that had lasted long and borne enough evidence of quality to attract specific and honoured mention by the author of *Kavirājamārga*.

The only evidence that we have of composition in Kannada prior to the 9th century is what we get from the inscriptions. Quite a few of them are exclusively in prose apart from many others in verse. This goes to prove that prose composition of a kind had existed long before regular written compositions of either kind.

Prose of the Inscriptions

The prose used in the inscriptions is conditioned as much by its purpose as by the state of the language as it then existed. These inscriptions generally commemorate the valour and martyrdom of heroes who laid down their lives in battle, or record some royal gift of land or cattle, or some memorable act. Most of these inscriptions are bare, brief, factual records and display no literary grace. Yet a striking feature of these writings is that despite the influence of Sanskrit they reveal the characteristic strength and flavour peculiar to the language and point to possibilities of future development. The prose of the inscriptions gives a foretaste of what we find in the first major prose work of the 10th century, *Vaḍḍārādhane*. From this point of view two prose inscriptions call for special notice. The first is the Halmidi inscription of A.D. 450 and the second, the Mavali inscription of A.D. 800.

The Halmidi inscription records the grant of the villages of Halmidi and Mulivalli to one Vija-arasa, the son of Ellabhatari, in recognition of the victory he gained in battle, having fought at the instance of Pasupati. The inscription is important in that it is the earliest specimen of written Kannada and reveals certain linguistic features that are noteworthy. The composition is in what has come to be described as early Kannada, with its own distinctive peculiarities of both grammar and vocabulary. The use of compound formations, passive voice and figures of speech involving paronomasia are all peculiarities of Sanskrit and, as such, indicate the positive and settled influence and intermixture of the ancient language in the formation of Kannada prose. The inscription marks a transitional phase and holds out the prospect of a still deeper interfusion of Sanskrit and Kannada in the following centuries.

Separated from this inscription by nearly three and a half centuries, the Mavali inscription reveals a positively literary manner. It stands on the threshold of the classical age and shows that during the preceding three centuries increasing use of the language had endowed it with greater flexibility and strength.

It narrates how in a conflict between Chitravahana of the Alupas and Kollipallava of the Nolambas, the valiant Kulamadda fought on behalf of the former and laid down his life. The writing here, instead of merely recording facts narrates vividly, with a wealth of detail and a sense of drama, the grim battle. The tumult of the battle, the hero's rushing into the fray, his heroic fight and fall and, finally, his lying on a bed of arrows like Bhisma of the epic, all successfully build up a vivid scene before our eyes. The language used to describe the fury of the battle and the death of the valiant fighter displays adequate strength and vigour. It can be claimed that the prose that could achieve so much by way of vivid description and sense of drama had acquired a measure of flexibility and expressive power, enough to make it a potentially powerful medium of literary communication. The promise of this prose was fulfilled in the next century in the first great work of Kannada prose.

The Classical Age

Vaḍḍārādhane is a collection of 19 stories in prose. Its authorship, origin and date have been the subject of much discussion. Scholars are generally agreed that it is the work

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of one Sivakotyacarya, based on a prakrit commentary on a Jaina religious work called *Bhagavatī-ārādhanā* and composed some time around A. D. 920. The stories are intended to be illustrations of certain tenets of Jainism: that a man may attain spiritual realization and final release through austere penance. Through austere self-mortification the sage (who, in an earlier life, might have been a common man or a man with a dishonourable past) works out his own destiny towards a kind of heaven (*Sarvārthasiddhi*) and final release (*Mōkṣa*).

The *Vaḍḍārādhane* stories, though professedly religious in intention, outstrip their purpose by their vivid delineation of detail and the lively manner of their narration. They stand out as stories in their own right, well told and employing all the craftsmanship of an expert story-teller with a remarkable mastery over his medium.

What makes the stories delectable even today is the prose style. It is old Kannada, no doubt, with clear traces of even earlier Kannada, both considerably different from modern prose, in vocabulary, inflections and syntax. Yet the easy fluency of its movement, the happy assimilation of Sanskrit into its very texture, the blending of the conventional manner with others of a pronounced literary character, all combine to produce an impression of pristine naturalness and simplicity, of an uninhibited directness of manner, the whole wrapped in a freshness that belongs to a language that is being newly used for literary purposes. Evidently, by the beginning of the 10th century the language had acquired enough flexibility and strength to make it an effective literary medium.

It is rather surprising that a work of such outstanding quality as *Vaḍḍārādhane* did not have a successor either in prose style or narrative art in spite of the glorious efflorescence of the Kannada literary genius during the 10th century.

Triṣaṣṭhi-lakṣaṇa-mahāpurāṇa (generally known after the author as *Cāvuṇḍarāyapurāṇa*) is the only other major prose work of the 10th century (A.D. 978). It is a religious work devoted to elucidating the tenets of Jainism and describing the lives of 63 saints among whom the 24 Tirthankaras occupy a prominent place. A master of concise narration, the author, Chavundaraya, carefully eschews all conventional descriptions and repetitious details pertaining to the lives of the saints. His narrative style, very rarely ornate or overweighted with Sanskrit, is swift in its movement. The special distinction of the work is that it achieves a balance between narrative and exposition. Inclusive without being prolix and serious without being sententious, the prose style achieves both clarity and precision. A marked partiality for the original idiom of the language, some preference for forms from early Kannada and a sense of adequacy and appropriateness in the use of the language are features of style common to the authors of *Vaḍḍārādhane* and *Cāvuṇḍarāya-purāṇa*. *Cāvuṇḍarāya-purāṇa* seems to mark the beginning of a tendency towards increasing Sanskritization of whatever Kannada prose came to be written later.

Prose in Campu Poetry

Campu poetry held full sway for nearly five centuries after the 10th and even when it gradually yielded place to other forms, prose was not one of them. Prose had to wait till the 17th century to come into its own. The *Campu* by definition is a composite form using both verse and prose, but very often more verse than prose. Prose appears to have been used invariably to provide connecting links in the narrative and generally for purposes of description or exposition, i.e., on occasions which do not demand or justify the emotional elevation which verse ensures. But passages could be cited where verse would have been more appropriate. Prose passages form an integral part of the *Campu*. Being integral to its structure, their general tenor is poetic, exalted and deliberate in keeping with what precedes and follows them. Devices like figures of speech, assonance and alliteration make the prose of the *Campus* generally ornate and even artificial. The use of Sanskrit expressions and compound formations serves only to accentuate this effect.

After the 11th century, composition, whether prose or verse, appears to have proceeded under the impact of two parallel and conflicting influences. Sanskrit continued to be an attraction. As against this, the preference for the native mode became more and more pronounced and assumed a variety of forms and ultimately transformed the manner and texture of Kannada writing. Poets like Andayya rejected Sanskrit altogether while some others including Nayasena were for the use of the pure Kannada medium. Yet the prose of the *Campu* poets continued to be stylized and ornate. As such, its influence on the growth of Kannada prose could only have been marginal and indirect.

A New Orientation

While the *Campu* tradition continued in its declining course for quite some time, the 11th and 12th centuries witnessed a social and religious reformation spearheaded by Vīraśaiva saints and preachers. Political rivalries had created unstable conditions all round, and religious faith had degenerated into forms and practices that had lost all meaning, purpose and sanction. The Virasaiva reformation preached through *Vacanas*, a spoken form of composition, which, in addressing the common man, used the language in such a way that the message went straight to the hearts of even the illiterate. The speaker's sincerity invested the sayings with the appeal and power of poetry. The *Vacanas* revolutionized Kannada by discarding its stylised usages and adopting the natural and simple idiom of the common people. The reformist movement thus achieved two things at once: it gave to the

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Kannada people an eclectic and egalitarian faith and to their literature a new form of composition, distinct and unique, and this, in course of time, transformed both poetic diction and form.

As a form of composition the *Vacana* (which literally means 'a saying') is neither poetry nor prose but combines the best of both. Its brevity, rhythm, vividness, range of imagery, and intensity of thought or feeling sought to be conveyed invested it with ardour and lyricism; the freedom of its movement, its purpose (to explain and exhort) and the absence of any regular metrical pattern gave it the quality of prose. Sanskrit was not taboo, but the language was close to that of the common man. It is poetic prose at its best; brief, simple, direct and vivid, bodying forth a wide range of thoughts, feelings and perceptions, ranging from the mundane to the mystical, all directed to win over the listener to a pious life. Dasimayya, Allamma, Basaveswara, Akkamahadevi, Siddharama and Cennabasava (of the 11th and 12th centuries), followed by a large number, composed literally thousands of these *vacanas*. Their teachings soon crystallized into a powerful literary tradition of which propagation of devotion to Siva was the central principle. Hundreds of epigrammatic sentences have passed from the *vacanas* into the language of the common man, and so have scores of images. The *vacanas* showed that abstract reflection could be embodied in simple, clear Kannada. They transformed the Kannada literary medium and at one stroke made possible the transition from the classical or old Kannada to the medieval or middle Kannada and placed it only one step away from its modern development. Prose, when it emerged again in the 17th century, could not escape the effects of this new orientation.

Though from the 11th to the 17th century prose works proper were conspicuous by their rarity, some which used the prose medium for non-literary purposes appeared occasionally. They could be noted briefly under these heads: (1) Treatises and commentaries (among these mention should be made of Nijagunashivayogi's *Vivēka-cintāmaṇi*, the first encyclopaedia in Kannada); (2) the *Nōmpi* stories illustrating and explaining certain Jaina religious observances. Composed in prose or verse, some of them have the flavour of folk-tales. The style of the *Nōmpis* reflects the changes in prose writing from the classical to the medieval period; and (3) the *Māhātmyās* or accounts extolling deities and holy places. These are generally in prose and tell absorbing stories in a simple manner.

A Fresh Beginning

Prose started coming into its own again in the 17th century. The impetus appears to have been provided by the Mysore rulers like Chamaraja (Cāmarāja) and Chikkadevaraja (Cikkadēvarāja) who were both authors and patrons of literature. Chikkadevaraja patronized writers like Tirumalarya and Chikupadhyaya.

The charm of Tirumalarya's *Cikkadēva Vaṁśāvaḷi* is its prose style—its fluent descriptive power, a keen eye for metaphor and a happy amalgam of the best features of both Sanskrit and Kannada. Chikkadevaraja's best known work is *Cikkadēvarāja-binnapam*, which explains the principal tenets and teachings of Srivaisnavism in straightforward prose. Though essentially a religious work, its precise exposition and the warmth of its piety endow it with the quality of literature. Such works led the way and brought Kannada prose one more step towards its modern development.

The Great Transition: 19th Century

Prose as we understand it today is essentially a 20th century phenomenon. Before this period, however, much prose of a kind aimed at a wider appeal than poetry, but its audience remained restricted and the facilities for its propagation limited. The beginnings and the growth of prose proper have, therefore, to be traced in the 19th century when unprecedented changes overtook the entire country in every walk of life. The feudal order gradually gave way to modern ways of thought and life. It is no wonder, therefore, that a literary form like prose, at any time less confined in its appeal than poetry, found wider acceptance with larger numbers taking a more informed interest in the life around them. The 19th century is thus an age of preparation and all its efforts fostered by the new forces tended towards their fulfilment in the following century.

The forces that initiated the great change could be broadly related to three areas:

(1) The Kannada speaking parts of the country had suffered from political instability for well over two centuries. Introduction of uniform systems of administration and education became possible under the British administration and this provided diverse opportunities for the people to look forward to and work towards improved conditions of living.

(2) Of far-reaching importance was the introduction of the new system of education, which, whatever the objectives of those who promoted it, resulted in contact with western literature and thought and the spread of ideas related to social reform. These led to the emergence of an educated middle class which, by the close of the century, became not only the subject matter of literature but also its creators and the purveyors of the nationalist sentiment.

(3) More directly bearing on literature in general and the growth of prose in particular were the activities of the Christian missionaries who came with the Bible in one hand and printing equipment in the other. Though their immediate object was the propagation of the Christian gospel, the

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need to communicate with the people in their own language led not only to the translation of the Holy Book and other related literature but also to an intensive study of the language. This in turn led to the preparation of simple texts, compilation of lexicons and gradually to editing, printing and publishing of earlier classics. The need for contact with the people made them venture into journalism too and the ready facility of the printing press made this possible and useful. This, more than anything else, accelerated the growth of prose which even the common reader could understand. The literary output of the 19th century, consisting for the most part of translations, is a product of all these interacting forces and has to be viewed as a preparation for the coming renascence rather than as an achievement in itself. The major success of this output consisted in the fact that it introduced to a steadily widening reading public new kinds of writing and stabilized prose as a popular literary medium.

The translation of the Bible is a very important event in the history of modern Kannada prose. It initiated a process which dominated and determined almost all the new literary developments of the 19th century. Any work done outside these new influences was only an extension of the weakening traditional modes but they had to yield to the new models which set the pace for the future. If the translation of the Holy Book initiated a process, the revision to which the translation was continuously subjected throughout the century underlined the need to recognize and accommodate the gradual change which was coming over the use of the language.

The objective of a committee set up to revise the translation was 'to present the inspired writings in their own unaltered and undiminished beauty, in a language simple, perspicuous and dignified.' In their choice of vocabulary the first preference was always for Kannada words and variants of Sanskrit rather than the Sanskrit originals which were to be accepted only if unavoidable. This preference and the recognition of the need to reconcile regional variations were helpful in evolving a common new manner for Kannada prose.

One of the ways in which the missionaries carried on their work was by opening schools which, while spreading education, promoted the preparation of interesting reading material. This was started with the translation of stories from the Christian scriptures and of other works like *The Pilgrim's Progress*, which indirectly helped the missionary cause. Such translations in course of time provided the cue for others to follow. The work of Reeve, Garrett and Sanderson in compiling lexicons culminated in Kittel's monumental *Kannada-English Dictionary*, which remains authoritative even to this day. Editions of works like *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* and *Candōmbudhi*, which first appeared at that time, are still regarded as specimens of careful scholarship. The work of Claudius Buchanan, Collin Mackenzie, Lewis Rice and John F. Fleet in collecting materials for history was a major contribution to the diverse growth of prose.

Periodical journalism which was initiated by the missionaries had its share in popularizing Kannada prose. The first newspaper in Kannada, a fortnightly, *Maṅgalūr Samācār* was launched by the Basel Mission in 1843 under the editorship of Moegling. Many followed but most were short-lived. These early efforts gave rise to other periodicals which were more closely connected with literature. The pride of place among the periodicals of the time goes to *Karṇāṭaka Kāvyamañjari* and *Kāvya-Kalānidhi* edited by M. A. Ramanuja Iyengar and S. G. Narasimhachar. These serialized famous early works and provided room for new translations and other new prose work. These were all later published in book form. Similar valuable work was done by *Vāgbhūṣaṇa* (1896), the organ of the Karnataka Vidyavardhaka Sangha, Dharwar.

Outside the mainstream of these various tendencies which, by the end of the century, was moving in a settled course, certain works continued to be written in the earlier tradition. Important among these were Kempunarayana's *Mudrāmañjūṣa* (1823) and Devachandra's *Rājāvaḷi Kathe* (1840) and the numerous prose works attributed to Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar, the Mysore ruler. All these provided rich reading material in simple prose designed both to entertain and to enlighten. The *Rāmāśvamēdha* (1903) of Nandalika Lakshminarayanappa (1870-1901), popularly known as Muddana, which appeared at the turn of the century marked a decisive turning point. The manner of its prose is deliberately traditional but the spirit of its approach to the narrative is uniquely modern and unconventional.

The Flowering of the Renascence

The tendencies outlined in the preceding paragraphs all joined in putting at a discount the traditional modes of prose and verse and in stabilizing the former as a literary medium with manifold possibilities. This is what happened during the first quarter of the present century when prose not only regained its position of prestige but assumed a variety of literary forms. M. S. Puttanna and C. Vasudevayya, the author of *Āryakīrti*, in the South and Kerur Vasudevachar and Alur Venkatarao in the North used prose to revive in readers a love for the language. New forms like the essay, both serious and light, and others descriptive and critical, (besides the novel and the short story) took definite shape during this period, and when, in the twenties, the upsurge of renascent literary activity started showing up, modern Kannada prose was well on its way to fulfilling varied future functions.

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Literature of Knowledge

The growing realization of the need to transmit knowledge through the people's language, the growth of educational institutions, the growth of the press, the widening of the areas of knowledge and a host of other causes have made new demands on Kannada prose, and as a consequence it has discovered its own potentialities. R. Narasimhachar's (Narasiṁhācār, 1861–1936) three-volume *Kavicarite* (1907–29) remains the only source book on literary history. R. S. Mugali's *Kannada Sāhitya Caritre* appeared in 1953. The devoted labours of three generations of scholars have made possible the compilation of an exhaustive history of Kannada Literature in two simultaneous projects by Mysore and Bangalore Universities. The voluminous account of Karnataka heritage (*Karṇāṭaka Paraṁpara*) published by the Department of Culture is a notable achievement. The collection of *vacanas* by P. G. Halakatti provided rich material for exegesis and evaluation. Karnatak University has brought out a number of scholarly and stimulating publications like *Śūnyasampādane*. The six systems of Indian philosophy have been studied and interpreted by bright and thoughtful minds. S. B. Joshi's nonconformist interpretations of scriptural concepts and Adya Rangacharya's interpretation of the *Gītā* in his *Gītāgāmbhīrya* and *Gītādarpaṇa* in terms of modern living merit mention. But topping all these comes D. V. Gundappa's (Guṇḍappa, 1884–1975) *Jīvanadharmayōga* published in 1966. It is a monumental work on the *Gītā*, remarkable for its inclusiveness and systematic exposition. It covers practically the whole field of thought, life, ethics, philosophy and religion with a full awareness of the problems of modern life and the relationship between life here and the goals of human conduct. No other Kannada work dealing with philosophy and life is so comprehensive in its scope or written in such masterly prose, precise, authoritative and fluent yet informal. Mirji Annarao's compendious work on Jainism and B. M. Srikanthayya's *Islam Saṁskṛti* are also notable contributions.

The exposition of scientific material in Kannada has posed a welcome challenge. Pioneering work in this field was done by R. L. Narasimhaiah. But the outstanding contribution in this sphere is Shivarama Karanth's four-volume *Vijñāna Prapanca* (1959–64), an encyclopaedia of modern science for the layman. Dealing with all aspects of modern sciences, both theoretical and applied, these stout volumes scrupulously eschew technical jargon. Apart from the vast body of information these volumes contain, they bear testimony to the new capabilities the language has discovered for itself in serving as a medium for the communication of scientific knowledge. Mysore and Bangalore Universities have their own journals, *Vijñāna Karṇāṭaka* and *Janapriya Vijñāna* respectively, devoted to scientific writing.

Writing about the arts was limited to a few books like A. N. Krishna Rao's brochure on Ravi Varma and his sketches of some artists, until Shivarama Karanth came on the scene. He undertook detailed surveys of the sculpture and architecture in India in general and Karnataka in particular. The titles *Bhārateya Śilpa*, *Cālukya Śilpa* and *Karṇāṭakadalli Citrakale* are self-explanatory. They are descriptive and beautifully illustrated accounts of our artistic heritage. His work on painting in Karnataka is a pioneer exploration involving laborious research. What makes these accounts eminently readable is the fact that they are not just drab compilations of available data but are accounts enlivened by personal insight and appreciation. An attempt is made to trace the evolution of various modes and styles. *Bhāratheya Śilpa* surveys the history of Indian sculpture down to the 16th century. It comprises thirteen chapters. The first explains the nature, the implications and the potentialities of this three-dimensional art. The next chapter examines the evidence of the Indus Valley Civilization. The rest of the work is both a historical survey and a critical assessment of the styles and the achievements of different schools of sculpture of both North and South India. At every stage art is seen in the context of the religious and social life of the age. It is in the characteristic prose of Karanth—bare, unadorned, clear, vigorous and swift-moving.

The attempts to widen the horizons for the Kannada reader led the Government to entrust the Department of Culture with the compilation of an encyclopaedia in Kannada. This work, *Kannada Viśvakōśa*, was subsequently taken over by Mysore University. Nine out of the fourteen volumes have so far been published. The entries—major and minor—are expected to number 30,000. The volumes so far published comprise 8760 articles on major entries (arranged alphabetically) in 8596 pages. Both the treatment of the topics and the illustrations have received devoted attention. (The article on television, for example, runs to about 16,000 words and has 62 illustrations.) On the whole the *Viśvakōśa* has done much to solve the problems of the standardization of technical terms and the exposition of scientific and technological information in Kannada.

The Literary Forms

In all these non-literary and semi-literary forms of Kannada prose the writing achieved the necessary measure of clarity and adequacy but in purely literary forms like biography, travelogue and the personal essay these qualities would not be enough. These forms depend on the subtler resources of the language. It is in the cultivation of these forms that the full development of Kannada prose reveals itself. It is here that we see it in all its subtlety and suggestiveness, its flexibility and power, its grace, liveliness, clarity and adequacy.

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Travels in and outside India have provided material for a considerable body of good prose in Kannada. V. Sitaramiah's (Sītārāmaia, 1899–1983) *Paṁpāyātre*, a personal account in lively prose of an excursion in the company of friends to the ruins of Hampi, if not the earliest in time, was the first travelogue that bore a definite literary stamp. The author and four friends visit the ruins of the Vijayanagar Empire. The area itself is associated with Sugreeva and Hanumantha. The ruins of the palaces and the fort, and the broken but gigantic images—all poignant reminders of the power and the vanished glory of the magnificent Vijayanagar Empire—move the beholders to wonder, admiration, reflection and sadness. A splendidly stored mind, sensitive and refined, responds to a deeply moving experience. The writer weaves into the account a dream which unfolds the magnificence and splendour of the days of Krishnadevaraya and unrolls the history of the great empire from the days of its prosperity to the grim end. And the mind swings from the past to the present and back to the past. It is a rich and lively work. Karanth's *Abūvinda Barāmākke* (1950) takes the reader from Mount Abu in the west to Assam in the east through Delhi, Simla, Benares and Calcutta. Interest in art and love of natural beauty provide the incentives. Krishnasarma's *Vardhāyātre* and Prabhuprasad's *Degulagala Dariyalli* are some of the many works that record their travels in India.

Foreign travel, which was rare some thirty years ago, has become common these days. Vinayaka Krishna Gokak (Vināyaka Kṛṣṇa Gōkāk, b. 1909) as a poet and man of letters records the impressions of his stay in England during the late thirties in his *Samudradāceyinda* (1938). His visits to Japan and America have produced two more travelogues. The latter inspired his *Indilla Nale*, which blends an account of places and persons with serious reflections on modern civilization and the future of man. It is also an interesting revival of the *campu* form. Karanth's travels across Europe on the lookout for nature's beauty and treasures of art are registered in his *Apūrva Pascima* while his *Patalakke Payaṇa* describes his visit to the United States. What confers the quality of literature on these and similar accounts is the writer's individual response to what he observes and the personal interests that guide him. Nadig Krishnamurthy introduces us to the world of western journalism in his *Sāgaradace* while K. R. Karanth's *Pravāsīya Patragaḷu* reveals his interest in the political systems and institutions of the West. *Śriraṅgayātre* records a journey to Hungary by Sriranga (Adya Rangacarya, b. 1904), the dramatist, deeply interested in the theatre, while Dinakar Desai's book is occupied with the problems of labour and transport in the West. B. G. Swamy, Krishnanand Kamath and Lalitha Subbarao record their American experiences while Haridas Bhat takes the reader through Italy. Basavaraja Kattimani, G. S. Shivarudrappa and H. V. Srirangaraju describe their visits to Russia. A recent travel account is *Videśadalli Nalku Vara* (1970) by D. Javare Gowda (Javare Gauḍa, b. 1918). It gives an account of four weeks spent by the author in Russia, Germany, Austria and England. His Kannada has a remarkable range of diction and displays contributions from Sanskrit, the Kannada classics and rural idiom. It retains the concreteness and vigour of rustic language. Prose in all these accounts keeps pace with the varied responses and individual approaches of the authors and succeeds in communicating a remarkable body of diverse experience.

Essay

But Kannada prose finds its finest fulfilment in the field of the personal essay. In a form where the manner is more important than the matter, where style is called upon to respond to the rambling movements and responses of a rich and urbane temperament, backed by fine taste and wide experience, the medium must have the supple strength to carry a variegated burden and yet move with ease and grace. The essay in Kannada has assumed a variety of forms and has attracted a number of writers. It has turned out to be a vehicle of barbed social satire in the hands of Karanth and Sriranga. For Gorur Ramaswamy Iyengar, K. V. Puttappa and Raobahadur (R. B. Kularani) it is the medium for picturing the humour and hilarity of rural life. To P. T. Narasimhachar and T. N. Srikantiah it can open the doors to an amused contemplation of the beauty and mystery of common things. D. B. Kulkarni (*Sāvadhāna*) could describe the familiar matters of domestic life with an easy informality of manner while Raku can let his mind roam through subtle sarcasm and irony, like N. Kasturi, in the zigzag manner of a kite. But the best in this form of writing has come from A. N. Moorthy Rao (Mūrti Rāv, b. 1900) and V. Sitaramiah. The latter's wide reading and a poet's sensitivity, a love of the beautiful and the noble wedded to a refined critical sense and a mind that loves to move round a subject and see it from many sides have shaped him into a delightful essayist. A style of writing with the verve and vivacity of the spoken word makes his essays sparkle with life. If in comparison Moorthy Rao's range appears limited, he has a style of writing which has about it a fineness and feather-touch quality that must be the despair of many other essayists. Curious about human nature and its intricate workings, he pictures its amusing vagaries with understanding and patience. With his refined literary taste and exquisite sense of humour his mind moves towards the contemplative but without being heavy or serious. Moorthy Rao has written some of the finest essays in Kannada which can stand comparison with the best anywhere. He has published three collections: *Hagaluganasugaḷu* (Day Dreams), *Aleyuva Mana* (The Roaming Mind, 1957) and *Minugu Mincu* (Twinkle and Flash). *Aleyuva Mana* is the best of his collections and perhaps no other single collection of essays

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by a single writer offers such rich fare. An unfailing recognition of the demands of the head and the heart, a constant return to the basic values of life and an ever-present awareness of the beauty and joy of life characterize his essays. The essay in Kannada in the hands of these writers has shown that Kannada prose can serve many modes and manners, can be serious and sarcastic, subtle and sly, ironical or humorous and reflect the many nuances of the human mind and in all cases remain a delightful medium.

Periodicals

If the beginnings of journalism served to popularize Kannada prose, its present-day developments have been enriching it in many ways. With increased facilities for communication, growth of science, technology, commerce, political activity and mass media, the readers' mental horizon has greatly expanded. Periodicals today have to deal with a wider range of ideas and find expressions for them. Since people read newspapers and periodicals more than books, words and turns of expression derive popular currency from them. Imperceptibly prose acquires a new colour. Many able writers of Kannada prose like D.V. Guntappa, Masti Venkatesha Iyengar, Thirumala Tathacharya Sharma, Siddavanhalli Krishna Sharma, Shivarama Karanth, Basavaraja Kattimani and Niranjan have had to do with journalism at one time or another. Apart from current affairs, some periodicals maintain regular feature columns to deal with matters of cultural and literary importance. Columnists like Niranjan, H. M. Nayak and K. S. Haridas Bhat have collected their contributions in several volumes of fine prose (*Aṅkaṇa*, *Sallāpa* and *Lōkābhirāma*). H. M. Nayak's (Nāyak, b. 1931) *Sallāpa* is a collection of 123 articles contributed to a daily. The subjects range from canons of literary criticism to the anguish of Bangladesh, and there are vivid pen-portraits of a number of scholars and men who have lived worthily. Contemporary issues are discussed, with a sensitive appreciation of the importance of tradition and a concern for progress. The prose is lucid, crisp, precise and economical. The crisp and pointed manner of Niranjan, and the vigorous and subtly ironical manner of Haridas Bhat have enriched Kannada prose in different ways. Talking of periodicals, one cannot avoid recording the services of two journals to the growth of prose. *Jayakarṇāṭaka* from Dharwar and *Prabuddha Karṇāṭaka* from Mysore have done more than any other periodical to foster new literary talent and publish contributions of lasting merit. They mothered Kannada prose and saw it grow as they wished and hoped.

Drawing sustenance from innumerable sources, Kannada prose during the last sixty years has revealed astonishing progress. Enriched by Sanskrit and enlivened by its contact with English and other Indian languages, it has acquired new turns and forms of expression and even new modes of structure and syntax. The gain in flexibility and strength has been immense. Many writers other than those mentioned earlier have made their individual contributions. Devudu, Tarasu, Inamdar, Iswaran, Chaduranga, Anantamurthy, Lankesh and Laksminarayana Bhat have written competent prose. But the best and the most influential have been the older masters like D. V. Gundappa, A. R. Krishna Sastri, Masti, V. Sitaramiah and Moorthy Rao. A representative of the writers who used their immense scholarship to endow a lucid style with strength and precision is A. R. Krishna Sastry. His erudition was indeed formidable but his prose is the very model of lucidity. It combines clarity with terseness and precision. His *Vacana Bhāratha* is an abridged version of *Vyāsa Bhāratha* enriched by a scholarly introduction which, apart from technical problems, also expounds the values of life embedded in the epic and its relevance to modern times. Whether it is narration or description or reflection or discussion or the explanation of abstract thought or the exposition of a system of philosophy, economy is combined with clarity. The writing is studded with homely illustrations and apt analogies. The chaste simplicity of Masti, the classical grace and dignity of Gundappa, the effortless ease and matter-of-factness of Karanth, the vivacity of V. Si., the fluency of Krishna Rao and the lightness of Moorthy Rao represent achievements and models.

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Kashmiri

AKHTAR MOHI-UD-DIN

Beginnings

J. L. Kaul divides Kashmiri prose into three periods: (a) 1885 to 1925; (b) 1925–1947; and (c) from 1947 onwards. Sir Aurel Stien was the first European scholar who collected Kashmiri folk tales recited to him by a professional story teller, Hatim Tilwony. This collection was later published in London in 1923 with Kashmiri text (in Roman as well as Devanagari) and English translation, under the title *Hatim's Tales*.

An earlier collection of sayings and proverbs was published by H. Knowles in Calcutta in the year 1885 under the title *Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs and Sayings*.

'Besides the collection of folklore, there was then the Kashmiri version of the New Testament printed from type in Sharda character in 1821.' Similar editions were issued at Serampur of the *Pentateuch* in 1827 and of 'Joshua—Kings' in 1832. In 1884 the British and Foreign Bible Society published a version of the New Testament in Persian Script. A revised edition of the New Testament together with that of the Old Testament was issued in 1899. 'The first book in Kashmiri had been printed on handmade Kashmiri paper in 1976 (Bikrami Era) at the first printing press in Kashmir. This was the translation of the first part of Euclid by Pt. Ram Chand Dhar and printed by Pandit Mahadev Joo Gigoo.' 'During the period we find that Maulvi Yahya wrote *Tafsir-i-Koran* and Noor-ud-Din Qari, *Misal* on the Islamic Traditions' (Kaul, Jaya Lal, *Studies in Kashmiri*, Srinagar, 1968, pp. 94, 95, 98).

Nand Lal Kaul and later Ghulam Nabi Dilsoze wrote prose plays in Kashmiri. While Kaul's plays were meant for the stage, Dilsoze's small skits, mostly humorous, were written for a gramophone company which prepared disc-recordings of these plays for sale.

Religious Literature

Much of the religious literature (and it is quite voluminous) in Kashmiri is in verse. It includes more than one version of the Ramayana. The Bible, as referred to earlier, was translated into Kashmiri in the late 19th century and almost simultaneously Maulvi Yahya translated the thirtieth part of the Holy Koran. Master Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Khan of Nihalpore translated some portions of the Holy Book with commentary. In the first decade of the present century 'Kūṣir Masla Kitāb' about the basic tenets of Islam was published in Question-Answer form. In 1949 Amin Kamil translated J. S. Eslment's book *Baha-Ullah and the New Age*, into Kashmiri, which appeared from Delhi under the title *Bahā-ullah Ta Nov Zamāna*. In the sixties Maulvi Mohamad Yousouf Shah completed the translation of the Koran in Pakistan. This was published in Srinagar by a local publisher. Acharya Vinoba Bhave's *Gitā Pravacana* was translated by P. N. Pushp into Kashmiri in 1954. The Shri Guru Gobind Singh Foundation, Chandigarh, published a Kashmiri translation of the biography of Guru Gobind Singh in 1966. Maulvi Qasim Shah Bukhari is currently publishing serially the translation of and commentary on the Holy Koran serially in a local religious journal, *At-Tablīg*. Shams-ud-Din Ahmad translated into Kashmiri the Persian biography of the Prophet (by Zain-ul-Abideen Rehnuma). This was published by the Cultural Academy under the title *Hayāt-un-Nabī*. Maharaj Krishan Mawa Mesroor wrote a book entitled *Bakhṣan-hār* on Hindu mythology and beliefs. Nishāt Ansāri has contributed many articles to local journals about the life and the martyrdom of Imām Hussain.

Journalistic Writing

Journalistic writing in Kashmiri was started by Christian missionaries in the small weekly *Khabarnāmās* (Sofi G. M., *Kūṣir Sahafat*—Koeshir Zabān Te Adab, 1976) in two Srinagar Hospitals run by them, in the second decade of this century. The bulletins contained news about the activities in the Christian Mission hospitals and lessons about the tenets of Christianity, both in prose and verse. Miss Gomri, a Canadian-born Missionary Doctor, composed most of the verses published in these *Khabarnāmās*.

In 1940 Mahjoor started *The Gaś* (Light), the first newspaper in Kashmiri. It published current news and news comments. Besides, it carried a column under the title 'Asun ta Gindun' (Laughter and Play), which provided news comments in a lighter vein. *Kwang Poṣ* (Saffron Flower), a literary journal, appeared in 1949 as the organ of Kashmir Cultural Congress, in which, among other things, articles of a political-literary nature were published under the influence of the 'Progressive Movement'. Mirza Ghulam Hassan Aarif started another journal, *Gulrez*, in 1952. The more successful and popular weekly, *Wattan*, was started by Chulan Nabi Khayal in 1965. *Caman*, another weekly, was started in 1965 by the State Government for field publicity purposes. The Press Information Bureau (PIB), Government of India, is issuing *Pragāś* (Day Light) and the

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Kashmiri Cultural Organisation is running a weekly called *Kūṣur Akhbār*.

Some literary organisations in towns other than Srinagar, also issue monthly or quarterly booklets, while the Government-sponsored Cultural Academy publishes the quarterly *Ṣīrāza* and the annual *Sone Adab*. The University of Kashmir brings out a literary magazine named *Anahār*.

Essays

Essay writing was encouraged by the academic journals issued by different colleges, High and Higher Secondary Schools and other such Institutions in Kashmir. The first college magazine to include a Kashmiri section was the *Pratāp* (in 1936) of S. P. College, Srinagar. The Professor in charge of the section was J. L. Kaul and the student Editor Ghulam Nabi Gilkār, who was, in his own right, one of the pioneer leaders of the political movement in Kashmir. In this magazine Perso-Arabic script was modified to suit the Kashmiri language. The Srinagar Station of Radio Kashmir also induced writers to write and broadcast talks and essays on different social, literary and political themes.

But this genre has been particularly cultivated by writers like Mohi-ud-Din Hājini, Sattār Shāhid, Mohammad Zamān Āzurda and Rosul Pampur and has become quite popular with a large number of young and budding writers. Ghulam Nabi Khayal has edited a collection of essays on social themes written in a lighter vein under the title *Kūṣiri Asan-trāyi*. He has also published biographical write-ups on the life and writings of ten world masters of literature. The book entitled *Gāṣiri Munār* (Minars of Light) includes articles on Homer, Shakespeare, Goethe, Jalal-ud-Din Rumi, Pushkin and Tagore. *Kūeṣur Adab*, a monthly started by the famous painter, G. R. Santosh, gave special attention to such writings. The journals *Āṣ* and *Nāgerād* issued by two Writers Organizations also published such writings on literary topics. Mohi-ud-Din Hajini's *Kūṣiri Nasruc Kitāb* and *Maqālāt* are collections of his writings on literary, historical and social themes, while his *Luka-Ras* highlights the study of folklore.

Travelogues

Akhtar Mohi-ud-Din's *Slāvāmir*, a travelogue on his first visit to the Soviet Union in 1968, is in the words of J.L. Kaul, 'Quite readable in as much as it deals more with the author's personal feelings and reactions of all that he found in the U.S.S.R.....'

Before this Mirza Ghulam Hassan Beg Ārif had serialized part of the travel account of his visit to the Peoples' China, in his journal *Gulrez*.

Soen Adab, a yearly digest brought out by the Cultural Academy (Srinagar) published in 1979 a special volume on travelogues written by a number of Kashmiri writers. The volume contains ten articles about as many countries visited by the contributors.

Informative Writings. Among some very important books that have appeared recently on science and humanities mention may be made of *Mvalaly Tajruba* (by Ghulam Mohd. Wani), which deals with inventions like those of the train, the television and the aeroplane. *Farṣa Petha Arṣas Tam* (by Shafi Shauq) gives basic information on subjects like matter, atom and nuclear fissure and *Ādamy Mor* (by Mirza Arif), on human anatomy and physiological functions.

Besides stray articles on different philosophical traditions which have from time to time influenced the development of Kashmiri literature, (such as Kashmir Saivism, Sufism, Marxism and Modernity) a few works also have appeared on these topics. While Mohd. Amin Kamil published *Sūfi Sūri* in three volumes, explaining and interpreting Kashmiri poetry in the light of the Sufi thought, he also published a book entitled *Rūhūni Falsāfa*, in which he discusses Kashmir Śaivism and its influence on the Muslim Sufi cult in Kashmir and traces the influence of both on Kashmiri poetry. Among other works of this nature mention may be made of: 1. *Kūṣur S'aiv-mat* (Kashmir Śaivism) by Badri Nath Kall and 2. *Resyut te Sūny Resy* (Rishi Order and Our Rishis) by Rashid Nazki.

Recently the University of Kashmir published *Kāṣiri Adbuk Fikiri Pot-Manzar* (the Philosophical Background of Kashmiri Literature) in which 14 articles by as many scholars have appeared on Saivism, Sufism, Marxism and Existentialism forming the background of Kashmiri literature. Sheik Abdul Aziz compiled a three-volume book on 'Sufiana Musēquē' (Kashmiri classical Music) which was published under the title *Kūṣur Sargam*.

The Constitution of India was translated into Kashmiri in the year 1953 (by P. N. Pushp and Mirza Arif), and the Constitution of Jammu & Kashmir was rendered into Kashmiri in 1950. Different important Acts and Laws have been translated by different agencies and recently in 1979 a judge presented (in Kashmiri) the Land Reforms Act for the benefit of the people who have been affected by this Act.

Manzoor Fazili wrote *Siyāsate Pūryzān Ta Hindustānī Āīn* (Polity and the Indian Constitution, 1969) and *Luka Ṣīyāsat* (Politics, 1974).

The Communist Manifesto was translated into Kashmiri by Noor Mohamad Butt for the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society in the year 1978. Along with Manzoor Fazili, another young writer has started writing on themes relating to political science and Constitution. He is Ghulam Mohammad Gulzar, whose article on the parliamentary type of government provides basic information about the present political system in the country.

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History. Kashmiris have a long tradition of historical writings in Sanskrit as well as in Persian. But in the Kashmiri language, the political history of Kashmir was, for the first time, serially published in the weekly newspaper *Caman* (rendered of course from the Urdu original by Hussan Shah). In the same paper Lawrence's famous book *The Valley of Kashmir* also appeared in Kashmiri. This book is a compendium covering important themes relating to Kashmir. It includes a chapter on the history of Kashmir. Mohi-ud-Din Hajini has included his articles on Kashmir history in his book *Maqālāt*, in which he has given the reaction of Kashmiris to Mughal expansionism. In another book, *Lūke Ras*, Hajini has included two articles—one on the ancient ruins and their historical importance and the other on the significance of different legends and folk characters.

S. L. Sadhu's *Vethi Hundu Malar* (Waves of the Vitasta, 1968) presents interesting anecdotes from Kalhana's *Rajatarangiṇi*.

A. K. Rahbar's *Kūṣiri Adbacy Tavārīkh* (History of Kashmiri Literature, 1965) deals with the ancient and middle periods of Kashmiri Literature. A concise history of Kashmiri Literature by Shafi Shauq and Naji Munawar was published by the Kashmiri Department of the University of Kashmir in 1978.

Research. Kashmiri, one of the ancient languages of India, has for a long time, been a theme for research. While some believe that it belongs to the Dardic group of languages evolving from the Paishaci Language and that *Brahat Kathā* was written by Gonāḍya (1st century) in the same language and later translated as *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* by Soma Deva (11th century), others contend that the language evolved from the *Apabhraṁśa*. There is a third group of writers who claim that the language has originated from Hebrew, believing that the Valley was at some very ancient time inhabited by the lost tribe of Israel.

Various theories about the origin of the Kashmiri language have been discussed by different researchers at different times, particularly by A. K. Rehbar, Badri Nath Kala, Mohi-ud-Din Hajini and P. N. Pushp, who has also worked on a new grammar of the Kashmiri language, parts of which were published in the weekly *Caman* and later in the *Ṣīrāza*. A Kashmiri Grammar has also been prepared by Nāji Munawar and Shafi Shauq (1973). Perhaps the first attempt in this direction was made by Mulla Saifud Din Tarabali, who in the 19th century compiled a Persian manual on the Kashmiri source.

A. K. Tak Zaingiri compiled a voluminous book, *Kūṣiryuk Alāqa Wād Phaera* (The Regional Variations of the Kashmiri Language), in which he presented words from different regions of the Kashmiri speaking areas, attempting a sort of a thesaurus in Kashmiri.

The J & K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages has published a seven-volume Kashmiri-Kashmiri Dictionary improving upon the pioneering work done earlier by Grierson.

Constructing the history of Kashmiri literature is a challenging job because much of the literature produced in this language in ancient times is either lost or kept hidden as sacred writings by ignorant heirs of the creators of such literature. Now concerted efforts are being made by different individuals and organizations to discover and bring to light whatever has survived. Much of the *Lal Vākh* and Nund Reshi's *Śrukhi* has been published with their biographies constructed through internal evidence. Such work is continuing in respect of other known and unknown writers and 'Adabi Markaz Kamrāz', a literary organization in the Kamraj areas of Kashmir, (with Hqrsat Hajin, Sopore) and similar other organizations outside Srinagar have done valuable research in this direction and produced books which will go a long way in constructing an authentic and complete history of Kashmiri literature.

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Malayalam

S. GUPTAN NAIR

Ancient Prose

No one can talk with much confidence about the nature and style of early prose. Our ancients, no doubt, talked prose. But there was neither compulsion nor necessity to make it memorable. Prose evaporated on their lips while poetry lingered in their minds. Nevertheless fragments of prose survived through inscriptions on stone and copper.

Inscriptional prose in Malayalam begins somewhere in the 9th century. To speculate on an earlier prose is to venture into conjecture. Prose of the inscriptions, however, was not always functional. More often than not, it was designed to be in tune with the court language. And the court language in the early period of Kerala history was Tamil and its influence, pervasive. It was like the Norman-French of 11th-century England. To the Tamilian of today this early prose would appear to be a rather impure variety of his own language, a provincial *patois*. To the historical linguist it would look like a cursory compromise between the spoken language of the times and the officially dominant language of the region. Most of these inscriptions are proclamations of kings pertaining to land-grants or privileges extended to persons of status or certain 'do's' and 'don'ts' in a heirarchical society. The sentences are sometimes short, sometimes long and winding, but always interspersed with standard phrases and cliches. These inscriptions, numbering over 200, properly classified and studied, will indicate to an extent the evolution of the language. But their value as pieces of literature is minimal.

The first real landmark of Malayalam prose and the first book of some magnitude to have come to light is a free translation of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. Its date has been generally accepted as the latter half of the 12th century. It is probably the first ever translation of the *Arthaśāstra* to be done in any Indian language. A close study of this work reveals the following points:

1. Śen Tamil, the official language, still had a good grip on literary compositions.
2. Yet the language of Kerala, by whatever name it was then known, was struggling to keep its distinct nature and to fulfil the demands of the educated classes.
3. The language had reached a level of flexibility, maturity and range to express scientific ideas with clarity and precision.

Bhāṣa Kouṭalīyam in spite of its hybrid nature is a massive achievement of the Malayali intellect.

Kūttu and Kūṭiyāṭṭam. Almost during this period a more Sanskritic idiom was also being evolved by that special class of story-tellers of Kerala—the Chakyars (cākyārs, a sub-caste of temple servants)—in the stylized stage-versions of classical drama which were enacted inside the temples. It is an admirable example of the way in which Kerala preserved and perpetuated the traditional method of staging Sanskrit dramas. The Chakyar's elaborate commentary on and exposition of the Sanskrit verses recited with near vedic accentuation was a kind of over-wrought and ornate prose. These actors also wrote down their stage-practices and rituals in a relatively simpler language meant for less scholarly people. These manuals are called *āṭṭa-prakārams* (choreography) and *Kṛama dīpikās* (stage directions). Among the specimens that have come down to us are acts from the dramas of Bhasa, Saktibhadra, Kulasekhara Varma and Mahendra Pallava. Strangely enough, Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti seem to have been less popular. These books form a wonderful repertoire of narrative prose and stagecraft.

An outstanding work which is an indirect product of *kūttu* is *Dūtavākyam* (*c.* A.D. 1389). The story is taken from the famous *Vyāyōga* of Bhasa under the same name. It describes in vivid detail Srikrishna's final bid to avoid the fatal clash between the Pandavas and the Kouravas. Here 'the sentence-structure is Sanskritic evolving to great lengths with clauses added to clauses and abounding in passive constructions. Here and there, however, we find short crisp sentences that anticipate the form of the best modern prose, even if the words are sometimes archaic' (Krishna Chaitanya, *A History of Malayalam Literature*, p. 160).

Legends would have us believe that their compositions existed from about the 9th century. But looking at it from the linguistic and historical points of view, we may safely assign them a period between the 13th and 15th centuries.

Besides the *Chakyars*, there was yet another community of storytellers called the *Nampyars*. Their story-telling method known as *pāṭhakam* (stylized story narration) was modelled on the *Chakyar* but with some difference—their style was simpler and was largely meant for the general public.

Fairly exhaustive works like Ramayanam, Bhagavatam, *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇam*, *Devīmāhātmyam* and a few more have come to light. Today, these old stories in archaic prose are of interest only to the serious scholar. But they reveal a prodigious activity not only in the propagation of

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religion, but also in the promotion of narrative prose. Occasionally the *Nampyars* also slip into pedantic periods; yet simpler and sensitive moods are more frequent. As we reach Bhagavatam and Uttara-Ramayanam we feel we are approaching the modern temper.

Along with these *purāṇic* stories we also had prose works dealing with a variety of subjects like philosophy, music, astrology, ayurveda and even very special branches such as the treatment of elephants and the art of *Kaḷarippayaṭṭu* (Kerala fencing). The conclusion is that prose during the medieval period was not languishing under the pressure of poetry and its rigid structure, but flourishing and spreading. True, for long years most of them remained hidden in dark cells and hence gave the impression that it was almost non-existent.

Contribution of Missionaries. The Christian missionaries came to India through three sea-ports, two of which are on the western shores of India-Goa and Cranganore (Koṭuṅṅallūr). Traditional belief is that St. Thomas, an apostle of Christ, came to Kerala in A.D. 52 and preached Christianity. 'There is somewhat stronger evidence for the arrival in Malabar in A.D. 345 of a body of Christian immigrants from Persia and Mesopotamia who presumably fled from a severe persecution by Sapir II. From the 6th to the 16th century little is known of the Syrian Church beyond what is contained in inscriptions or accounts of visitors from the West. A crisis was reached during the visit of Alexio de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, in the summer of 1599. At the Synod of Diampur (Udayamperūr), mostly through circumstances beyond its control, the Syrian Church was obliged to promise obedience to the Pope....' (Rev. C. E. Abraham's article in the *Cultural Heritage of India*, new series, vol. IV, p. 547). The great Synod wrote down its decisions and the documents were kept in the archives of the Jesuit College of Vaipincotta. These were later printed by K. N. Daniel in 1952. It is a fairly long record and the earliest specimen of missionary prose in Malayalam. In several respects it approaches modern documentary prose. There is a pronounced influence of Latin and Portuguese, but it is by and large a language for the layman. It preserves not only colloquialisms, but even the defective pronunciation of the common people.

Another landmark in missionary prose which also happens to be a landmark in the history of printing is *Samkṣēpa Vēdārtham* by Fr. Clement. This is the first book to be completely printed in Malayalam though the actual printing was carried out in Rome (1772). While the canons of Udayamperur were translated from Latin into Malayalam by Malayali clergymen *Samkṣepa Vēdārtham* was written by a foreigner in Malayalam itself.

The next important prose work was written by a scholar-priest of Kerala—a travelogue, probably the first of its kind in any Indian language. Thōmakattanār (1736–99) along with his friend Youseph Malpān started for Europe in 1778. They went round Africa, crossed the Atlantic, touched Brazil in South America and travelled back to reach Portugal. It was a journey of great trials and travails undertaken in religious enthusiasm during 1778–86. Thōmakattanār describes his journey vividly in *Varttamāna Pustakam* (The Book of News). Kattanār was not only a shrewd observer of men and scenes, but a gifted story-teller with a sense of the graphic. His book takes us to a kind of basic Malayalam interspersed with unavoidable foreignisms mainly relating to religious practices. 'The style of *Varttamāna Pustakam* is full of raciness and native vigour, particularly in the description of European scenes and in the indictment of the Western missionaries' (L. V. Ramaswami Iyer).

Translations from European Sources

It has already been noticed that prose translations of epics and *purāṇas* had been done from about the 14th century. But translations from Latin, English and other European languages done either by European or Indian Missionaries are altogether of a different kind. The idiom undergoes a sea-change and by force of habit, foreign words creep into the very ligaments of the language.

Translations of the Bible are among the earliest to appear in all Indian languages. An incomplete translation (*The Four Gospels*) in Malayalam appeared in 1811. This book, printed in Bombay, was written in a quaint language which displeased even the most devout Christians. The complete New Testament in Malayalam was published from the C.M.S. Press, Kottayam in 1829. Rev. Benjamin Bailey (1816–71) (the pioneer lexicographer in Malayalam) was the man behind it. As the Bible does not permit any freedom to tamper with its text, the translators are religiously bound to concentrate on faithfulness rather than on beauty of language. 'Verbal exactitude and a continuous impression that it is a translation' as F. W. Newman insisted in his famous reply to Matthew Arnold—these are the characteristics of the Malayalam Bible. It comes nowhere near the English Bible in literary flavour or cadence. Yet it is an achievement of classical scholarship and dedicated research. The translators coined many new words, some of which were indeed queer. Benjamin Bailey was assisted by Indian priests of the Syrian church. The Old Testament was also done by Bailey and his associates in due course and was published in 1841. In Northern Kerala, a little later, Dr. Gundert was at work on the Old and New Testaments. Both versions (Church Missions Society and Basel Mission) were accepted by the Church in the beginning. After this The Madras Auxiliary Bible Society appointed a committee (1871) to revise the Bible. Successive revisions had already been done and in 1880 a completely revised edition

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appeared, which is now the standard version in Malayalam. There have been other versions in the 20th century, particularly by eminent Catholic priests like Rev. Māṇi Kattanār (1935) and Rev. Fr. Mūtteṭan (1963). Everybody admits that the prose of the 19th century Bible is dated, yet its fascination is irresistible and its influence abiding, particularly among Christian writers. (cf. K. M. George, *Western Influence on Malayalam Language and Literature*, chs. V and VI.)

Another Christian work which became quite popular among the religious-minded people was the translation of John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. Archdeacon Koshy of the C. M. S. translated it in 1847. A Basel Mission translation (probably by Frederik Mueller) appeared a little later and was widely read in Malabar.

Now we come to the greatest name in the galaxy of Christian savants who worked in Kerala. It is Rev. Dr. Hermann Gundert (1814–93), whose grandson Herman Hesse was later to become a writer of world fame and a Nobel laureate in literature. Gundert was a Basel Mission dignitary who, according to his biographer (K. P. Vareed), wrote 27 works in all. These include an authoritative Malayalam dictionary, two books on grammar, translation of the Old and New Testaments and several other tracts on religion and theology. Gundert was a gifted linguist and wrote Malayalam with great felicity and clarity. His primers served as the specimen for many decades in the schools of Malabar from 1860 onwards. His successors in the Basel Mission such as Deiz, Frohnmeyer and Garthwaite also served the cause of Malayalam with great devotion.

The prose style of the missionaries, though it had its limitations and a certain quaintness, had one distinct advantage. It did not lean unnecessarily on Sanskrit either in vocabulary or in grammar. The writers were least bothered about using colloquialisms. 'Padre Malayalam', as it came to be referred to disparagingly, was indeed a special brand, but it showed the way for using the common man's language without inhibition.

Journals and Newspapers

According to available information the first journal to be published in Malayalam was *Rājya Samācāram* of the Basel Mission, Tellicherry (June 1847). In the same year (October 1847) another magazine—*Paścimōdayam* also started publication. Dr. Gundert was the promoter and guiding star of both the magazines and his chief assistant was F. Mueller. The former magazine was more concerned with evangelical matters while the latter dealt with history, geography, politics and science. The C.M.S. Kottayam centre also had its own magazine from 1848—*Jñānanikṣēpam*.

The more direct and immediate influence on prose style was exercised by the literary journals such as *Vidyāvilāsini* (1881), *Vidyāvinōdini* (1890), *Bhāṣāpōṣiṇi* (1898), *Rasikarañjini* (1903) and *Maṅgaḷōdayam* (1907) which came a few decades later. News papers such as *Keraḷa Patrika* (1884), *Malayāḷi* (1886) and *Malayāḷa Manōrama* (1890) also excercised a great influence. Some of the editors of these papers were famous men of letters like C. P. Achutha Menon, Kaṇḍattil Varghese Māppiḷa and Appan Tampurān. Most of these editors were products of university education with a liberal outlook and a genuine critical spirit. The next generation of editors such as C. V. Kunjuraman, K. Ramakrishna Pillai, Moorkoth Kumaran, Kumaran Asan, K. Ayyappan and others were more progressive and even more critical. Some like Ayyappan were rationalists and Ramakrishna Pillai was almost a radical. It was an age of social and national awakening. A more vigorous style of writing was evolved by these editors. Even a special brand of journalistic prose had come into vogue; though Ramakrishna Pillai cried a halt to this trend, it could not be controlled altogether. The great stride that the 20th century editors made was a total departure from the Victorian pundits who revelled in circumlocution and periphrastic conjugations. Editors of North Kerala like Moorkoth Kumaran were in the vanguard of this new movement.

Kerala Varma and the Textbook Committee

Rani Parvati Bai, Regent queen of Travancore (1815–29), issued a proclamation in 1817 stating that educating the boys and girls was the responsibility of the State. This must have been one of the earliest such declarations in the whole of India. Textbooks were unknown at the time. Only when Ayilyam Tirunal, Raja of Travancore (1861–81), constituted a textbook committee (1867) did the idea of graded books as teaching aids germinate. In July 1868 Prince-consort Kerala Varma (1845–1914), eminent scholar, poet and patron of letters, became the president of the committee. He immediately set the machine moving and wrote a number of school-books on a wide variety of subjects such as history, geography, ethics, civics and economics. In addition, he wrote a few graded readers, a book of general essays and two short biographies. Kerala Varma has often been accused of excessive Sanskritization and pomposity. But this is only partly true. He could also be simple and straight if the occasion demanded. The school-books he wrote were very different from his inflated literary compositions. In spite of his own preference for the Johnsonian 'see-saw' he admired Steele and Addison and recommended the easy and equable style of Chandu Menon (Candu Mēnon) and C. P. Achutha Menon. More important than his textbooks were the biographies adapted from Maunder and the translation of a Dutch novel on Akbar. Ayilyam Tirunal, the Raja himself wrote two books for the benefit of the young. He rendered *Śākuntaḷam* in prose

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and adapted a story from the *Arabian Nights* and called it *Mīnakētana Caritam* to suit the Indian locale.

A. R. Rajaraja Varma, nephew and disciple of Kerala Varma, differed in many respects from his uncle's outlook and wrote critical and general essays in a more direct and clear style. He was the first Indian scholar to set down the rules of Malayalam grammar and composition in a series of three books beginning with *Prathama vyākaraṇam* (primary grammar) and ending with *Śabda śōdhini*. These served the primary and the high school students for many generations, particularly those in the State of Travancore. The northern part of Kerala, which was then under the British crown, mainly followed the grammar books of two western pundits, Gundert and Garthwaite. A. R. knew his Panini thoroughly, and the genius of Malayalam much more than the missionaries and hence his grammar was refreshingly new. Rajaraja Varma's most outstanding contribution to the standardization of prose, however, was *Sāhitya sāhyam* (1911), a manual of style. Before him writers had little awareness of any specific principles for writing prose. Prose to many was the piling up of clauses in a loose manner. It was Rajaraja Varma who for the first time gave some practical advice on the writing of good prose. He classified prose into four categories—narrative, descriptive, explanatory, and argumentative. He spoke about correctness, precision, style and idiom and, above all, propriety. This book, though slightly dated, will remain for many years a valid guide to good writing. K. Ramakrishna Pillai, fearless critic and editor and a student of A. R., was the first editor to examine the different aspects of journalistic writing. His *Vṛttantapatra-Pravarttanam* (1914) appeared three years after his guru's *Sāhitya sāhyam* . A little later another student of A.R., P. K. Narayana Pillai (1878–1938), who was irritated by our writers' unpardonable slips and shoddiness in using Sanskrit forms in Malayalam, wrote *Prayōga dīpika* (1935). But one has to add that his directions are more often violated than observed in modern prose. Kuttikrishna Marar's (1900–73) concern in '*Malāyāḷa Śaili* (1942) was not only with correctness, but with brevity and freedom from the irksome dominance of English idioms. His approach to language is somewhat similar to Sir Earnest Gover's ideal of 'Plain English'.

Essays

Mention has already been made about the contribution of magazines and periodicals towards the development of prose. The essay as a literary form was familiar to our English-educated writers. Yet very few had the proper skill to shape the essay (*upanyāsam*) into a work of art. Reading through the pages of the now forgotten three-volume anthology *Gadyamālika* (the first volume of which appeared in 1907), one feels rather disappointed about its mediocrity and pedestrian style. The exceptions were Kerala Varma, A. R. Rajaraja Varma, Kunhiraman Nayanar (Kesari), C. P. Achutha Menon and Appan Tampurān. Kerala Varma's *Mṛgayāsmaraṇakaḷ* (Reminiscences of Hunting) is a model of subjective intimacy and dignified elegance. Kunhiraman Nayanar (1861–1914), whose writings were posthumously collected under the title *Kesari* have an enduring freshness full of bubbling humour and wit reminiscent of Swift. His article on the novel and his caricature of the village-schoolmaster are pieces of penetrating satire.

Then there were serious writers like R. Eswara Pillai, K. R. Krishna Pillai, Appan Tampuran, O. M. Cherian, I. C. Chacko, M. Rajaraja Varma and others. Most of R. Eswara Pillai's (1854–1940) essays have been collected in seven volumes under the title *Cintāsantānam* (Offspring of Thought). The following 16 subjects are dealt with in the first volume: literature, the writing of books, reading, physical education, human life, moral education, truth, libraries, teaching, war—then and now, eyes, health, old age, morals, eloquence. The slant is clearly towards didacticism and the style almost monastically austere. Appan Tampurān (1875–1941) is a calm and balanced writer. He had a keen eye for design and a fancy for rhythm and balance. His *Mangalamāla* (5 volumes) is one of the most readable collections of essays. Murkoth Kumaran (1874–1941) had a sharp pen as indicated by one of his many pen-names, 'Vajrasūci' (Diamond Needle). He revelled in literary polemics. Even more sharp-witted and acid-tongued was C. V. Kunjuraman (1871–1949), who founded the famous newspaper *Kerala Kaumudi*. The moralistic impersonal essay had lost its ground as a result of the great upheavels in society, particularly after the two world wars and the attainment of Independence. Old values had lost much of their validity and new values were springing up. Yet a writer like K. P. Kesava Menon (1886–1978), nationalist leader and editor, without losing hope, revived the form, adding great personal warmth and charm to moral and ethical discourses. His comforting, often stirring, essays appeared serially in his popular daily, '*The Mathrubhumi*'. The essays have now been collected under the title *Nām Muṅṅōṭṭ* (We Go Forward), *Pūrṇa Jīvitam* (A Complete Life) and *Jīvita Cintakaḷ* (Thoughts on Life)—5 volumes. They are not only soothing, but also brimming over with sincerity. M. Rajaraja Varma (1871–1959) is another writer of the old guard. His versatality is amazing. He wrote equally well on literature as well as on science and humanities. Essayists like Kuttipuzha Krishna Pillai, C. J. Thomas, M. Govindan and V. T. Bhattatiripad belong to a different class. They are progressive social critics. Without direct involvement in party politics they have examined many live social problems in an unorthodox and sometimes provoking manner.

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The Light Essay (Ramyōpanyāsam)

The Malayali, particularly the Namputiri Brahmin, has been noted for his characteristic humour which often had an element of genuine 'rasadhwani' in it. In spite of this tradition, the light or the humorous essay in Malayalam has had only a few practitioners. Namputiri humour found its expression in poetry and repartee. The light essay as a literary form had its beginnings in 'Kesari', whom we have already discussed. It came of age with E. V. Krishna Pillai (1895–1938) and Sanjayan (1903–42). E. V. in his times was a popular playwright, actor, journalist and political leader. But posterity will remember him more for his inimitable sketches and essays. He has written more than two hundred essays which also include some pen-pictures of real and imaginary characters. One of his most unforgettable characters is 'Conductor Kuṭṭi', a jovial spirit who works as a bus-conductor. He has developed to perfection a motor-driver's slang which in itself is a source of innocent laughter. The conductor's dialect refers to children born in 1928 as '28 model', to delivery as 'overhaul' and to all human beings as 'passengers'. E. V.'s essays on pretentious gentlemen, on bores, on retired men and on old-age Bhakti are classic examples of originality and organic design. E. V.'s great drawback, however, was his limited range of book knowledge. Sanjayan (M. R. Nayar) on the other hand was a scholar of great erudition. He knew the classics and was particularly fond of the Gita. This gave his writing a peculiar flavour and philosophic depth. Sanjayan for some years edited two humorous monthlies, and made them a vehicle of political, literary and social criticism. As a columnist his writings were done in haste. The Calicut Municipality's maladministration was one of his constant themes. But the criticism reaches the peak of humour in essays like The Great Assembly of Mosquitoes. In short, his writings (*Sanjayan*, 6 volumes) have a refreshing originality which transcends the transience of the themes.

These two writers are head and shoulders above the rest in this field. But there are a few more who have given us some delightful essays. Puthezhath Rama Menon, though too fond of word-play, has some fine essays on a few 'tremendous trifles' like broken glasses and broom sticks. E. M. Kovoor has a capacious mind which takes in everything in high spirits. N. P. Chellappan Nair is inimitable in ridiculing himself and exposing the prudery of others. P. K. Rajaraja Varma created an unforgettable middle-class couple, Pancu Menon and Kunci Amma, and portrayed them in various tragi-comic situations. Kainikkara Kumara Pillai is polished and his humour has a philosophic dignity. Velur Krishnan Kutty is essentially a caricaturist and uses a thick brush. Anandakuttan is imaginative and prefers skits to essays. The best known writer of light essay in the seventies is A. P. Udayabhanu. His was a volte-face from active politics and he surprised all readers by his sudden entry and prolific production. His essays are written in an easy persuasive style with numerous literary allusions, anecdotes and delightful digressions. They are capable of lifting the readers into a sphere of warm comradeship.

Travelogues

Vartamāna Pustakam of Thomakattanar, of which mention has already been made, was unknown to the public and the literary world until 1936 when it was printed for the first time. And it was not primarily meant to be a literary work by the author. Therefore travelogue as a branch of literature seems to have started with Barrister G. P. Pillai's *Laṇḍanum Pārīsum* (London and Paris). The book was originally written in English (1897) and was translated into Malayalam in 1899. Pillai was a gifted writer in English and a well-known figure in the Indian National Movement. *Laṇḍanum Pārīsum*, written in the form of letters, gives us delightful vignettes of typical Londoners at the turn of the century such as the cabman, the shopkeeper and the Hyde Park orator. *Bilātti Viśēṣam* (1916) by K. P. Kesava Menon is in a way a minor classic in the genre. It invokes every aspect of English life with delicately drawn sketches and lively comments. Going West was rare in the early years of this century and Menon's book will always be remembered for its old-world charm and infectious gusto. Today hundreds of people go for higher studies or professional engagements, and books on western life and manners are legion. Among the more readable works are those by K. Raghavan Pillai (*London Jīvitam* [Life in London]), who spent some years in the London School of Oriental Studies, C. B. Kumar (*London Kattukaḷ* [Letters from London, 1950]), who worked for three decades in the I.L.O. and K. Kunjunni Raja (*Londonil* [In London]). These three writers are academic people and naturally the emphasis is on the scholastic and intellectual life in England. Kumar is comparatively more subjective and reminiscential. His style is delightfully introspective.

America figured in N. J. Nair's travelogue *Ente Bhū Pradakṣiṇa Vṛttāntam* (My Trip Around the World, 1938). It is a businessman's excursion into literature. More detailed accounts are available in Iralil Varghese's *Ñān kaṇṭa America* (The America I Saw, 1940), K. Bhaskaran Nair's *Putumayuṭe Lōkam* (The New World, 1956), N. V. Krishna Warrior's *Amērikkayilūṭe* (Through America, 1961) and K. M. George's *Amērikkayil Pōya Katha* (The Story of a Visit to America, 1967). Bhaskaran Nair is percipient and critically evaluates the malady of a fast-moving super-industrialized society. Krishna Warrior, the journalist-cum-poet, tries to give facts and figures which reflect American life. George is pleasantly digressive and anecdotal, but with an eye on the life and culture of America. An unorthodox travelogue on America is by the well-known novelist

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M. T. Vasudevan Nair (*Āḷkkūṭṭattil Taniyē*, Alone in the Multitude, 1972), who conveys the essence of America's chaotic civilization by presenting to us spicy snippets from American life.

Books on Russia came rather late into the field. The earliest one is by A. K. Gopalan, the well-known Communist leader of India. *Ñān Oru Putiya Lōkam Kaṇṭu* (I Saw a New World, 1954). It is a simple narration and he does not strive for effect. E. M. S. Namboodiripad (E. M. S. Nampūtiri Pāṭu, EMS), another well-known leader, went to Russia in 1960 and wrote a book—*Kammūṇism Keṭṭippaṭuttavaruṭe Kūṭe* (With the Makers of Communism). It is the outcome of a conducted tour and highlights the brighter side of Russian life. K. P. S. Menon's *Russian Panorama*, though originally in English, is one of the best books in Malayalam on the subject. No one else had Menon's opportunity of living in Soviet Russia for so long and moving so closely with their leaders. His gift for story-telling is well known and he has a flair for anecdotes. S. K. Pottekkatt, Pavanan, K. M. George and Justice V. R. Krishna Iyer have also a book each on travel in Russia.

Unlike K. P. S. Menon, who writes only in English, Sardar K. M. Panikkar (Paṇikkar, 1894–1963), the other distinguished diplomat from Kerala, wrote in English as well as in Malayalam. His book *Āpalkkaramāya Yātra* (A Dangerous Journey, 1944) is a brilliant *tour de force* in travelogue. It conveys the thrill of a hazardous journey conducted during the first World War across Africa and Europe when guns were booming. Panikkar has written a book on China also—*Raṇṭu Caiṅayil* (*In Two Chinas*, 1956). It is part travelogue and part history of the great transition. Joseph Mundasseri's *Cina Muṅṅōṭṭu* (China Goes Forward, 1953) is yet another record of the life in China.

Another important type of travel books is concerned with going on a pilgrimage. Its history is fairly long, beginning perhaps with some poetic compositions of dubious merit like *Kāśiyātra* and *Rāmeśwarayātra*. An interesting early book in prose is T. K. Krishna Menon's *Oru Tīrthayātra* (A Pilgrimage) written in the early twenties. It is a book abounding in literary flavour. *Himagirivihāram* (Wanderings in the Himalayas, rev. ed., 1952) by Tapovanaswami is a unique work. The Swami who lived in solitude in Uttarakāsi was a yogi among yogis, a realized soul. His book touches the highest peaks of poetic as well as contemplative experience. The serenity of the Himalayan scenery comes alive in those pages. Other books in the category are those by Swami Siddhinathananda and Swami Dayananda Theertha written with literary and spiritual grace. Pilgrimage to Mecca and the other holy places of the Muslims has resulted in a number of books. One of the most outstanding is *Eṅṭe Haj Yātra* (1960) by C. H. Muhammad Koya. Fr. Vaṭakkan has written about his pilgrimage to Rome, Jerusalem and other holy centres. *Puri Mutal Nāsik Vare* (From Puri to Nasik, 1964) by Vettur Raman Nair, a well-known shortstory writer, is not the story of any pilgrimage but the record of the wanderings of a freelancer. There are many books on travel inside India. N. V. Krishna Warriar's *Uṇarunna Uttara India* (Resurgent North India, 1964) is a factual book with shrewd observations. M. K. Kumaran's *Yamunayuṭe Tīrattu* (On the Banks of Yamuna, 1959), A. K. Balakrishna Pillai's books on Kashmir and East Bengal, E. M. Kovoor's *Beṅgāḷilūṭe* (Through Bengal, 1948) are books written with gusto and insight.

S. K. Pottekkatt. The name of S. K. Pottekkatt (1914–1982) has been reserved to the end since his writings deserve special treatment. He reminds us of our early foot-loose travellers like Ibn Batuta and Marco Polo, who travelled for adventure or in pursuit of intellectual excitement. Pottekkatt developed his travel-lust very early in life. He travelled all over India and started with small books on Kashmir and other places of interest. Then he began to organize his travel and gradually covered the three continents of Europe, Asia and Africa, one after the other. His travel writings cover about 2700 pages in all. He can be poetic or informative or sharply critical at will. His range is the whole world. He is essentially the story-teller turned travel-writer. As in his novels and stories, he sketches unforgettable characters in his travel books too. They make his books a beautiful portrait gallery. He is a combination of John Gunther the 'inside man' and W. H. Hudson, the naturalist. Particularly interesting are his books on the Far East—*Bālidwīp*, *Malaya Nāṭukaḷil* and *Indonesian Diary*.

Informative Writing

It has already been pointed out that the Malayali intellectual had the will and the capability to write clean prose on a hard subject like Indian polity. Yet he has been legitimately accused of an unwillingness to exercise his mind on informative and worthwhile writing. This was mostly because of his slavish dependence on English books—textbooks as well as general books. Gradually the climate changed. In spite of the rapid progress in English education many intellectuals felt the real need for making knowledge available to more and more people. Still it took time to go beyond the textbook level. It is only within the last fifty or sixty years that substantial books have been attempted on difficult subjects like politics, economics or general science. From primers to popularizers was not an easy step. Even more difficult was the shifting of emphasis from popularizers to more intelligent exposition of essential knowledge.

Religion. The best part of our informative literature in the early years consisted of religious books particularly commentaries on the Gita, *Upaniṣads* and *Purāṇās* and a very favourite religious *Mahākāvya*, the *Nārāyaṇīyam* of Mel-

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puttur Narayana Bhattatiri. The earliest commentary on *Nārāyaṇīyam* is by Gopalan Keralan Tirumulpād (1879) followed by a dozen commentaries at irregular intervals. There are about 50 commentaries on the Gita alone in Malayalam. The earliest is by K. M. (Kuññan Mēnon), published in 1905. Other important commentaries are by L. A. Ravi Varma. P. S. Anantanarayana Sastri, P. Seshadri, Swami Prakasananda, K. K. Panikkar and G. Balakrishnan Nair. *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇam* has two excellent commentaries in Malayalam, one by G. S. Srinivasa Sastri, and the other by Kannampuzha Krishna Warriar. Complete prose translations of Ramayanam by (1) Kannan Janardanan and (2) C. G. Warriar, and Mahabharatam by (1) C. Prakasam and (2) Jnanananda Saraswati, and Bhagavatam by Swami Siddhinathananda are scholarly publications. The most famous and one of the earliest commentaries on *purāṇās* is the commentary on Bhagavatam by Kollamkott Gopalan Nair, an erudite scholar and a great bhakta. He has also written commentaries on *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* and *Pañcadaśi*. The earliest commentary on the *Upaniṣads* in Malayalam is *Ātmavidya* by Krishnan Emprantiri. He commented on five important *Upaniṣads*. N. Raman Pillai and P. K. Narayana Pillai together wrote commentaries on 10 *Upaniṣads*. A more recent and more authoritative work is a series of 10 books by Swami Mṛdānanda of the Sri Ramakrishna Aśram, Trichur.

We have already mentioned translations of the Holy Bible. Other books on Christianity and its principles have also been written by eminent theologists and Christian historians. Fr. Bernard's *Marthoma Christiānikaḷ* (1916), Joseph Chāḷikāṭan's *Suṛiyānikkāruḍe Kēraḷa Pravēśam* (1940). T. K. Joseph's *Prācīna Inḍiayilē Kristu Matapṛacāram* (Christianity in Ancient India, 1950) and K. E. Job's *Kēraḷattile Kristumatam* (1927) are some of the well-known books. One of the best translations of the Holy Quran is that by C. N. Ahmad Moulavi, in six volumes (1953–61, now reprinted in 2 volumes). Another complete translation is by M. Koya Kutty (revised and completed in 1970). There have been quite a few indepth studies on Islam done by competent scholars. Lack of space forbids us to mention numerous other works on religion. Suffice it to say that considerable activity has been going on in this field. The Kerala Sahitya Akademi's *Bibliography* published in 1974 lists 782 books on Hinduism, 1525 on Christianity, 519 on Islam and 388 on philosophy in general.

Science

Science-writing in Malayalam started with commentaries of Sanskrit treatises on traditional sciences like astrology, ayurveda and *śilpa śāstra*. Great scholars like, Kaikkulangara Rama Warriar (1832–96), Kaikkara Govindan Vaidyan and Punnasseri Nilakantha Sarma (1858–1934) spent their lifetime in teaching and writing commentaries on several old texts. The popularity of *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdayam*, a unique Ayurvedic treatise in this area, is incidentally the result of such lucid commentaries.

Coming to modern scientific knowledge *Mṛga Caritam* (Animal History, 1861) by Beuttler of the Church Mission Society and *Govasūri-Prayōgam* (Vaccination, 1864) by Dr. Senci Palani Andi are the earliest books. Both of them are small-sized primers. *Pṛakṛti Śāstram* (Physical Science, 1883) by Frohnmeyer of the Basel Mission is a bigger book which deals with the fundamentals of physics and chemistry.

Kerala writers under the guidance and inspiration of Kerala Varma were persuaded to write textbooks for schools. Chidambara Vadhyar and M. C. Narayana Pillai were mainly responsible for the early books. *Kṣētra Vyavahāram* (1872) was a direct adaptation of Euclid's Geometry.

Early 20th century saw the emergence of a new group of writers who had learned science in their college classes and were also very good scholars in the language. A. R. Rajaraja Varma, K. R. Krishna Pillai, M. Rajaraja Varma and K. Sukumaran are outstanding in this group. K. R. Krishna Pillai translated Tyndall's Belfast address in chaste prose (*Pāścātya Śāstra Siddhānta Samgraham*, 1919). A. R., the grammarian, was a graduate in chemistry and wrote many essays on chemistry. M. Rajaraja Varma wrote on several branches of modern knowledge. His *Aṛthanirūpaṇam* (1927) and *Aṛthaśāstṛa Pṛavēśika* (1929) are among the earliest books on Economics. His *Vihāyasavihāram* (Sojourn in the Sky, 1934) is on meteorology and *Lokālōkam* (4 parts) is a comprehensive history of the world. Rajaraja Varma had a remarkable capacity to write clearly and crisply on difficult subjects. K. Sukumaran, a short story writer and humorist of repute, made a happy excursion into the field of popular science and wrote some delightful books on Biology. *Jantu Śāstṛam* (The Science of Animals, 4 vols., 1923), *Pṛāṇi Vamśa Caritṛam* (4 vols., 1930–30) are the result. T. K. Joseph wrote a book on electricity—*Vaidyutīvilāsam* (1941) and two books on astronomy and meteorology—*Vanavilāsam* and *Sūrya Sāmṛājyam*, all published by the Kerala University. L. A. Ravi Varma, whose comparative study of Ayurveda and modern medicine, was pressed into service to write a series of books on health and child care. P. K. Koru, a veteran in the field of ancient mathematics, wrote some books on mathematics and a commentary on *Līlāvati*, the well-known Sanskrit classic on mathematics by Bhaskara.

Among modern science writers K. Bhaskaran Nair (1913–83) occupies a special place. He has elevated science-writing to the level of literary compositions. He could explain the most abstract subjects in the best literary style. His first book was a primer on *Pṛāṇilōkam* (1934). Then followed *Ādhunika Śāstram* (Modern Science, 1945), *Pariṇāmam* (Evolution, 1946). *Śāstṛattiṅṭe Gati* (The Progress of Science, 1946) and a few other books. C. K. Moosath (physics), C. Narayanan (economics) K. C.

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Chacko (engineering) and P. T. Bhaskara Panikkar (general science) are some of the stalwarts in the field who have made commendable contributions.

The problem of coining technical terms had excercised the minds of writers from very early days. We find Pilo Paul's glossary of physiology appearing as a serial in the very first year of *Bhashaposhini* (1898). I. C. Chacko, L. A. Ravi Varma, Appan Tampuran, R. Narayana Panikkar and several others had individually worked at the problem. A committee appointed by the Travancore (forerunner of Kerala) university tried to arrive at some kind of uniformity and produced a few glossaries. But the major work in the field was done by the Kerala State Institute of Languages (est. 1968). Their glossaries cover the entire field of science and humanities. At the moment there are three recognized agencies for the making of science books: (1) The State Institute of Language, (2) The State Institute of Education, and (3) The Śāstra Sāhitya Pariṣat. These expert-bodies have produced several books for use in the secondary schools and the colleges. These institutes have persuaded many school and college teachers to enter the field of science writing and they have achieved varying degrees of success. M. N. Subramanian's *Śāstragrandhasūci* (Bibliography of Science Books, 1972) lists 1344 books on science in Malayalam. In spite of many a book of poor quality, the fact remains that science has reached the masses in a big way in the sixties and seventies.

History

The first book of history by a Malayali author is a short history of Travancore (*Tiruvitāmkūr Caritram*, 1868) by Vaikkom Pāccu Mūttatu (1814–82). He was the Royal physician to the king of Travancore and therefore had access to the palace archives. In the same year Rev. Gundert's *Kēraḷappaḷama* dealing mainly with the Portuguese period appeared. Though a conservative scholar, Mūttatu had an honest sense of enquiry. Sir T. Madhava Rao, one of the most brilliant dewans of Travancore, wrote a slightly bigger book on the history of Travancore in English, which was translated by no less a person than Kerala Varma (1873). This was a standard text-book for many decades. K. P. Padmanabha Menon, the doyen of our historians, wrote a history of Cochin in two volumes (1912–14). Menon's magnum opus, however, is in English—*A History of Kerala* (4 vols.). It is in a way a disconnected account, but a comprehensive survey, almost encyclopaedic in scope. Sardar K. M. Panikkar also wrote (in English) on the history of the Portuguese and Dutch periods in Malabar. Later these two books, along with the British period, formed the subject of his Malayalam book *Kēraḷa Swātantrya Samaram*. A few years later T. I. Punnen did further work on the same period and brought out two volumes in English and Malayalam.

T. K. Velu Pillai's Travancore state Manual (English) threw up many problems for debate. Suranā Kunjan Pillaī and Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai wrote extensively on Kerala history. Elamkulam's researches exploded the myth of the so-called hegemony of the Perumals. He critically examined the Sangam works in Tamil and brought out new materials on Kerala's past social order. It was he who for the first time gave us something of a connected history of the land from the 9th to the 18th century. A. Sridhara Menon linked up the broken trends and wrote a compact and connected one-volume history of Kerala (*Kēraḷa Caritram*, 1967), which is now accepted as the standard textbook for post-graduate students. Menon has also written a *Cultural History of Kerala* (both these books are available in English too). A two-volume 'History of Kerala' (*Kēraḷa Caritram*) sponsored by the Kerala History Association and prepared by a body of specialists approaches history in a slightly different way. Kings and kingdoms are pushed back and the history of races, cultures and castes is subjected to greater scrutiny. Occasionally one is inclined to think that there are as many historians as there are castes in this country.

Marxist historians have also given us interesting glimpses of the past with their special interpretations and assessments. E. M. S. Namputiripad's *Dēśīya Praśnam* (The National Question in Kerala, 1957) is a serious attempt at studying the social order in the light of Marxist theories. P. K. Gopalakrishnan's *Cultural History of Kerala* (1976) is a more ambitious work and covers the entire period of our history. K. Damodaran's *Inḍiayuṭe Ātmāvu* (The Soul of India, 1957) is a mature product of Marxist scholarship.

Myths, legends and folklore, though not quite within the bounds of history, are an important aspect of a people's cultural tradition. Koṭṭārattil Śankuṇṇi (1855–1944), who was by himself a walking encyclopaedia of legends, wrote a series of eight volumes under the title *Aitthyamāla* (String of Legends), which records the little known legends of the land in a language that suspends all our disbelief. Stories of heroes and warriors, gods and goddesses, of elephants and hunters fill his delightful volumes (1909–36). K. S. Nilakanthan Unni has added a few more to this vast repertoire.

History of Literature

When P. Govinda Pillai wrote his first *History of Malayalam Literature* (1881) research was in its infancy and materials were deplorably inadequate. But this century-old work set the tone for more histories. Legends and facts got mixed up and critical evaluation was conspicuously absent. The next important work was by R. Narayana Panikkar in seven volumes (1927–51). It is a massive work by a prolific writer whose fecundity is not always matched by precision and a sense of proportion. The most definitive work on the

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subject however is *Kēraḷa Sāhitya Caritram* by Mahakavi Ullur Parameswara Iyer in five volumes (1953–57). It is a comprehensive, authoritative and methodical work and the result of thirty-five years of intense research and industry. It covers the entire range of Kerala's literary and cultural wealth, which includes a survey of Kerala's contribution to Sanskrit literature as well. The author completely omitted all living authors. Ullur's critical observations are generally sound, though he is often a little too generous in his praise of second-rate writers.

T. M. Chummar has written a history of poetry (*Padyasāhitya Caritram*, 1936) and a history of prose (*Bhāṣā Gadya Sāhitya Caritram*, 1955). Both are useful guides to our growing literature. The books have been revised several times. Other notable histories of Malayalam literature are those by P. K. Parameswaran Nair (published by the Sahitya Akademi, 1958), N. Krishna Pillai (*Kairaḷiyuṭe Katha*, 1958) and Matasseri Madhava Warriar's *Kuñcan Vare* (1962), *Kuñcanu Śēṣam* (1952, 2 volumes). These works are critical histories and in them we find that greater attention is paid to the social background of literary production. Krishna Pillai's book got a warm reception because of its balance in evaluating writers, past and present. Another useful history of literature is by a team of scholars (ed. K. M. George) *Sāhitya Caritram Pṛastānaṅṅaḷilūṭe* (History of Literature Through Genres, 1958). Each genre is taken for special study in this history by a specialist. The book covers the period up to about 1850. Vatakkumkur Rajaraja Varma (1891–1970), a reputed Sanskrit scholar, wrote a voluminous work *Samskrita Sāhitya Caritram* in six volumes on the history of Sanskrit literature in Kerala. It covers published as well as unpublished works and gives with copious quotations a fund of information on the great tradition of Sanskrit writings in Kerala. Krishna Chaitanya, well-known writer and critic in English, has written a series of books on the history of world literature.

Encyclopaedias

Kerala has not lagged behind in the propagation of general knowledge. But co ordinated work came rather late in spite of the establishment of a separate university (1938). It was the Writer's Co operative Society which took courage in sponsoring a full-sized ten-volume encyclopaedia in Malayalam in 1970 (*Viśvavijñānakōśam*). The work was completed in a record time of four years under the general editorship of P. T. Bhaskara Panikkar.

Mathew M. Kuḷivēli planned a book of knowledge (*Vijñānam*) in 1955 in eight volumes. He divided the entire world of knowledge into 14 broad categories and dealt with each in separate sections. The series was completed in 1975. The Kerala Government embarked upon a new project in 1961 with N. Gopala Pillai as the chief editor. He was followed by K. M. George in 1969 and during his period, the work gained momentum. Twenty volumes were methodically planned and 30,000 topics, selected. Vellayani Arjunan took over as chief editor from him in 1975. Seven volumes have been released by 1983. In conception, execution and production it approaches international standards. Another outstanding work is Vettam Mani's *Purāṇa Nighaṇṭu* (Puranic Encyclopaedia), a compendium of Hindu mythology.

With the founding of Travancore University (1938), now University of Kerala, a department of publications came into existence. Serious books on a variety of subjects were either written or translated. Its first director P. Seshadri Iyer was one of the greatest linguists of India. He himself translated Marcus Aurelius, Montaigne, Rajaji, Tagore and several others from the original. Books on sociology, anthropology, evolution, linguistics, etc., written by experts, were edited and published. Even today they are among the best books on the subjects.

There have always been substantial scholars who spent long years in silent pursuit of knowledge without caring for praise or patronage from anybody. Attur Krishna Pisharoti (Āt't'ūr Kṛṣṇa Piṣārōṭi) was one such. He did some pioneering work in literary and linguistic research and paved the way for further work. But his *magnum opus* is an exhaustive work on classical music—*Sangītacandrika* (1954). It is a work dealing with every aspect of Indian music. K. Goda Varma's *Kēraḷa Bhāṣa Vijñānīyam* is one of our first works on language based on scientific foundations. L. V. Ramaswami Iyer, a well-known linguist, wrote mostly in English on Dravidian language problems. Among the general books on aspects of language, B. C. Balakrishnan's *Bhāṣavijñānam* (1962), K. M. George's *Vaḷarunna Kairaḷi* (1954), K. N. Eḷuttacchan's *Muttum Paviḷavum* (1974) and C. L. Anthony's *Bhāṣāpaṭhanaṅṅaḷ* (2 vols., 1969) are important contributions written in the light of modern methods of research in linguistics.

Research on folklore and folkart was started by Chelannatt Achutha Menon (1896–1952), who was the head of the department of Malayalam in the University of Madras (1928–51). His ballads of North Malabar (*Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭukaḷ* vol. I, 1935, vol. II, 1955) and Kali worship in Kerala (*Kēraḷattile Kāḷisēva*, 1943) are examples of modern research on neglected aspects of our heritage. S. K. Nayar, his successor in the department, followed it up with a solid work on the folk-drama of Kerala (*Kēraḷattile Nāṭōṭi Nāṭakaṅṅaḷ*, 1955). A number of books have appeared on the great art of Kathakali. The best among them are those by P. Krishnan Nair and G. Krishna Pillai. K. P. S. Menon (not the diplomat) did a great service by writing on the forgotten celebrities of the kathakali stage who flourished during the past one hundred years (*Kathakaḷiraṅgam*, 1957). V. Madhavan Nair's synoptic survey of music in Kerala (*Kēraḷa Saṅgītam*, 1959) is the only book on the subject.

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K. P. Narayana Pisharody has written exhaustively on *Kūttu* and *Kūṭiyāṭṭam*, our most ancient stage art. Young research scholars like Chummar Choondal, V. S. Sarma and G. Bhargavan Pillai have written studies on little-known folk arts like *mārgamkaḷi*, *paṭayaṇi*, *tuḷḷal*, etc.

Research is no longer the preserve of the specialists. Anyone aspiring for a university grant or scholarship can embark upon some subject of his or his guide's choice, but the results may not always be justifiable. Yet once in a while a really worthy dissertation emerges. Official permission to write the Ph.D. thesis in Malayalam is of recent origin. This, no doubt, is the result of our deliverance from the clutches of a narrow conservatism usually associated with the old red-brick universities.

There is a legitimate complaint that the majority of people everywhere prefer to read novels and stories rather than scholarly works. Consequently such works in general have become unprofitable in the commercial sense. Yet self-reliant scholars who are not lured away by material benefits continue to write for intellectual satisfaction and enrich our cultural heritage.

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Marathi

ACHYUT KESHAV BHAGWAT

Early Prose

Stone Inscriptions and Copper Plates. The odyssey of written Marathi prose begins from the 11th century A. D. with stone inscriptions and copper plates. Long before this, for several centuries, Marathi must have been spoken by the people living in the region. The earliest reference to spoken Marathi is found in the 8th century in the poem *Kuvalayamālā* of Udyotansuri. Marathi appears to have been honoured in the courts of the early kings of Maharashtra also and it was the court language during the reign of the Yādava kings.

A large number of stone inscriptions and copper plates, dating from the 11th to the 13th century, have been discovered and published. The most important of these are the ones at Aksi in the Kolaba district (1012), the Dive-Agra copper plate (1060), the Sravanabelagola inscription in Mysore (1177), the Patan Stone Inscription (1210) and the 'Inscription of 84' at Pandharpur (1189).

The inscriptions give a fair idea of the extent and spread of the Marathi language, its palaeography, orthography, and grammatical and syntactical peculiarities. The language is similar to that used in written literature. As authentic data for chronology, geography, religious systems, with names of the various deities worshipped, affinities of families and dynasties, legal terms, coins, weights and measures, customs and organization of the society, their evidence is invaluable.

The Mahānubhāvas and Their Prose Works. Marathi as a written language became self-conscious by the 12th and 13th centuries. In the works of writers, belonging to the *Mahānubhāva* sect, which flourished during these centuries, Marathi prose seems to have come into its own. From 1190 to 1310 the Mahanubhavas produced the following prose works: (1) *Liḷā Caritra* (1276), (2) *Sūtra Pātha* (1280), (3) *Driṣṭānta Pātha* (1230), (4) *Pujāvasara* (1285), *Govindprabhu Caritra* (1288), (6) *Śrī Cakrapāṇi Caritra* (1285), (7) *Śri Kṛiṣhṇa Caritra* (1288), (8) *Smṛti-Sthaḷa* (1308), and (9) *Pañctantra* (14th century).

The major impulse behind this voluminous work is religious but it is, unlike the Sanskrit works, a religion of the common people. It disowns the authority of the Vedas and is against ritualism. During the 13th and 14th centuries the

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sect spread as far as the Punjab, Kabul and Kandahar. It elevated Marathi to the position of the main vehicle for religious discourse, with a very conscious pride in the language. The founder Chakradhara (latter part of the 12th century) hailed from Gujarat but made Maharashtra his home. Most of the Mahanubhava Acharyas were high-caste Brahmins, learned in the Sanskrit scriptures, and yet they preferred to write in the language of the common people. This, along with its freedom from the rituals and cruelties involved in the Vedic sacrifices, made the Mahanubhava sect extremely popular. The charismatic personality of the founder, his easy intimacy with the common people, his sense of impish humour and gift of irony marked him from other religious teachers. All these qualities of the Master are to be seen at their best in *Līḷā Caritra* compiled by a disciple, Mhaimbhat, which is the first prose biography in Marathi. *Govindprabhu Caritra* is the biography of Cakradhar's guru (supposed to be an incarnation of Krishna), who is shown with all his eccentricities. Mahanubhava prose shows great variety and brings its simple ethics to the ordinary man. The *Driṣṭānta Pātha* of Keshavraja, another important work, consists of a *Sūtra* or a religious text, followed by an illustration or *Driṣṭānta* which clarifies it, and the last part is an exposition by the author. In this we see an early expression of expository prose. *Sūtra Pāṭha* is a collection of aphorisms, culled from *Līḷā Caritra* which forms the philosophic basis of the cult.

Mahanubhava prose literature is therefore a very important landmark in the history of prose. Being the conversational language of the people, it is closer to modern Marathi. The prose works show a vast variety, for in the 16th century the Mahanubhavas published a lexicon, a grammar and a number of commentaries on their religious texts. After the 14th century, however, the literature tended to confine itself to a code language, mainly with a view to retaining its separate identity. This made it inaccessible to the common people, and had little or no influence on later prose. It had to be rediscovered during the twenties and it opened the doors of careful textual scholarship and linguistic study. Some very recent experimental novelists show the influence of Mahanubhava thought and style.

The Prose of Ekanatha. The influence of the Mahanubhavas was eclipsed by the 14th century, mainly because of the Varakari or Bhagwatdharma saint-poets.

The Vārakaris hardly ever used prose, but the *Abhaṅg* and *Ovī* metres they used were close to the language of prose. Ekanatha (1533–99), one of the most eminent of the Varakari saints, wrote miscellaneous prose allegories, which are in the form of letters and applications, using the Persianized language of the Muslim Court. These allegories seek, with pleasing humour, to condemn the excessive pleasures of the senses indulged in by the populace—the different organs of the senses, being spoken of as minor government officials of 'dehagāon' or body-village.

Marathi Under the Muslim Rule

The influx of Persian words is but an indication of the all-pervading influence of the Muslim onslaught in Maharashtra, which started in India in the 8th century, and by the end of the 13th century the Yadava rule in Maharashtra was replaced by the Bahamani Sultanate. Hinduism, torn by caste distinctions and internal rivalries, did not attain social cohesion at any time and offered no united opposition to the Muslim rule, until the time of Shivaji (1627–80), the first Maratha king, who dreamed of a 'Hindu Swaraj' for the whole of India. The period from 1350 to the birth of Shivaji is a dark period in the history of Marathi life and literature.

Like the earlier Hindu kings, Shivaji encouraged Sanskrit. He had a *Rājya-Vyavaharakośa* (a lexicon of Sanskrit equivalents for Persian court terms) compiled. His successful effort at nation-building gave a sense of identity to the Maratha people. The Varakari poets spread the message of tolerance in the spiritual field and the activist Ramadasa helped the nation-building activity by spreading the gospel of 'Maharashtra dharma'. This indirectly helped the growth of Marathi literature.

Bakhar Prose and Letters

Oral prose narrative forms like the *Kīrtana* and the *Pravacans* (religious discourses), interspersed with verse and music, were popular during the Maratha rule. A vast body of prose works, in the form of *bakhars* or chronicles, and voluminous correspondence and documents are also available. Though the purpose of these is mostly functional, both the *bakhars* and the letters attained, during the Maratha rule, unmistakable literary graces. Though they did not influence the prose of the early British period, they offer a rich field for linguistic study and form an important body of historical and social documentation. Modern Marathi, historical drama and novel show their unmistakable influence.

The *bakhars* appeared between 1138 and the end of the 19th century. The total number of *bakhars* is around 200, of which 70 have been published. Their subjects range from mythology to descriptions of battles and family histories, as also biographies of eminent historical personages such as Shivaji or the Peshwas. Written mostly at the dictates of a nobleman or ruler, the *bakhars* show a tendency to deification of the hero and the shadow of mythology hangs heavily over the form. From the language point of view, their special contribution is a selection of proper descriptive words and telling metaphors and, despite a predominance of Sanskrit and Persian words, they have a

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distinct Marathi flavour. The *bakhars* lack historical accuracy, but in the absence of any other reliable authority, their evidence is valuable if used with discrimination.

The more notable *bakhars* are *Bhāusāhebanci Kaifiat* (A Narrative of Bhausaheb, 1765), the *bakhar* of the Battle of Panipat and the *Sabhāsadī Bakhar* on the life of Shivaji. In the first Bhausaheb, Peshwa is glorified as a hero and a god but the writer has a sense of the tragic and revels in pathos. He has also a grasp of historical character. The chronicle of the Battle of Panipat is noted for its authentic sketches of historical characters. It successfully handles the weapon of suspense and has a sense of the dramatic. Among other historical writings the most remarkable is the *Ajnāpatra* or *Rājaniti* (Royal statecraft), written in 1716 by Ramacandra Panta Amatya. It gives an account of the battles fought by Shivaji and also expounds in a mature, expressive and rich style his principles of statecraft. The *Sabhāsadī Bakhar*, composed by Krishnaji Ananta Sabhasada, gives a vivid and compact account. Whatever the *bakhars* lacked in authenticity was made up by the letters. More than 50,000 letters of the period between 1640 and 1800 are extant. Historians state that such a voluminous correspondence is not available in any other language in India. It throws a flood of light on social history, and religious and cultural life, and is an important index to human character. Their language is mostly the simple everyday language of the people, though some of them are highly metaphorical and ornamental, making use of the telling metaphor or mythological allusion. Letters by women form an intensely human part of the correspondence and these throb with tender emotions. A royal order from Shivaji seeks to dissuade his soldiers from cutting down trees; for, it says, people bestow the same affectionate care on their growth as they do in the upbringing of their children. A volley of bullets with their spluttering sound is compared in a *bakhar* to professional rice-friers frying rice and the emasculation of the brave is described in a letter by Yesubai, wife of Sambhaji, as embers eaten up by termites.

Literature and literary activity during the Maratha rule could not be widespread for various reasons. Literacy was limited and lack of the printing press was a great handicap. Production of hand-written books was both an expensive and time-consuming process. Copying a single *pothī* or religious book cost Rs 400 or more—and its circulation could be very limited. Social, cultural and political life appears to have stagnated under the last Peshwa and the people longed for a change.

Christian Missionaries and their Activities

A cataclysmic change came over Maharashtra in the 19th century with the advent of the British rule. European Christian missions and missionaries had arrived on the Indian scene before the British conquest and started their work of preaching the Holy Gospel from the platform and the press. William Carey, an English Protestant missionary, came to India in 1793 and moved to Serampur, a Danish settlement near Calcutta, where he started the first printing press and published a translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew, with the help of Hindu Pandits in 1805. *A Grammar of the Mahratta Language* (1805) in English and a *Dictionary of the Mahratta Language* (1810) followed. The New Testament in Marathi came out in 1811 and a number of miscellaneous publications followed.

The American Marathi Mission was established in 1813 and under its auspices, translations of Christian books and evangelical works started appearing. By 1840, four different versions of the Gospel of St. Matthew by the different missionary societies had come out. Of these, the one by the American Mission was the most favoured, since it followed the Greek text. The most remarkable translation was the one by Pandita Ramabai, begun in 1905 and completed in 1922, from the original Hebrew and Greek, which she had diligently studied. Ramabai was so meticulous in her translation that she scrupulously avoided any word or phrase that smacked of Hinduism.

The missionaries did pioneering work in diverse fields such as book printing and starting schools for children, particularly for girls. They wrote textbooks, compiled a grammar and a dictionary of the Marathi language and started a periodical, *Dnyānodaya*, in 1841, which continues to be published to this day. They created a vogue for prose, but missionary Marathi became an object of derision for its quaint constructions and unfamiliar words and phrases.

The missionaries and their activities made a lasting impression on Maharashtrian life and thought, and thus contributed substantially to the awakening that came with British rule. Ardent nationalists of a later day, like Ciplunkar, Tilak and Agarkar tried to emulate the model of selfless social service set up by the missionaries even though they violently opposed their proselytizing activities. In the journalistic literature of the 19th and 20th centuries missionary activity and its repurcussions on Hindu society occupy a prominent place.

Rise of the British Rule: The Awakening and its Objective

The Periodical Essay. The British conquest of Maharashtra, completed in 1818, was more in the nature of a social and cultural revolution, than a military conquest. Though based ultimately on a ruthless exploitation of the colonial people, it initially assumed a benevolent role and followed a liberal policy thanks to the rule of Mount Stuart Elphinstone, the first Governor of Bombay (1819–27). With its insistence on law and order, with its innovations like the railway, the post office and printing press, the new order was welcomed, by and large, by the people.

The British were the first among the rulers of India,

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foreign or native, to follow a systematic, official educational policy with the help of enlightened Indians. British administrative efforts and missionary activity were hostile to each other in the beginning but later became complementary. A Marathi-English dictionary came out in 1831, edited by Molesworth, a government official, who hoped to propagate the 'glorious gospel' with its help. This was followed, during the next fifteen years, by three more dictionaries, directed by Major Candy, and assisted by Hindu pandits. Books on grammar also appeared. There were a number of translations of books on the physical, moral and social sciences, philosophy and technology. Most of this literature, though of a primary character, built up a firm foundation for the future development of literature, particularly of prose, with its various forms like the essay, the novel and the story, drama and travelogue. A prose style had to be built anew almost from scratch since the entire tradition of early and medieval prose was practically unknown to the rulers as also to educated Maharashtrians. Old prose had to be rediscovered and established afresh in the mid-19th century.

The upper castes were quick to seize the new opportunities. However, some persons from among them did it with the altruistic motive of spreading education among their fellow-men and making them wiser and more enlightened by adopting a modern outlook. Religious and social reform and a new social outlook, based on individual freedom, democracy and representative government, were now the watchwords of the newly awakened upper castes. Pioneer journalists like Balasastri Jambhekar (1812–46), Bhau Mahajan and others took their cue from Raja Rammohan Roy and the Bengali journals, and welcomed the new values brought by the British. As in Rammohan Roy, there were national and universal elements in the doctrine of these Maharastrian thinkers. The Vedantic doctrine in its pure form was to them the creative element in tradition. This they sought to revive and blend with the western values of liberty, equality and fraternity.

These values seem to be expressed with varying emphasis through the new prose forms of literature like the periodical essay and through lectures and discussions. Vigorous controversies between the old and the new, between tradition and modernity, between the progressive and the reactionary mark the entire period of the 19th century and are continued in the 20th, even after Freedom.

In the early journals appeared a trio of remarkable thinkers, who also contributed significantly to practical action. They were: Gopala Hari Desmukha, 'Lokahitawadi' (one who propounded the welfare of the people, 1823–92), Jotirao Govindarao Phule (1827–90) and Vishnubuwa Brahmchari (1825–71).

Lokahitawadi was a Brahmin, a hereditary sardar and also a high government official but none of these came in the way of his trenchant analysis of men and matters. His *Śatapatre* (Hundred Letters) appeared in the journal *Prabhākar* from 1848 to 1850. Like Jambhekar, Lokahitawadi was a liberal who looked upon the British rule as a divine dispensation but who was also aware of the exploitation of India by the British. He asked for a parliament of enlightened Indians and advocated the use of indigenous goods. Lokahitawadi vehemently attacked the Brahmins for being lazy, parasitical and selfish. His prose was vigorous and impassioned, but it was also unadorned, and being close to living speech, sometimes loose in structure. The essay as a form could be said to begin with him.

Jotirao Phule, a gardener by caste, supplied the necessary corrective to social thought, which had been confined to the upper castes, by vigorously championing the cause of the Sudras. His was a passionate plea for social equality; the Brahmin for him was the main enemy; the British and the missionaries were saviours. Often angry, vehement and at times frankly abusive, Phule went far beyond what was purely topical and propounded a marvellously catholic and tolerant gospel of universal religion—*Sārvajanika Satyadharma*—free from ritual, idol worship and domination of the priestly class. Through his *Satyaśodhaka Samāja*, Phule sought to unite the Sudras, and in his social programme included the Brahmin widow among the downtrodden. Phule's thought has been a source of inspiration for several decades to come.

Vishnubuwa Brahmchari, brought up in the orthodox Brahmin tradition, used his knowledge of Hinduism to combat the missionaries and stem their onslaught. In his dream of an ideal state, he advocated a form of Utopian socialism, in which all the necessities of life were owned by 'the king' but shared by all according to their needs.

These early essayists and journalists provide a backdrop to the development and near-perfection of the periodical essay after the 1870s. Things by then had changed enormously. The British administrators had become suspicious of Indians, particularly after the Mutiny of 1857. Earlier, English was made the medium of instruction in schools and colleges. A new generation of English-educated Maharashtrians, the first products of Bombay University (est. 1857), now arose. It was led by elders like Mahadeva Govind Rānade (1842–1901), R. G. Bhāndārkar, N. G. Chandavarkar, S. P. Pandit and others—all moderate, liberal social reformers, who founded the Prarthana Samaj on the model of Rammohan Roy's Brahmo Samaj. Ranade looked upon the British rule as a divine dispensation. With his numerous activities, he was a great source of inspiration to the younger generation. He wrote mostly in English and his religious discourses in Marathi had a limited appeal. However, his lectures on Swadeshi, Industrialism and his treatise *The Rise of Mahratta Power* were widely attended and had a profound influence. His great service to Marathi was his valiant campaign to restore its place in the university curriculum.

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Rajarama Ramkrishna Bhagavat (1851–1908) was an eccentric social reformer. Bold, iconoclastic and rebellious, he displayed vast erudition, which ranged over Indology, ancient culture, linguistic study and Maratha history. He championed the cause of the non-Brahmins, especially of the Marathas.

By the mid-19th century, with the rise of the third generation of English-educated persons coming up, a significant change in thought from liberalism to nationalism is noticed particularly in the writings of Vishnushastri Chiplunkar (1850–82) and Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856–1920). Gopal Ganesh Agarkar (1856–95) was different from these in his unequivocal liberalism. He gave priority to social reform over political reform, setting off a controversy which was to rage for over 50 years. In the hands of these three, the journalistic essay became popular and widespread, its language became cultivated and they brought the prose of thought to maturity.

All the three were activists and together established the first private English school and a college, and started the Marathi newspaper, the *Kesari* (The Lion) and *The Mahratta* in English. The names show a change of mood and temper; by spread of knowledge they sought to energize the dormant lion—national pride—and recover their lost self-confidence. Each reflected one or the other aspect of the awakening. Chiplunkar influenced Tilak with his extreme and nationalisticstand in his monthly one-man performance *Nibandhamālā* (A Garland of Essays). Calling himself the 'Shivaji of the Marathi language', he led the way, followed by Tilak and Agarkar, in ranging over wide fields of history, literature, sociology and politics. He was influenced by the essays of Addison, Steele, Johnson, Swift and Macaulay and gave a literary finish to the form. He was nostalgic, and sought to restore the lost pride in the ancient glories of India and often took the extreme stand that nothing was wrong with the state of Hindu society. With his essays, Marathi literary style shed its naive ways and its elementary nature, and became adult and mature.

Tilak's contribution to the militant phase of nationalism was epoch-making. Through his scholarly Indological studies, inspired by the researches of western scholars like Max Müller, he sought to discover the roots of Indian culture. More substantially than any other Indian thinker, he contributed to that phase of India's cultural renaissance which started with Ramakrishna Paramhansa and reached its culmination in Vivekananda's preachings on Vedantic philosophy in America. This confirmed the Indian nationalists in their faith that the spiritual outlook of Indian culture was going to prevail in a world keen on concentrating all its energy on politics. Tilak relegated social reform to a secondary place, though he did not question its value. Unfortunately in the popular mind he became indistinguishable from the orthodox. He was the first mass leader who championed the cause of democracy and democratic rights through his journalistic writing, which was stamped with his indomitable will, self-sacrifice and great scholarship. His style was vigorous, direct and forthright. Very often he restricted his analysis for considerations of political expediency, which limitation his friend and compeer and later opponent, Agarkar, could transcend. Agarkar was a keen student of world history and of the literature of the Romantics. He could apply the ideas of Mill, Huxley and Spencer to the Indian situation and could take a radical stand both in social and political matters. An agnostic in religion, Agarkar pleaded the cause of all-out reform, through his journal, the *Sudhāraka* (Reformer), which considerably influenced the movement for reform, and also made an impact on the different literary forms such as drama, novel and poetry.

These three writers, whose ideas were seminal, were a source of inspiration to Maharashtra, and left a rich but mixed legacy, which showed both the strength and the weakness of the awakening. Writers who came later welcomed the spirit of nationalism, democracy and technology brought by the British rule, but modern secular values based on individual freedom and the scientific spirit were not so easily accepted. Even those who subscribed to them theoretically appeared to backslide when it came to practical action in the social sphere. All this goes to show that the awakening was not an entirely free and spontaneous growth but largely something imposed from without. It was thus defective from the beginning. It lacked an original scientific tradition. The trained technologist and worker had no part in it, as he had in Europe. It tried the impossible task of superimposing modern democratic values on the rigid, traditional, caste-ridden world of Hinduism. These trends have continued till our own days.

Tilak's lieutenant, N. C. Kelkar (1872–1947), kept the flag flying when Tilak was in jail. He wrote copiously on a variety of topics; he is always urbane and cultivated, with a pleasing sense of humour. But he often lacks depth because of his copiousness. S. M. Parānjape (1864–1926) and K. P. Khādilkar (1872–1948), both influenced by Tilak, carried his thought further with slants of their own. Paranjape was all for revolution and revolutionary activity, and turned nationalism into an eloquent, sentimental and emotional experience using irony and sarcasm of a very refined type to criticize the British rule. He was no interpreter or commentator; he was not interested in reform and hardly ever referred to it. His main object appears to be to inflame the youth with revolutionary fervour. His style is rich with Sanskrit and historical allusions, and he is a connoisseur of the arts and a passionate lover of literature. He inspired young revolutionaries like V. D. Savarkar. His appeal to history, with an emphasis on hero worship, was shared by Khadilkar. Both turned to Gandhism after Tilak and propagated Gandhian ideas, but their writing appears to have lost its earlier fervour.

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A. B. Kolhatkar (1879-1931), another follower of Tilak, who turned to Mahatma Gandhi, is a significant name in journalistic writing from 1906 to 1931. He brought in a new and wider clientele of newspaper readers: the mill worker, the shopkeeper and the petty trader. What he lacked in depth he made up by his skilful devices for influencing the popular mind: the catching headline, repetition and appeal to emotion, and he was not averse to occasional use of the obscene. Historical research and writing formed an important trend. V. K. Rājawade (1863-1926) was a devoted historical researcher, a thinker and a powerful writer. His main theme was the loss of freedom and consequent decadence of values in the Maharashtra of the pre-Shivaji and post-Shivaji eras. His idea of history was purely secular, realistic and scientific. His work was carried on by the devoted band of historical researchers in the Bharat Itihas Samshodhana Mandal led by Vasudeoshastri Khare (1858-1924), Datto Vāman Poṭdār (1890-1979) and G. H. Khare (b. 1901).

A group of Gandhian thinkers tried to see the roots of tradition in the *Vedas* and *Upaniṣads* and the works of our saint-poets, and sought to apply the values of universal spiritual freedom and equality to modern times. Each of the Gandhian thinkers has a style of his own, flavoured with words, phrases and allusions from the *Vedas* and *Upaniṣads* and the saint poets. Almost all display a homely sense of humour and seem to revive through their writings, the traditional form of the *Pravacana* or religious sermon.

Gandhism was propagated in Maharashtra by a group of Gandhian thinkers and writers, viz. D. B. (Kaka) Kālelkar (1885-1982), Dādā Dharmādhikāri (b. 1899), S. J. Bhagwat (1903-73), Vinoba Bhave (1895-1982), S. D. Jāwadekar (1894-1955) and P. S. Sāne Guruji, (1899-1950). Bhagwat Kalelkar have wide and cosmopolitan culture. Vinoba Bhave's crusade for equality in his Bhoodan and Gramadan movements was supported by his persuasive appeal to intuition and reason, and lent a distinctive humanitarian flavour to his speeches and writings. Javadekar was the first to take a comprehensive survey of all the socio-political and philosophical trends in Maharashtra against a wider all-India background, with discerning analysis of the western contribution to thought. He was mainly responsible for attempting a synthesis of Gandhism and socialism. Sane Guruji combined emotion with a passionate crusade against cruelty and injustice.

Gandhism and Gandhian ideas were vehemently opposed in Maharashtra by the followers of Tilak, led by N. C. Kelkar, but a more effective opposition came from V. D. Sāvarkar (1883-1973) and later from Dr B. R. Āmbedkar (1893-1956). Savarkar came under the influence of S. M. Paranjape and his radical revolutionary nationalism. Always highstrung and passionate, Savarkar had a strong mixture of emotion and reason in his mental make-up. In his programme of social reform, he advocated in his powerful and well-reasoned essays, a form of rationalistic and utilitarian humanism, and, though an agnostic in religion, he kept it to himself for the sake of his militant Hinduism, which was a purely political doctrine. In speech and writing, Savarkar insisted on a 'pure' style, free from English, Arabic and Persian words, which made his own writing quaint and peculiar. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's was a tragically fascinating heroic figure with his fervent campaign for his downtrodden brethren. A voracious reader and ardent devotee of knowledge, Ambedkar was often angry and defiant, but he remained essentially nationalistic. His rationalism led him to Buddha and his doctrine. The theoretical and more scholarly part of Ambedkar's writing is in English, but his discursive and propagandist writing appears in his Marathi journals from 1920 onwards: *Mūkanāyaka* (Leader of the Mute), *Bahiṣkrita Bhārata* (Excommunicated India), and *Janatā* (The People). They enormously influenced his own generation and continue to influence his followers to this day.

In general, it may be said about the post-1920 essay that it lacks the pioneering and crusading spirit of the earlier, but it is enriched by a more thoughtful, scholarly or imaginative blending. Two powerful and original thinkers, Vaman Malhar Joshi (Vāman Malhār Jośī, 1882-1943) and S. V. Ketkar (1884-1937) imbibed the spirit of the early pioneers of spreading knowledge and making people think. Joshi did this through his essays, in which thought and discussion predominated, and Ketkar through his Marathi encyclopaedia—the first in the language—and other writings advocating, his ideas of a secular Hinduism. Joshi added to his study of Mill, Huxley and Spencer careful reading of Freud, Jung, Adler and Russell and thus introduced the most modern European thought in Maharashtra. Vitthal Ramji Shinde (1873-1944), a Prarthana Samajist preacher, was an ardent nationalist who dedicated himself to the uplift of the depressed classes, and brought an evenly balanced point of view to social reform. S. M. Mate (Māṭe, 1886-1957), with his imaginative empathy, analyzed the appalling living conditions of the depressed classes, and along with D. K. Kelkar (1885-1969) and P. G. Sahasrabuddhe (b. 1904) was all for a more egalitarian concept of society and also stood for science and the scientific point of view.

Marxism as a thought first made itself felt in the twenties, and continued to influence the literary sensibility even after Independence. The first application was mechanical and dogmatic, but a more imaginative and therefore powerful and discerning application of Marxist values is to be seen in G. B. Sardar (b. 1908), who could appreciate the humanism of the saint-poets, and D. K. Bedekar (1910-73), who brought an appreciation of Agarkar and Keśavsut's poetry for an understanding of the modern ethos. Sardar is also responsible, along with Laxmanshastri Joshi (b. 1901), for a revival of the resurgent, humanistic message of

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Jotiba Phule. Versatile and scholarly journalists like Prabhakar Padhye (b. 1909) and P. V. Gadgil brought a cosmopolitan and modern approach to their analysis.

The situation after Independence is full of promise and also misgivings. New schemes of industrialization and rural uplift, universal literacy, the growth of the regional universities and the rural colleges—all these factors are changing the face of the country. New voices, hitherto unheard in literature, are making themselves heard. There is a vast new readership with new expectations.

The diffusion of the reading and writing habits is a welcome factor, but it has also brought the rise of the mass man, with his vulgarity and love of sensationalism in literary taste. The growth of chain newspapers, with sales running into lakhs threatens the existence of smaller journals and, what is more important, of a really independent nonconformism which has always been an important feature of Marathi journalistic writing. It is mainly for this reason that there are fears that the impulse behind a Second Awakening is already on the wane. However, there are relieving features also. Journalism has a rich tradition of independence and the true journalist does not necessarily dance to the tune of his master.

The early missionary and idealistic fervour still continues in Sane Guruji's *Sādhanā*. Substantial encouragement is given by way of liberal grants to worthwhile publications by the government and the massive work it has undertaken of translations of classics in different disciplines—philosophy, the physical and social sciences, or ancient classics. The emphasis here is on picking up the thread of modernity in tradition and is thus a continuation of the early British activity in translations.

The new mood in the essay in the hand of Narahar Kurundkar or Vasant Palasikar appears to be a healthy matter-of-fact attitude and a sincere desire to probe deeper. A new kind of creative reportage is to be seen in the writings of a group of young writers headed by the Baba Adhav, who carries on Phule's crusading spirit by campaigns of social reform, and others like Anil Avachat and the group of Dalit writers. Writers like Y. D. Phadke (b. 1931), with their scholarly and critical analysis of the socio-political situation since the later part of the 19th century, hold out the hope that such writing will prosper.

The Essay: Belles-lettres Type. The Personal Essay had to wait till 1926 before it emerged as a distinct literary form. A lighter and more relaxed attitude to life and art is discernible in the twenties which is different from the seriousness of the early British days. A new confidence in one's own personal and emotional life now arose. The short story became more artistic, the lyric displayed subtlety and depth, humour as a form appeared in the essays of Gadkari and Kolhatkar. Hari Narayan Apte (1864–1919), the novelist, starts the periodical *Karamaṇuk* (Entertainment) which, with *Māsika Manorañjan* (Monthly Diversion), another periodical, gives prominence to short stories, sketches and translations of English essays. Theories like 'Art for Art's Sake' are freely discussed and ardently believed in. In the colleges, the essays of Alpha of the Plough, Lynd, Lucas and Chesterton are now studied, and seem to appeal in content and form to the newly awakened sensibility.

As in other forms, the personal essay too had its precursors in early journalistic writing, which has one or the other element of the personal essay. Writers like Mrs Ferrar or V. J. Oak wrote for children and developed a simple and direct style. A host of writers writing in the *Dnyāna-Prasāraka* in the 1850s first read essays on different topics before meetings, and thus brought a touch of spoken language to the form. Chiplunkar wrote delightfully light sketches of the Dining Hall, Travel and the Sea in imitation of Addison, but was rather apologetic for thus departing from the 'serious purpose' of life. The poetic vein was introduced by 1920, but it was in S. M. Paranjape's *Kāḷ* (Time) that writing akin to the real personal essay first appeared. Paranjape's essays made full use of literary devices like irony, satire and sarcasm, partly from an inner urge but also because of a necessity, since Government repression had now taken an aggressive form and anti-Government nationalist sentiment had to be expressed in an indirect, veiled manner.

Drawing richly on this background, writers like N. S. Phadke (1894–1978) in 1926 and V. S. Khandekar (1898–1976) in 1927 created the Personal Essay. Phadke's essays appropriately styled *Gujagoṣṭī* (Whisperings) show a lightness of touch, a love of beauty and also a psychological attitude, but there is also deliberate craftsmanship, with little or no intimate revelation of personality. Khandekar introduces a genuine meditative and reflective strain and enriches the personal essay with telling anecdotes and reminiscences. He reveals a mind that draws on all his experiences, personal, social and literary, though at times his style appears to be too richly loaded with deliberately literary devices such as word-play and punning.

Anant Kāṇekar (1905–80) shows a social awareness, under the iconoclastic influence of Shaw and Ibsen, Maupassant, Chekhov, Hardy and Tolstoy. The Russian Revolution, with its echoes in India in the Communist movement, affects his sensibility and enables him to see the anomalies and disparities in society. He contributed a page to the periodical *Sañjīvanī* in which he made incisive, brief comments on everyday life, showing up false idealism. His uneasy, disturbed frame of mind makes his essay different from that of Phadke. It is socially activated but it has also a fine artistry. His Gaṇukākā, who represents the common man's point of view, is a delightful creation.

By the thirties the vogue of the Personal Essay had come to stay. It saw a period of expansion till 1945. N. M. Sant writes in a homely, relaxed vein hiding nothing from the

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reader; while in Kusumavati Deshpande (1904-61) there are subtler strains: love of nature and beauty, and a genuine poetic strain. The form has since been handled with ease and confidence by a host of writers. Among them are N. V. Gadgil (1896–1966) and N. G. Goray (b. 1907), both eminent in the political field, who use the form with ease and humour, and also make it a vehicle for social satire. Gradually, however, a stereotype replaces spontaneity. But the form is saved by the fifties by such remarkably versatile writers as Irāvati Kārve (1906–70), Durgā Bhagwat (b. 1910) and Vindā Karandikar.

Karve and Bhagwat are scholars, working anthropologists and sociologists, while Karandikar is a poet turned essayist. Karve shows a very happy blend of the different facets of her personality: a wife and a mother, a social scientist and anthropologist, and a keen and amused observer of the oddities of human life. Her lightness of touch does not hide the rich undercurrent of thought. Durga Bhagvat is a fearless rebel. She combines an impassioned love of nature, an original mind, a poetic vein and a genuine meditative quality. Her essays are enriched by her wide imaginative sympathies and catholic interests. She is successful to a remarkable degree in re-evaluating traditional concepts like nationalism and the anti-British feeling which it generated, and has her own assessment of Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity. Vinda Karandikar is poetic, reflective, symbolical or mischievous with an impish sense of humour. His nostalgia is a mixture of genuine fun and pathos. Mādhav Āchwal (1925–80) is a professional architect turned essayist. His subjects are houses and their sites and structures, the material out of which they are constructed, the space they enclose, their shapes, sizes and colours. This 'professional' matter is handled with deep sensitivity and with the perception of a lover of beauty. Srinivas Kulkarni is steeped in childhood memories and makes a mythology, as it were, out of his experiences, through symbols and images which are a permanent possession, sometimes disturbing, sometimes encouraging but always an unforgettable part of one's being. Family relationships take a new hue and are expressed in a highly original form, which is beyond the pale of intellect and reason.

These essayists have liberated the form from its traditional roots and opened the way to new avenues of experience, expressed in a style which is supple, plastic, poetic and highly expressive.

The Travelogue

As travelogue has a factual basis, it was very slow to develop as a form of literature. To the orthodox, travel used to be a taboo. This prejudice had to be conquered. The early travelogue was merely factual, a plain matter-of-fact narration of incidents without any literary graces.

The earliest books of travel in Marathi appear after the British rule. They are mostly of pilgrimages to holy places, as in the case of J. V. Khatri's *Gokarṇa Mahābleśwarcā Pravās* (Travels to Gokarna Mahabaleshwar, 1863) or Hari Ganesh Patawardhan's *Kāśiyātrā* (Pilgrimage to Kashi, 1872), which is in the form of letters and has a very intimate tone. Khatri's travels, with their advice to people to adapt their behaviour to the changing times, appear to be a part of the new awakening. In 1867, Bhāskar Hari Bhagwat, translated from Karsandas Mulji's original Gujarati his travels in England. The book contains interesting character sketches of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert.

In the 1880s there appeared two significant books of travel by Pandita Ramabai (1858–1922): *Englandcā Pravās* (Travels to England, 1883), *Amerikecā Pravās* (Travels to America, 1886). Both are remarkable for the imaginative insight of the writer, her minuteness of observation and her eye for the picturesque and the beautiful. Running through her narration, there is an undercurrent of social and religious reform, and there is also an irrelevant apologia for her embracing Christianity.

R. B. Pavagi's (1856–1929) *Vilāyatacā Pravās* (Travels to Vilayat, i.e. England) came out in 1889–92. This journey to England was undertaken with the Maharaja of Jodhpur. Notable features of the book are the character sketches of Gladstone and his wife and a reference to the homosexual practices of the Turks.

The period from 1901 to 1920 seems particularly propitious for travelogues; for we have a number of these reaching an artistic level. One of the most significant of them is *Māzā Pravās* (My Travels, 1907) by Visnubhat Godse (1827–1907). Godse was a priest, who undertook a tour of North India with his uncle in the 1850s. During their journey, the travellers were caught in the rising of 1857, and the book gives a thrilling account of the Mutiny. Particularly exciting is his pathetic account of an accidental meeting with the Rani of Jhansi fleeing after her defeat. Godse's narration is simple, and often naive; but it is notable for its sincerity and remarkable gift of observation. Unknowingly, he succeeds in creating a masterpiece. He has an eye for the out-of-the way and the uncommon and does not miss a smutty incident or a salacious reminiscence during the licentious rule of the last Peshwa.

Śri Kailās Mānas Sarovaradarśana (1910) by Hansa Swami describes the writer's meeting with a saintly person in a cave with all the aura of mystery surrounding it and a dramatic encounter with the leader of a mountain tribe and his band of ruffians with a full sense of thrill and drama.

The orientalist P. D. Gune (1882–1922) describes in his letters, published in 1915, his sojourn in Europe. Endowed with a very curious, inquisitive mind having a keen interest in educational activity and social manners, Gune is also genuinely moved by the ancient sculpture and paintings of Venice and Florence and in his application shows a developed artistic taste. Between 1921 and 1940 were published

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G. C. Bhate's voluminous travels to different parts of India and several European countries. Bhate shows little or no curiosity in probing into the mystery of the human mind.

The versatile N. C. Kelkar wrote his *Vilāyatecī Bātamī-patre* (English Newsletters) in 1922 with a remarkable sense of humour. He is always the complete man of letters with his apt literary references or reminiscences and is a forerunner of modern masters.

S. R. Tikekar, with his travels through the regions of the Middle East, shows himself to be a keen observer of men and manners and an ideal newspaper correspondent; but it is Anant Kanekar's *Dhukyātūn Lāl Tāryākaḍe* (Through the Mist to the Red Star, 1940) which is considered a genuine artistic travelogue. It is a faithful diary of his travels to Russia. With deep sensitivity the writer is able to convey the thrill of his experience, making every moment come alive. He is poetic, humorous or sensitive as the occasion demands. The book contains fine pen sketches of his fellow-travellers, as also of the Russians he met in that country. Equally remarkable is Kanekar's account of his journey to various places in India: *Āmaci Māṭī, Āmace Ākāśa* (Our Soil, Our Skies, 1950).

After the fifties the travelogue in the hands of Kaka Kalelkar (e.g. his remarkable poetic descriptions of the different rivers of India), Mahadeo Sastri Joshi (b. 1906) (descriptions of places of pilgrimage and also of historical battlefields) takes an honourable place in artistic prose. We have here an ardent love of nature, mixed with a love of the mythological and the legendary background of the places, the whole coming alive with a sense of artistic effect. Gangadhar Gadgil in his *Gopurāncyā Pradeśāt* (In the Region of the Gopuras, 1952) and *Sātā Samudrāpalīkade* (Beyond the Seven Seas, 1959) adds his gifts as a story-teller and descriptive writer to a very keen sense of humour. Prabhakar Padhye brings a wide background to his world travels and makes the character sketches of the men and women he met memorable with his keen observation. R. B. Joshi's (b. 1903) *Vātcāl* (Treading the Way, 1953) comprises essays giving his personal opinions and impressions of the places he visited in India. He is deeply interested in the cultural scene and notes the passing glory of faded culture with all its poignancy. Lastly, we have P. L. Deshpande, the humorist, who with his great gifts of laughter, observation and very catholic sympathies, makes his travels to the countries of the East and the West a memorable and enduring experience.

Though the travelogue has thus come to occupy an important place in prose, its shortcomings have also to be noted. There is hardly any example of a travelogue inspired by a high sense of adventure where the traveller sojourns over uncharted lands, mountains, jungles or seas. There is again hardly any example of the scientific-poetic quest of the intellect and the spirit. The form is handled mostly by the middle class intellectual, who travels along well-trodden paths by the established means of transport. A notable exception appears to be G. N. Dandekar (b. 1916), the novelist, who in his autobiography narrates in a fascinating way, how he wandered on foot over the Narmada Valley as a mendicant. Vyankatesh Madgulkar, the story writer, in his enchanting *śikār* stories blends his sense of adventure with minute observations of the flora and fauna of Maharashtra.

Humour in Marathi

Humour in Marathi, as in most literatures, is an all-pervading element and is found in different forms of writing, in both prose and poetry. The medieval writers, particularly the saint-poets, used it when they saw a gap between high professions and mean actions, or wherever they noticed pretence and hypocrisy. The Mahanubhava writers used almost all the varieties of humour—the humour of incident, character, irony, satire or sarcasm. Chakradhara, the founder of the cult always, had an eye for the odd and the out-of-the-way and had a sense of fun. He gave nicknames to his followers and established an easy intimacy with them. The *bakhars* and letters of the Maratha period have a number of humorous anecdotes and character sketches, and their style abounds in the telling metaphor and the apt simile, with a humorous twist.

However, humour came into its own with the British period. Periodicals carried on a war of words, some seeking to demolish old values, manners and customs and also to establish modern values in their place and some standing up for the old values. Irony, sarcasm and parody were useful weapons in this war. Controversies regarding social questions, norms of conduct and behaviour and value concepts now became the order of the day, and the early newspaper resorted to laughter as a corrective for social ills. Chiplunkar in his monthly *Nibandhamālā*, and later Tilak and Agarkar in their weeklies used irony and sarcasm with telling effect, in the service of the cause they upheld.

As a distinct form, humour came into its own with Sripad Krishna Kolhatkar (1871–?), who published his essays in different periodicals from 1902 to 1910. These were collected in the twenties under the title *Sudāmyāce Pohe* (Sudama's gift, meaning a humble offering, 1938). Kolhatkar learnt his trade from Voltaire, Sterne, Fielding, Smollett, Cervantes, Mark Twain and Jerome K. Jerome. He was a social reformer, influenced by Agarkar, but in his essays he posed as an orthodox person seeking to attack the reformers. He touched a number of topics from shaving to newspaper editing, and from locks to musicians. He is a master of the mock-heroic, and whenever free from the moralistic his humour becomes engaging and absorbing as his sketches on marriage customs, court witnesses or locks show.

Shivram Mahadev Paranjape and later Achyut Balvant Kolhatkar used a variety of the comic, particularly irony,

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the mock-serious and the parody, Paranjape in a highly sophisticated, urbane style and Kolhatkar in a more informal way.

Kolhatkar's ideas appear to be seminal, particularly his exposure of the absurdities of marriage customs. This thread is taken up by Ram Ganesh Gadkar (1885–1919) in his *Thakice Lagna*, which humorously exposes the pitiable state to which the parents of marriageable daughters are reduced while arranging their marriage. Gadkari creates fanciful situations, like the operation performed on Balakram in *Thakiche Lagna*. He delights in puns and plays on words, and is biting in his satire. Some of the writing is masterly in its humour, as in his short sketch *Chhotya Jaguca Report* (Report of Little Jagu). In this, a child brought up in a theatrical company describes a real wedding as a theatrical performance. In another, a short dramatic skit named *Mūkanāyaka* (The Mute Hero) a clerk, who is an anti-hero, goes through the routine of a humdrum life, speechlessly. Underlying the comedy we see real pathos.

We have real sparkle and a completely light-hearted touch in Chintamana Vinayaka Joshi's (1892–1963) series of sketches *Lagin Sarāi* (The Marriage Season) with funny incidents built round humorous types such as Chimanrao and Gundyabhau. There are several collections of Joshi's humorous sketches. He laughs at human foibles and oddities, but it is gentle laughter. No criticism of the existing social order is implied in it. Unlike Kolhatkar and Gadkari, Joshi does not play with language to obtain his humorous effects.

The mock-heroic sketch and story were handled effectively by Shamrao Oak (b. 1907) who revelled in irony and sarcasm of a very finished and subtle type, and later by P. K. Atre (1898–1969), who during the 1930s, brought his tremendous mental energies to evoke laughter of different kinds starting with brilliant verse parodies. Atre distinguished himself in a variety of fields, including drama and films besides several forms of literature. But whatever he wrote carried a strong streak of humour. It was as a journalist that Atre, in his later years, wielded his humour as a powerful weapon to demolish his political opponents. The agitation for Samyukta Maharashtra gained tremendous strength from Atre's humour—as a writer and a speaker.

M. G. Ranganekar, C. V. Bavadekar, Dattu Bandekar and Anant Kanekar among others brought sparkling humour to the columns of weeklies, and their writing became a favourite in every home. The neglected world of the rural folk and the aborgines was lit up now with humour, now with pathos, by S. M. Māte in the thirties and forties. Later the humour in rural life was brought out attractively by D. M. Mirasdar and Shankar Pātil, and more particularly by Vyankatesh Madgulkar, who has an infinite variety of character sketches. These 'characters' include, if one might say so, even dogs and cows and monkeys.

The emergence of P. L. Deshpande (b. 1919), during the mid-forties ushered in a new era in humorous writing. P. L. in a sense carries on the Kolhatkar—Gadkari tradition. He delights in satire and parody and is a master of the assimilated quotation. He has a vast variety of experience of persons from various walks of life. He produces laughter, which often is close to tears, as for example in the sketch of Narayana, a factotum, a jack of all trades, so handy and useful in weddings, in a way a stock character, but in his creator's hands he becomes an intensely human individual. From P. L. 's varied writings, apart from drama, two forms stand out: the character sketch, and the travelogue. Two collections of the former have won great acclaim: *Vyoktī āṇi Vallī* (Persons and Characters, 1962) and *Gaṇagota* (Kith and Kin, 1966), the former comprising imaginary persons and the latter real ones. P. L.'s travels to the East and the West have been humorously recorded in three of his books.

The newspaper and the periodical of today afford ample scope for writings of the humorous type. They have helped such prolific writers as V. A. Buwa or Ramesh Mantri, or more subtle ones as Bal Gadgil. However, in more recent years, we have Jayawant Dalvi, writing a monthly feature under the pen-name 'Thaṇthaṇpāḷ'. The world of the men of letters with their stylistic peculiarities, their personal quirks and follies, is ridiculed and laughed at by Dalvi in a playful way, providing humour of a very healthy variety.

Humour has percolated to the lowest strata of society today with the writings of the Dalit writers. They use their own dialects and show that humour is an integral part of the human personality—a part which triumphs over poverty, social inequality and their attendant evils.

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Oriya

KHAGESWAR MAHAPATRA

The Heritage

Prose has a long literary tradition in Oriya, though its growth through the early and medieval periods was somewhat weak and uneven. Its earliest specimen is found in the epigraphical records—inscriptions and copper plates—written over the period beginning from the 10th century. Some of these records are almost literature having as their content fascinating episodes, socio-political features and descriptions of areas and landscapes. Some are significant from the literary point of view for their language and style. In the words of Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji, 'The early Oriya of these inscriptions is a living speech. Oriya in literature is more Sanskrit-ridden than Bengali and the language there is never so interesting as in these not very long specimens in the inscriptions; except that a few archaic or obsolete forms are preserved in the former and that in quality it is quite a respectable body of national literature in the language' (*Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*). The syntax of the inscriptional prose exhibits certain stylistic features in contrast with the modern sentence patterns. The most prominent of these, according to K. B. Tripathi (*Evolution of Oriya Language and Script*), is the manifestation of laxity in observing word order. The sentences are structurally simple and stylistically precise and factual.

Inscriptional prose was the precursor of literary prose, which grew sporadically in the poetry-dominated landscape of the early Oriya literature. A few seedlings of such prose are noticeable in the body of the poetry text itself. Sarala Das's (c. 15th century) *Mahabhārata and Caṇḍī Purāṇa* (c. 15th century) contain some despatches, proclamations and letters in prose. Mahishasura's Āñjā Patrikā in *Caṇḍī Purāṇā* is particularly striking for its powerful and inspiring expression of the type found in the royal charters of the inscriptions.

Prose as a distinct mode of writing came into vogue in the following types of literature which were introduced roughly from the 15th century.

(i) Votive Tales. The Saiva and Sakta cults introduced observance of certain rituals for fulfilment of specific vows. As part of the performance of the rites some stories depicting the glory of Siva and Sakti used to be told to the devotees. Such tales in due course formed a body of religious literature under the title of *Brata-Kathā*. The earliest extant tales of the type are the *Somanātha Bratakathā* and the *Nāgala cauthi Bratakathā*. These are written in a homely narrative manner in simple, short and clear-cut sentences. They are undated and anonymous, but on the basis of theme and language they are supposed to have been written in the 13th–14th century period. A few more votive tales of the Vaishnavite order were written at a later stage and introduced *Bratas* like 'Sudasa', 'Ananta', 'Rabinārāyaṇa', etc.

(ii) Commentaris, Translations and Treatises. Some theological and liturgical texts of the Nath cult and the Orissan Vaiṣṇavism contain explanatory passages in prose following the verses. Notable texts of this genre are the Śiśuveda, the Saptānga Yoga—both ascribed to Gorakhanath, the *Ganeśa Bibhuti* of Bhupati Bhanja, *Surya Siddhānta* (1721) of Nimbadeva and *Pranaba-Vyāhruti-gitā* (1646) of Bipra Jambeswara Das.

Jagannatha Das's *Tuḷābiṇā* (early 16th century) is a full-length treatise in prose on the metaphysical theories and theological tenets of the Orissan Vaiṣṇavism. Similar works under the titles of *Bramha-gitā*, *Pranaba-sāra-gitā*, and *Siddhānta Dambara* were produced by Balaram Das (c. 16th century). The characteristic features of the prose of these works are their looseness, colloquialism and rhythmic cadence which differentiate them from the verse. It shows that the prose did not come up to the level of the artistry of the literary style that the authors otherwise used in their poetry. One commentary of the textual-criticism type has so far come to light. It is on the Kavya *Lābaṇyabatī* of Upendra Bhanja (16th–17th century). The commentator is Krushna Das and it is dated 1857. It is modelled on Sanskrit commentaries. The language is significant for its complex sentences, use of the verb substantive—'aṭa' instead of reducing the sentences to equational structure, and sprinklings of the Southern Oriya dialectal words and forms.

(iii) Chronicles. The *Mādaḷā Pāñjī*, the chronicle of the temple of Lord Jagannatha, is regarded as a great work of Oriya prose. The traditional belief is that the *Pāñjī* has been continuously maintained since the temple was built in the 12th century. But historians do not accept the authenticity of its contents being prior to the mid-16th century. Literary historiographers, however, claim the antiquity of the *Pāñjī* and find chronological development of the Oriya prose style in its language.

The *Pāñjī* is in two parts—a 'Rājabhoga' part dealing with the history of the Kings of Puri and a 'Devabhoga'

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part dealing with the affairs of the temple. As a historical record, the *Pāñji* is likely to appear quaint as its authenticity is vitiated by a lot of fantastic myths and legends and factual inaccuracies and exaggeration. However, from the literary point of view, as Dr Mansinha has rightly observed in his *History of Oriya Literature*, 'those chronicles, like Holinshed's in English literature, have provided the raw material for excellent Kāvyās and Nāṭakas in Oriya through the many romantic legends found in their as yet unpublished pages. Their language is generally archaic, but uncouth and inartistic, lacking the ancient flavour. Their only worth as literature lies in the social pictures they represent in the different historical periods.'

The other famous chronicle is the *Cainika Cakadā* (Chaini's Records Das, S. N., *Odia Sāhityara Itihāsa*, Part I, Cuttack, 1963, pp. 358–374). The book was originally started by Fakir Chaini, who was ordered by Gurudasa Chaini, a Minister of King Purusottama Deva (1467–96), for keeping on record, the life and achievements of the king. Somehow it continued as a family tradition for at least three generations. Gurudasa's son Chandrakala and his grandson Mangala Srabana maintained the writing of the chronicle through the reign of Prataparudra Deva (1497–1550). Though primarily it is a record of the life histories of two great kings of the Gajapati dynasty, it also contains a lot of information about the socio-cultural history of the period and character studies of various social types. Stories and anecdotes relating to events and personalities greatly enhance the literary value of the work. The language and style make happy reading through lively descriptions, interesting narrations and dramatic dialogues. It is a wonder that during a period of serious religious writing such a prose work could be produced at a family level.

The dynastic records of the kings of Mayurbhanj, Ghumsar, Kalahandi etc. were started at a later stage in imitation of the above two works.

(iv) Literary Texts. In the whole of Old Oriya literature about a dozen truly literary works were produced in prose. Of these, some are translations or adaptations of Sanskrit texts. In this category, the *Batisa Simhāsanā Kathā* by Siba Das, the *Hitopadesa* by Sridhar Das and *Gītagovinda* by Basudeva Misra are historically important. The first, as a translation, is more liberal than literal, but it is definitely an older work and is representative of an autochthonous narrative style. The other two exhibit Sanskritism to a great extent in imitation of the prevalent literary style.

Among the other works the following four are noteworthy:

(a) *Rudra Sudhānidhi*: Narayananda Abadhuta Swami (c. 14th–15th century). Saivite in theme, romantic in spirit, poetical in style, this book may be best described as an epic in prose. The first of its kind in Oriya, it bears resemblance to the Vachana literature of the Vira Saiva sects. It is composed of small, fragmentary and elliptical sentences intertwined rhythmically and rhyming occasionally. Its story highlights the contrast between the points of view an ascetic and a worldly man.

(b) *Catura Binoda*: Brajantha Badajena (1730–95). Written on the model of Sanskrit story books like the *Pañcatantra* etc. this book, organized in four parts, contains a number of stories strung together with a central theme. Each part is called a *Binoda* (an act of entertainment) of a particular nature such as *Hāsa* (Humour), *Rasa* (Romance), *Niti* (Morality) and *Priti* (Friendship). A prince as the central character tells these four *Binodas* during the four parts of the night to entertain his lady-love, who has to remain awake in order to observe a religious vow. The form is perfectly imitated from Sanskrit prototypes, even to the point of inserting verses between the prose passages. Unlike the earlier prose works, the language here is natural and made up of well-ordained sentences complete with finite verbs.

(c) *Hāsya Kallola*: Kavisurya Baladeva Ratha (1780–1845). The book written on the model of *Hāsyarnaba* by Jagadiswara (c. 17th century) in Sanskrit contains a series of humorous and satirical stories and anecdotes. Some of the characteristic features of its style are the creation of false grandeur in atmosphere, mixing of colloquial and literary forms and Sanskrit, Perso-Arabic and Vernacular words, and insertion of verses caricaturing Sanskrit *ślokas*.

(d) *Prastāba Cintāmaṇi*: Nilambara Vidyadhara (late 18th century). A romance in form and theme, it tells the adventures of a prince temporarily lost in the forest. Unlike the above mentioned texts its prose is not mingled with poetry, instead it is written in a natural narrative style. The plot is set on a socio-cultural milieu, making the book a storehouse of sociological information.

Incidentally, it is to be noted that in the old days the style of reading prose texts was similar to recitation of poems. The readers used to recite the sentences with a musical intonation and cadence. As there were 'Pāla gāhāṇas' who used to sing from the Kāvyas to entertain an audience throughout the night, so also there were 'Kathā-Sāgaras', the professional story-tellers, to provide similar entertainments. The above-mentioned story-books of love and laughter were perhaps meant for providing the material to the Kathasagaras.

The above reconnaissance of prose in old Oriya literature upto the middle of the 19th century indicates that it was not a very productive area of literary activities. The authors who were primarily poets, casually experimented on a piece and then abandoned it. However, in the process, Oriya prose

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could have some texts, such as, the *Mādaḷā Pāñji*, the *Rudra Sudhānidhi*, and the *Tuḷābiṇā* which could be classed along with the Assamese *Buruñji*, the Maithili *Kirtilata* and the Marathi *Jñaneśwari*. On the foundation laid in these works there rose ultimately the edifice of modern prose.

The Modern Period

Oriya literature emerged in a changed form and spirit in the latter half of the 19th century. The rise of prose was a distinctive feature of that new literature. Western literature which obviously inspired this modernization had by that time developed its prose in a variety of forms and had made it a viable medium for expressing modern ideas and concepts pertaining to science, politics and other similar branches of knowledge. The Oriya prose too, thus grew up taking models and ideas from the West. Certain historical factors were responsible for this channelizing.

Orissa came under the British rule in 1803. Consequently English language and European culture assumed importance in Oriya society. The elite realized that to understand the technicalities of the new government, learning the English language was essential. Gradually their initial hesitation based on orthodoxy and superstitions vanished and they were inspired to accept a reasonable amount of western education and culture. At this point, besides the government, the missionaries too initiated the process of language-learning.

In 1822 two missionary couples, Bampton and Peggs, came to Cuttack from Serampore. The Baptist Missionary Society had by that time translated and printed several books and tracts in Oriya under the supervision of Carey, Marshman and Ward. With those materials in hand Bampton and Peggs not only started their work of propagation of religion, but also revolutionized the cultural life of the province through the following four subsidiary programmes.

(*a*) *Institution of schools*: Within one and half years they established the first English School at Cuttack in 1823 and set up as many as fifteen vernacular schools.

(*b*) *Preparation of textbooks*: As their object was to inculcate western ideas through education they totally discarded old Oriya poetry texts from the curricula and introduced prose texts specially prepared for imparting knowledge in science, geography, history, philosophy, grammar and religion. These books, in spite of being written in imperfect Oriya, acquainted the younger generation with a new type of reading and writing.

(*c*) *Establishment of printing press*: As missionary activities progressed in Orissa, a press named the Cuttack Mission Press was established in 1837. This press played an important role in the production of Oriya books for at least thirty years. Oriya prose would never have come within the reading range of many people without the press.

(*d*) *Publication of journals*: Journalism, which is an important organ of modern literature, was started in the beginning by the missionaries. They made three successive attempts in Oriya in this direction by publishing the *Jnānāruna* in 1849, the *Prabodha Candrikā* in 1856 and the *Aruṇōdaya* in 1861. A letter from W. C. Lacey to the Government of Bengal on 20 December, 1855 asking for financial assistance to run a magazine in Oriya clearly indicates that the main objective before them was not simply to preach religion but also to educate the masses by diffusing modern knowledge. Oriya prose initially came into being and flourished in the pages of these journals.

The establishment of modern schools and the orientation in education necessarily meant reorganization of curricula. It became imperative on the part of the educationists to prepare and provide suitable textbooks. Besides providing knowledge in divergent disciplines these prose texts also enriched the language and enhanced its functional efficiency. Textbooks provided another area for growth. It began with translations from English and Bengali. Oriya did not gain much on this score as there were neither competent English-knowing Oriya writers nor Oriya-knowing missionaries and they used the easiest means of preparing the Oriya versions by translating or transcribing from Bengali.

However, from 1857 onwards more Oriya writers got involved in textbooks and in the seventies it was found that the latter-day makers of the modern Oriya literature were trying their hand at textbook writing. The modern educational system and textbooks implanted in the minds of the rising generations new values of literature and acquainted them with new forms and diction. The prose in many forms and types—essay, discourse, travelogue, life sketch, etc.—was inducted into Oriya literature through the pages of these textbooks.

Right after the great Orissa famine of 1866-67 a sense of awakening began to prevail in the Oriya mind. It was the dawn of the Orissa Renaissance. The people—the traditional elite, the new-literates and the *nouveaux riches*—were now determined to assert their individuality and self-image in the new socio-political condition. Their constructive activities and community-consciousness were manifested through their own press, journals and associations. Thirty years after the establishment of the missionary press, the first native press came into existence in 1866. During the next thirty years the number went up to 15 in a network covering the whole province. Similarly, the first native journal, the *Utkal Dīpikā* appeared in August 1866. By the end of the century as many as sixty other periodicals flourished. These journals were devoted to a variety of subjects—politics, religion, education, social reform, community-interest and so on. Some of them were purely literary, and in this respect the role of these four can never be ignored: *Utkal Darpaṇa* (1873), *Utkal Madhupa* (1878), *Utkal Prabhā* (1891) and *Utkal Sāhitya* (1897). In fact,

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modern Oriya literature was created, evaluated and established in the pages of these journals.

These factors—the governmental decision in favour of using Oriya at the lower levels of administration, the activities of the missionaries in disseminating a new consciousness and outlook and the development of an awareness of modern forms and trends in literature through the new system of education—created an atmosphere in the literary arena favourable to the emergence and growth of prose. The establishment of printing presses, publication of journals and formation of literary associations provided the necessary aid and encouragement for its gradual growth.

The more important problems that confronted the practitioners of prose were, firstly, identification of the Oriya sentence pattern, and, secondly, selection of words and forms from the various dialectal and literary styles of common speech. The pioneering missionary writers adopted the English pattern by simply substituting the English words with their approximate Oriya equivalents. Its result was that the expressions became clumsy in structure, confusing in meaning and unbalanced in style. Apart from others, Rev. Amos Sutton, who wrote the first Oriya grammar (1831) and prepared the first prose textbook *The Vernacular Reader* (1846), also did not find out the genius of the language and its natural pattern of usages. Similarly, Rev. W. C. Lacey, Rev. J. Stobins, etc. and the native writers who followed them closely just streamlined the Oriya syntax on the models of the English and Latin grammars. Therefore, though the missionaries brought in the prose, they could not make any contribution towards its stylistic innovations.

The credit for perfecting Oriya prose style goes unquestionably to Madhusudan Rao (1853-1912). He is the maker of a literary style which is regarded as the standard form. He organized the Oriya sentence into definite patterns and selected the vocabulary derivable and available from Sanskrit sources. The concept of a standard literary Oriya was epitomized in the language and style of Rao. His *Prabandha Mālā* (1880) is a hallmark of Oriya prose.

Subsequently, the 'Satyavadi' group of writers (1910-20) effected some reforms in it by redeeming it from the heavily Sanskritized diction. They, particularly Nilakantha Das (1884-1967) and Godavarish Misra (1886-1956), brought it nearer to the spoken idiom of the educated class by inducting colloquial words and idioms and discarding the compound verbal phrases. For example, a statement like 'He is eating' would be expressed in Oriya by Sutton as *Se khāibāra heuchanti*, by Rao as *Se bhojana karuachanti* and by Das as *Se khāuchanti*. Oriya prose developed in two distinct streams—fictional and non-fictional—from the beginning of the present century. The authors of fictional prose—novel, short story, drama, etc.— developed individual styles and micro-languages in their creative process. The writers of the non-fictional prose—essay, criticism, travelogue, reportage, etc.—looked for and adapted a standard style which would not interfere in the expression of facts and would be communicative of all subjects to all people. As a result, whereas the fictional prose developed artistically in many ways, the non-fictional prose cultivated a jargon-loaded, hackneyed style. Possibly, for this reason, since the beginning of the modern period it has remained mostly confined to text books. There was no popular taste and demand nor did any writer prove his worth by making it attractive and useful outside the classroom. Furthermore, the reasons for such a debilitated condition may be ascribed to the low percentage of literacy, paucity of serious-minded readership and lack of well-established chain of journals.

However, in spite of these handicaps, there has been a perceptible progress in the output of prose in the recent times. The local dailies and monthlies deserve a major share of the credit for boosting up the development of prose. Essays and *belles-lettres* dealing with topics relating to almost all the branches of knowledge now regularly adorn the body of the journals. The Vinjān Pracār Samiti founded in 1949 has constantly fostered scientific essays and discourses in Oriya. The committees for translation of technical terms set up by the Utkal University, the Orissa State Bureau of Textbook Preparation and production and the Law Commission have greatly facilitated writing in Oriya on technical subjects. The potentiality of the language, however, still needs to be enhanced through experimentation in order to make the language more functional in various spheres.

An important aspect of this move is to discover and develop the inherent strength and natural flavour of the popular speech. Colloquial Oriya has a typical style of its own which very few writers could acquire and employ. Prose still means to many of them only writing grammatical sentences. A misguided regard for a Sanskritized language and English-sentence patterns has been the bane of Oriya prose writing. It is desirable now to look at the language not merely as a perfunctory medium, but as an operative and dependable vehicle of communication of ideas with a view to enhancing its functionality in the presentday context.

The Essay

'Prabandha' is the Oriya synonym for 'essay'. Though its lexical and etymological meaning is very wide in range, somehow, probably in imitation of Bengali, it has been adopted in Oriya since the inception of the essay form of writing in the language. The other synonyms—'sandarbha', 'nibandha' and 'racanā'—have narrower connotations, meaning roughly 'discourse', 'treatise' and 'composition' respectively. As a literary form the *prabandha* by definition means a storyless short write-up in prose on any topic. The prescriptive model for it is to begin with an introduction of the topic, then proceed with discussion on the various aspects of the topic, and end with a conclusion. Any 'formal' essay fits

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into this pattern. The essays of the 'familiar' type and *belles-lettres*, which are now being designated as 'Ramya Racanā' (Pleasant Essay), are somewhat loose in organization, light in vein and lucid in style.

The essay developed in Oriya at its early phase in three successive stages—in missionary literature, in school textbooks, and in journals. It gained ground as a form of literature during the period 1880–1900 in the hands of Radhanath Ray (1848–1908), Madhusudan Rao and their contemporaries. Radhanath Ray's *Bibeki* (1873) was an epoch-making essay that set the ideal for intellectual discourse. Madhusudan Rao's *Prabandhamālā*, Biswanath Kar's (1864–1934) *Bibidha Prabandha* (1896) and the stray essays of a host of writers published in the journals were the first harvest of this newly acquired area in literature.

In the early years of the present century the Oriya essay entered another phase. Gradually Madhusudan's Sanskrit-ridden style was simplified. Biswanath's emotional outbursts were toned down and the range of subject matter was widened beyond religion, morality and social reform. The appearance of Gopal Chandra Praharaj (1872–1945) changed the atmosphere altogether. His writings in a lighter vein on very serious subjects were as amusing as provoking. He was like an Oriya counterpart of the American Oliver Wendel Holmes. His serials in the 'Utkal Sahitya' of *Bhāgabata Tungire Sandhyā* (1900–1901), *Bāi Mahānti Pāñjī* (1902), *Miān Sāhebanka Rajanmacā* (1904), *Dunīāra Hālcāl* (1914) and *Āma Gharara Hālcāl* (1917) are unique in theme, outlook and style. The other luminaries of those days are Mrutyunjaya Ratha (1882–1924), Tarini Charan Rath (early 20th century), Jagabandhu Singh (1877–1948), Mohini Mohan Senapati (b. 1881), Shyam Sundar Rajguru (1866–1909), Gopinath Nanda (1869–1924) and Sashi Bhusan Rai (1874–1954). Each of them had specialized subjects and individualized style. They freed the essay from the limits of textbooks and made them less dreaded as lifeless pedantic literary exercises.

The 'Satyavādi' group of writers took it further to the common reading public by making it attractive both in theme and in treatment. They moulded prose style into the spoken form, sprinkled it with colloquial usages, and wrote on subjects of immediate relevance. Politics and nationalism formed the key points of their writings. They were committed to certain views and ideals in their bid to resurrect Orissa from its depressed condition, realize freedom from the British rule and re-establish the values upheld in the Indian tradition. Their essays on such topics were widely read, appreciated and commended. Their mouthpiece was their own journal, the *Satyavādi*, started in 1915. Some of the outstanding essays produced by them are: Gopabandhu Das's (1877–1928) editorials and articles on education, language issue, social problems etc.; Nilakantha Das's essays—'My Moustache', 'We Had' and 'Had for Nothing', 'The Power and Position of Youth' etc. and the book *Ārya Jibana* (1921); Godavarish Misra's serials in the *Satyavādi* entitled *Palli Prasanga* (About the villages), *Satyabadira Patra* (Letters From Satyabadi), *Dhana* (Wealth), *Sarīra Bheda O Swasthya* (Physiology and Health); Kripasindhu Misra's (Kṛpāsindhu Miśra, 1886–1926) historical works *Bārabāti Durga* (1917), *Konārka* (1919) and philosophical essays under the titles of *Kā* (The Dummy), *Adruṣṭavāda* (Fatalism), *Hindura Samāj Bidhāna* (The Hindu Society), etc.; and Basudev Mahapatra's (1888–1976) collection of essays *Śantidhārā* (1925).

The historical development of the Oriya essay reached its full flom by the Satyavādi period. Since then it has passed through the process of supplementation, dilatation and consolidation. The authors who have made tangible contributions during this period are; Ratnakar Pati (1889–1969), Bipin Behari Ray (1887–1975), Kalindi Charan Panigrahi (b. 1901), Braja Behari Mohanty (1902–57), Mayadhar Mansinha (1906–73), Harekushna Mahatab (b. 1899), Chittaranjan Das (b. 1922), Bidhubhusan Das (b. 1921) and Golok Behari Dhal (1921–74). Several titles of essay collections have come out since Independence. Many of these have been produced with the purpose of making them textbooks. This has delimited the scope and constrained free thought and expression.

However, during the present period there has been a good harvest of *belles-lettres* and light sketches. In the tradition of Fakir Mohan Senapati (1843–1918), Gopal Chandra Praharaj (1872–1945) and Govind Tripathi (b. 1899) this genre of writing passed on to the latter-day practitioners like Laxmikanta Mahapatra (1888–1953), Krushna Prasad Basu (b. 1894), Kali Charan Pattanayak (1898–1978), Nityananda Mahapatra (b. 1912), Kunja Behari Dash (Dāśa b. 1914), Bama Charan Mitra (1915–76), Bhubaneswar Behera, Chandrasekhar Rath (b. 1929) and many others. Their writings are enlivened with subtle humour, pungent satire, personal tone, humane insight and conversational style. One finds in them Addison's 'wisdom in smiling mood', Bacon's 'dispersed meditations' and Johnson's 'loose sally of the mind'. It is in this form that the essay has re-entered the personal readings of all and is being most popularized in the pages of the dailies and periodicals. There have also been a good number of serious creative writers who have made significant contributions to literary prose. Among them mention must be made of the novelists Gopinath Mohanty (b. 1914) and Surendra Mohanty (b. 1920). Poets such as Sitakant Mahapatra (b. 1937), Ramakanta Rath (b. 1934) and Dipak Mishra (b. 1939) and a short story writer, Mahapatra Nilamoni Sahu (b. 1926). Their essays cover a wide range of subjects like literature, art and culture and have helped to enrich the variety and quality of modern Oriya prose.

The Travelogue

The travelogue first appeared in Oriya in the form of

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'Traveller's Despatches' to the journals. The *Sambāda Bāhikā* first published such a despatch in 1886 from an anonymous traveller. Then *Naba Sambāda* serialized in 1887 despatches from Radhanath Ray and the *Utkal Sāhitya* in 1900 from Bholanath Samantarai. The first full-fledged travelogue, leaving aside Fakir Mohan Senapati's *Utkal Bhramaṇam* (1892) in poetry, *Dākshinātya Bhramaṇu* by Sashi Bhusan Rai, was published in 1896. Subsequently, he also wrote two other books—*Utkal Prakruti* (1913) and *Utkalar Rutucitra* (1914)—depicting his experiences of Orissa's natural beauty at various places and in different seasons.

The travelogues in Oriya are, subjectwise, of three types; travels in Orissa, India and foreign lands. They have developed in time in this order too. Very few Oriyas went abroad before Independence and even fewer of them wrote down their experiences. But afterwards the passage was open to many and some of them wished to have a souvenir in the form a travelogue. Consequently, in the recent past there has been a fair amount of travel writing.

The more celebrated travelogue writers are Mayadhar Mansinha, Golok Behari Dhal, Radhanath Rath, Chittaranjan Das, Sriram Das (b. 1919), Baidyanath Misra (b. 1920), Surendra Mahanty, Sriharsa Misra (b. 1919), Kunja Behari Dash and Umesh Chandra Panigrahi (b. 1916). Now there are books covering countries like England, USA, China, Japan, Denmark, Indonesia, Germany, USSR, Nepal and Sri Lanka. Most of the books are written as tourist diaries highlighting tourist interests and social and cultural traits and read like tenaciously prepared reports. The personality of the writer, his sensibility, insight, reaction to people and events and above all artistic style and technique —none of these elements of a good travelogue are prominently displayed in these books. There is an Oriya proverb that says: 'I went and came back, what I saw I have told!' The Oriya travelogue writers are such proverbial reporters.

Nevertheless, Mayadhar Mansinha's *Pascima Pathika* (1947), Govind Das's *Dese Dese* (1963) and Krushna Prasad Misra's *Canada Diary* (1974) may be singled out for their uncommon form and extraordinary style. Mansinha's unbiased approach to the English culture and habits, and his observation, aestheticism and romanticism have made his book a classic in Oriya travelogue. The very opening sentence of the book, 'For a man the home is just a nest built by the woman, when you come out of it, you are a wanderer in the world', sets the mood for the whole book with its romantic thrills, and nostalgia. Das's book reads like fiction set against the exotic background of England and France and the characters transmit the travel accounts actually experienced by the author. Misra's book is claimed to be an 'anti diary' which cares less for chronology than for correlation of events and ideas. A professional story writer, he has improvised the story form to suit the materials of a travelogue.

The Miscellaneous Prose

In old Oriya poetry is found everything from astrology to arithmetic, military to veterinary science. But in the modern period, prose is the main vehicle of knowledge in all disciplines. Certain structural elements in poetry, metre and rhyme in particular, used to put constraints on making statements simple and straightforward with regard to subjects based on pure facts. Therefore, such subjects were dissociated from poetry as soon as prose got established in the literary parlour.

Oriya prose was first employed for writing science subjects at the textbook level. A few writers like Tarini Charan Rath contributed articles to the periodicals (1903–13) on such subjects. Those attempts, however stray and imperfect they may be, paved the way for the succeeding generation of professional scientists. Great scholars like Joges Chandra Rai Vidyanidhi, Pranakrushna Parija, Harish Chandra Boral and Bansidhar Samantarai (b. 1918) were inspired to write in Oriya in the periodicals. In 1948–49 with the formation of the 'Utkal Vijnān Parishad' and 'Vijnan Prachar Samiti', writing in Oriya on scientific subjects was taken up with due sincerity and seriousness. A band of stalwarts—Gokulananda Mahapatra (Chemistry), Gadadhar Mishra (Botany), Basanta Kumar Behura (Zoology), Biswanath Sahu (Agriculture), Bana Behari Pattanayak (Medicine), Radhanath Rath (Psychology), Debakanta Misra (Physics) and Sarat Kumar Mahanty (Mathematics) appeared on the scene. They wrote books, contributed articles to journals and presented papers at meetings for propagation of science among professionals and laymen. Gokulananda has also distinguished himself as a writer of science fiction and children's books. Like him Debakanta is another versatile and prolific writer whose command over the subject and the language is commendable. It is very heartening that the younger generation is trying to learn science through Oriya and it is hoped that they will enrich this field in return.

Writings in Oriya on subjects like philosophy, linguistics, history, economics, politics and other branches of social sciences have been boosted recently under the auspices of the State Textbook Bureau, which was set up in 1970 with the purpose of preparing college level textbooks in Oriya. Earlier only some devoted scholars of the subjects and the language had made some contributions. They were original, unpretentious, less pedantic popular writers. Noteworthy among them are: Sadasiv Misra Baidyanath Misra in economics, Paramananda Acharya (b. 1898), Krushna Chandra Panigrahi (b. 1912), Nabin Kumar Sahu, Satya Narayan Rajguru (b. 1903) and Kedarnath Mahapatra in history; Gopinath Nanda (1869–1924), Shyam Sundar

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Rajguru (1866–1909), Binayak Misra (b. 1894), Kunja Behari Tripathi (b. 1911), Golak Behari Dhal and Sidheswar Hota (b. 1920) in philology; Sriram Das in politics. They are all great scholars of Orissa, but their scholarship is confined to Orissa. The major deficiencies in their works are that they are only of local interest and do not contribute much to the theoretical framework of the disciplines.

Journalism is another area of Oriya prose, which has come into its fold since Gopabandhu Das founded the Samaj in 1919. The press is a mass medium; hence, ideally its communication ought to be mass-oriented, i.e. based on the speech of the masses. The mixing up of two styles—literary and colloquial—was a characteristic feature of its language. Later, the other periodicals also adopted this style. But after Independence, with the expansion of the area, scope and activities, the press has been hard pressed to make its verbal dimension as popular as possible. The problems of translation and transliteration of English terms and their standardization in the general structure of the language have been distorting the newspaper register beyond comprehension. It involves the journalists in literary exercises to explore linguistic resources equivalent to English. In the process, the language of journalism is being loaded with large amounts of journalistic cliches and becoming technically different from the common standard variety. But in this context one thing that is remarkable is that the so-called journalistic style is generally used in respect of international—national news items, whereas the local news appears in the natural style. It shows that the Oriya journalism is largely dependent on English and has not been able to acquire a standard of its own.

The Oriya prose used in writing technical subjects is yet to achieve its identity and effectiveness. It is being decried by the English protagonists and suspected by its own zealous supporters as unworthy and incapable of carrying and delivering the load of knowledge in science, technology and other sophisticated subjects. These views are neither entirely based on prejudice nor absolutely false. The language actually needs reorganization and reorientation of its existing resources and additional inputs from outside sources. First of all, it should derive its own technical terminologies or borrow the originals rather than translate or Oriyanize the jargons. No language is beyond improvement. The language is not to be condemned for the faults and failures of its users. The purists and the chauvinists pull it to one extreme and the fake nationalists and the pseudo-natives push it to another extreme. In fact, it needs the careful handling by persons with vision and open minds. Oriya language needs such persons in the area of technical writing in its prose.

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Punjabi

GURCHARAN SINGH

As in other modern Indian languages, so in Punjabi, the records show poetry coming long before prose. While the first authentic example of poetry in Punjabi is found in the works of Sheikh Farid, dating back to the 12th century, the earliest example of Punjabi prose is found only during the 16th century. It is an anonymous work entitled *Purātan Janam Sākhīs* (Old Religious Biographies) and is a religious biography of Guru Nanak. Looking at the consummate art and variety of style revealed in this work, it can be reasonably presumed that such a style could not have been produced all of a sudden and that there must have been a fairly long tradition of prose in Punjabi, which, somehow, has not come down to the present. But whatever is available has the distinction of an achievement of no mean order.

The Early Period

Punjabi prose of the early period does not have much literary flavour. Literary prose as such emerged only under the impact of western literature, and this will be the main point of focus here. However, before discussing this literary prose, it will not be out of place to take a bird's eye-view of early Punjabi prose.

The earliest Punjabi prose is available in the form of *Janam Sākhīs* (legends in the form of religious biographies), *Goṣṭs* (imaginary dialogues on religious controversies), *Parmāraths* (commentaries on the sacred works—*Bāṇī*), *Bacanas* (spoken words of saints and Gurus), *Hukamnāmās* (epistles from the Gurus to their disciples) and vernacular versions of Indian classical literature. The immediate motivating force behind the emergence of all such forms of early Punjabi prose was the personality and *Bāṇi* (sacred utterances) of Guru Nanak. For the people of the Punjab it became a necessity and religious duty to record the doings—miracles travels, conversations, etc.—of their Gurus to ensure the preservation and continuation of their cultural heritage. They wanted to explain the literary works (*Bāṇi*) of their Gurus and the allusions in them. To achieve this purpose, they created fictional contexts in which the *Bāṇi* could easily be understood. This was the creative context for the early Punjabi prose.

Every immediate thematic context can be expressed only through the traditional competence of static patterns and empty forms. Therefore, for any new intelligible literary form to emerge, it is necessary to determine at least two things: (1) the immediate creative necessities, and (2) the traditional competence of static patterns and empty forms. In the case of early Punjabi prose, the immediate context was provided by the personality and works (*Bāṇi*) of Guru Nanak, and the competence of static patterns and empty forms was provided by the *Bāṇis* of the Sikh Gurus, the *Jātaks* about Lord Buddha, Vaishnava stories in Sanskrit, myths and legends in the Quran and the ethical and didactic works in Persian. Thus, early Punjabi prose writers, after assimilating the competence of static patterns from the traditions of the past, displaced these patterns in the context of their times. What accrued as a result is pristine Punjabi prose.

There is a long list of prose works written in this period. But the best known works are: *Purātan Janam Sākhī*, *Nānak dī ādi Sākhī*, (Adi Sakhis of Nanak), *Soḍhī Mehan dī janam Sākhī*, (*Janam Sākhī* of Sodhi Meharban,) *Gian Ratnāvalī* (collection of wise sayings) and *Bhagat Ratnāvalī* by Bhai Mani Singh, *Prem Sumarg* (The Way of Love) attributed to Guru Gobind Singh, *Pakki Roṭe* (Savory Bread), *Singhāsan Batīsi* and biographies of the Prophet of Islam, Kabir and Ranidas.

Religion, it may be seen, was the only motivating force behind the early prose works in Punjabi. The main aim of the writers was to inspire a respectful attitude towards the Sikh Gurus and their *Bāṇi* and to get readers to live according to the way of life preached by them for personal salvation. Along with presenting a mythical and idealized image of Guru Nanak, these writers developed a particular style of recording conversation (*bacans*), in which the words of the saints and Gurus were directly addressed to the reader. The writers wanted their readers to adopt certain religious behavioural patterns as preached by the Sikh Gurus. Thus, the feeling of the writer towards the subject matter was one of respect and his tone towards his reader was that of a teacher to those being taught. As the immediate inspiration of almost all these prose writers came from the *Bāṇi* tradition, they employed only the empty patterns of this tradition in their writings. They preferred the divine to the secular, the abstract to the concrete. Their prose was simple in texture and structure, because it concentrated on emphasizing the god-centred view of life.

The Supreme Reality was the unifying pattern of all the prose work of this period. It was because of this that the writers preferred a particular diction, coming from the Bani tradition of the Sikh Gurus. *Sadh Bhāṣā* which, besides having certain features of the Punjabi language, had also imbibed influences of all the modern Indian languages

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of the North, and was the literary language of the poetic tradition of the Sikh Gurus. This particular variety of language dominated the early prose writings in Punjabi. The early prose writers went all out to incorporate poetic symbols in their works drawing heavily upon the poetic tradition of their knowledge. As the writer's motivating force was not subjective experience but religious faith in Guru Nanak and his *Bāṇi*, there is not a single prose work which provides descriptions of the subjective experiences of an individual in the day-to-day language and, in the logical style characteristic of modern literary prose. Because of religious predominance, the prose of this period catered more to imagination than to reason. Owing to the mythical idealization of the subject matter, the prose of this period had several poetic features.

Impact of the West

As in the case of other modern Indian languages, the flowering of modern Punjabi literary prose too was accelerated by the impact of the West on Punjabi culture. And just as religion was the major motivating force behind the emergence of early Punjabi prose, the first influence the West had on modern Punjabi prose came through the religious propaganda of the Christian missionaries. After the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, the Christian missionaries established six centres in the border areas of the Punjab, at Kotgarh, Kangar, Banor, Dera Ismail Khan, Multan and Khanpur, and five centres in central Punjab, at Batala, Narowal, Klarkabad, Taran Taran and Pind Dadan Khan. Their biggest centre was Ludhiana.

Ludhiana Christian Mission. The Ludhiana Christian Mission was the first to set up its own Gurmukhi printing press and it became a centre of literary activity in the Punjabi language. It published a Punjabi Grammar in 1838. In 1841, the Rev. J. Newton was entrusted with the task of preparing a Punjabi dictionary, which was published in 1854. The Mission was the first to start the publication of a Punjabi journal, *Nūr-i-Afṣan* (Delightful Story, 1872). It also published religious tracts in Punjabi, such as *Do-patrīs* and *Chaupatrīs*. Punjabi translations of the Bible and other religious books were also published. The missionaries, in their attempt to reach the common man, wrote in the simple and clear language of everyday life. The motivation for this was not the modernization of Punjabi prose, but propagation of the Christian way of life. The Mission circulated Punjabi prose works among the non-Christian Punjabis as well and as a result several great Hindu, Muslim and Sikh families were converted to Christianity, causing a reaction among the non-Christian Punjabis to such missionary activities. This resulted in the growth of several reform movements in the Punjab. Arya Samaj, Namdhari and Singh Sabha were some of the movements which spearheaded the opposition to Christian missionary activity. These revivalist movements became the major motivating force for the development of Punjabi prose.

The Singh Sabha. The Singh Sabha, with its pioneering activities in journalism and pamphleteering, may be regarded as the first major contributor to the development of modern Punjabi prose. Motivated by defensive and reformative necessities, the Singh Sabha provided a platform for creative activity in the Punjab. This activity was aimed at the rediscovery of Sikhism and elimination of superstitious customs and rituals among the Sikhs. To promote this revivalist and reformative cause, the movement started its own newspapers and brought out a series of tracts.

Almost all the modern Punjabi prose writers were journalists, at least for some time in their literary career. Bhai Gurmukh Singh (1849–98), a professor of Punjabi at Oriental College, Lahore, and founder of the Singh Sabha, Lahore, brought out the *Gurmukhi Akhbār* in Punjabi in 1880 and *Sudhārak Khalsa Akhbār* and *Khalsā Gazette* in 1885. He is regarded as the founder of Punjabi journalism. Gyani Dit Singh (1853–1901), one of the founders of the Singh Sabha, was the Editor of the *Khalsā Akhbār* weekly from 1886 to 1901. It was also under the influence of the Singh Sabha that Bhai Vir Singh after starting his Wazir-e-Hind Press in 1892, established the Khalsa Tract Society at Amritsar in 1894 and began publishing *Khalsā Samāchār*, a weekly, in 1899. Bhai Vir Singh's Khalsa Tract Society and *Khalsā Samāchār* played a very significant part in the development of a Punjabi prose style. The Khalsa Tract Society's *Nirguṇīa*, a fortnightly journal, which soon challenged *Nūri-i-Afṣan*, went on to contribute greatly to Sikh religious and social reform. Great writers like Charan Singh, Mohan Singh Vaid, Bhai Vir Singh and Puran Singh wrote anonymously for *Nirguṇīa*. As the object of the Singh Sabha was mainly reformist, the articles in *Nirguṇīa* concentrated on religious, social and educational subjects. But unlike earlier prose writers who had employed the *Sadh Bhāṣa* of Gurbani, the contributors to this journal chose to write in the simple but chaste language of daily life. They consciously discarded the scholarly idiom of their predecessors. Their prose was mainly descriptive and narrative and, in this context, mythical, like the prose of the earlier writers. The prose of these tracts played a great role in establishing the new, developed form of Punjabi prose.

Secular Writing

Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid (1881–1936), who at the beginning of his career wrote a few tracts in the same prose traditions of Singh Sabha, was later responsible for giving a social and secular bias to Punjabi prose. He started his own publishing house, Svadesh Bhasha Prachar Lari, and his own magazine, *Dukh Nivāraṇ* (Eliminating Sorrow) in 1906.

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He consciously tried to assimilate the competence of Bacon, the 16th century English essayist, by translating his essays into Punjabi and publishing them under the title *Bekan Vicār Ratnāvalī* (Thoughts of Bacon). Thus, he introduced a new form of essay writing, one concerned with such secular problems as love, marriage and politics.

Early in the 20th century certain incidents took place which were responsible for giving a political bias to the religious and social traditions of Punjabi prose. The deportation of Sardar Ajit Singh and Lala Lajpat Rai, the 'Kamagata Maru' incident and the demolition of the outer wall of the Gurdwara Lakab Ganj in Delhi by the British Government created a political consciousness in the average Punjabi. This was responsible for the birth of such politically conscious papers as *Ṣahīd* and *Panth Sevak*.

The Akali movement became the main motivating force of the politically conscious papers and writers like Master Tara Singh, Sardar Mangal Singh Akali, Bhai Jodh Singh and Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir were introduced to Punjabi journalism by these papers.

Periodicals. When the *Prītam* (The Beloved, 1923) and the *Phulvāri* (Garden, 1921), both monthlies, commenced publication, literature, literary research and history were introduced in to Punjabi journalism. *Prītam* published short stories and poetry while *Phulvāri* encouraged research in the literary field. Both these magazines became popular with Punjabi readers and were responsible for introducing several new literary writers to the Punjabi world of letters.

Charan Singh Shahid (1891–1935), a well-known Punjabi humorist, was the first to start a politically motivated Punjabi daily, the *Ṣahīd*, in Amritsar in 1924. Charan Singh also brought out *Mauji*, a weekly, in 1926 and started a rich tradition of humour in Punjabi journalism. He created a delightful character Baba Waryama, on the pattern of Addison's Sir Roger de Coverley, and brought a bit of the *Spectator* to Punjabi prose. Baha Waryama, a slightly eccentric but good humoured old man, soon became a favourite of Punjabi readers. He and two minor characters, Lamhardar Subha Singh and Gango, remain the most humorous and vivid characters in Punjabi literature. Shahid had a keen eye for the contradictions in human motivation and character. He was responsible for transforming the serious and religious tradition of Bhai Vir Singh's prose into a light and mildly humorous prose tradition.

Modern Prose Works

Apart from this journalistic tradition, there has developed in modern times a tradition of general prose-writing in book form. Shardha Ram Phillauri (1807–81) and Behari Lal Puri (1800–85) are the pioneers in this field. Phillauri wrote textbooks for the use of British officers learning Punjabi, while Puri wrote textbooks for educational institutions under the Education Department and Punjab University.

Phillauri was a scholar of Sanskrit, Persian and Punjabi. He wrote two original books in Punjabi, *Sikhān De Rāj Di Vithiā* (History of the Sikh People) and *Pañjābi Bāt Chīt* (Punjabi Gossip). Both these books had the specific aim of introducing the customs and conventions of Punjabi life and the history of the Sikhs to foreigners. In *Sikhān De Rāj Di Vithiā* Phillauri has given a brief description of the history of the 10 Gurus, Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the customs and conventions of their times. He also presents 20 *Sākhīs* from the *Puratan Janam Sākhī*. In *Pañjābī Bāt Chīt*, he gives a vivid description of the folk songs, the games, the rites and the rituals of the various parts of the Punjab. These works, known for their historical significance, are a departure from the medieval prose which was ornate in style and religious in theme. Phillauri discarded the *Sadh Bhāṣa* of medieval prose and chose to write in the language of day-to-day conversation.

Behari Lal Puri, a lover of Punjabi, wrote about 30 books in Punjabi. The best known of these are *Vidyā Ratnākar*, *Chitrāvalī*, *Piṅgaḷ Mañjarī* and *Punjabi Grammar*. Puri, in addition to writing textbooks, also wrote simple and instructive essays, which made him the first Punjabi literary essayist. He prepared the ground for later prose writers who developed a creative essay form in Punjabi.

Three Significant Writers

Puran Singh, Gurbux Singh Preetlari and Principal Teja Singh are the three writers who have made the most significant contribution to the development of Punjabi literary prose.

Puran Singh produced a collection of literary essays, namely, *Khule Lekh* (Open Essay), two translations of the works of Carlyle and Tolstoy, titled *On Heroes and Hero Worship* and *Resurrection* respectively, and a few critical introductions to contemporary poetry. He has written on love, poetry, toil, vote and politics without restraint. He was primarily a free verse poet and his prose is akin to his poetry. The concept of style as a deviation from the norm is found concretized in Punjabi in the prose of Puran Singh. Poetic features dominate his literary prose. Instead of writing terse and precise sentences under the control of the intellect, he prefers to write long-winded, unwieldy sentences under the influence of emotion.

Gurbux Singh Preetlari (1895–1978) is without doubt the most popular writer in Punjabi. Educated in America, he returned to India with a great longing to preach new ideas to his countrymen. To fulfil his ambition, he started his own magzine, *Preet Lari* (Bond of Love). The birth of this magazine proved to be one of the most significant events in the history of Punjabi prose. In it, Preetlari put forward his

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own philosophy of life. Raising his voice against the wrong values of Punjabi society, he became critical also of the social and religious patterns of his countrymen. He wrote articles on a variety of subjects, but the unifying pattern of all of them was his philosophy of life. He would start with any subject, but would ultimately come to the importance of love in life. Thus all the complexity of his writing is concentrated in a simplicity of style, which is perhaps the most distinguishing feature of his prose.

Preet Lari was deeply influenced by western writers like Ruskin, Carlyle and Emerson. He introduced a new prose style to convey modern ideas and feelings. Prior to him, Punjabi prose writers used the *Janam Sākhīs*, those medieval hagiographies, as their model. They were deeply influenced by ideas of other-worldliness and transcendence. Writers under the influence of the Singh Sabha discarded the *Sadh Bhāṣa* of medieval prose and chose instead, the dialect of daily conversation, but they continued to use the *Janam Sākhīs* as vehicles for thought and feeling. Gurbux Singh was the first prose writer to discard uncompromisingly the divine view of life and emphasize a secular vision of love. He cut new ground in style. He wrote short sentences, introduced a sense of paragraph and coined unexpected figures of speech. There is a rare example of unity of subject and style in his writing. His feeling towards his subject and his tone towards his reader are both inspired by his concern for human love.

Teja Singh and the Essay. Teja Singh's (1884–1978) contribution to Punjabi prose is unique as he developed the essay as a literary genre. He was a teacher of English Literature at Khalsa College, Amritsar, a college that was a centre of Sikh culture, and deeply under the influence of the Singh Sabha. Inspired by the ideals of the Singh Sabha, Teja Singh displaced two traditions in the Punjabi essay. He modified the old *Sākhī* style and converted it into the essay genre of the English tradition. And in his most popular essay 'Ghar Dā Piār' (House Love) he displaced the *Gurbāṇi* thesis of realizing God while staying at home with the secular love of home and its consequent character building. He has also written several popular sketches, such as 'Prītam Singh Da Subha' (Nature of Pritam Singh) and 'Gaṅgā Dīn' and has published three books of essays *Sahaj Subhā* (Soft Nature), *Navīān Socān* and *Sabhyāchār* (Civilization). He wrote reflective as well as narrative essays, but always observed the rule of maximum intelligibility. His first commitment was always to the reader. Thus, Teja Singh's style is well known for imparting knowledge through simple constructions.

Teja Singh is at his best when writing in the lighter vein and with ironic strokes here and there. He has written several introductions to the books of contemporary Punjabi poets, all with the aim of encouraging them. These introductions and his essays on literary criticism like 'Puñjābī Sāhit dā Itihās' (History of Punjabi Literature), 'Guru Nānak Jī dā Deś Piār' (Guru Nanak's Love for the Country) and 'Sāhit Daśan' are the best of their kind in Punjabi prose.

Other Prose Writers

Harinder Singh Roop (1907–54), inspired by Teja Singh and influenced by western essayists, wrote several essays in light prose. He published three collections of his essays: *Sikh Te Sikhī* (The Sikhs and Sikhism), *Chunjhān Paunce* and *Rūp Raṅg* (Form and Colours). Harinder Singh wrote essays which were informal, light-paced and full of ironic humour and satire. Giani Gurdit Singh, Harkirat Singh, Suba Singh, Balwant Gargi, Gurbachan Singh Talib and Gurnam Singh Tir are others who have tried their hand at this form.

Giani Gurdit Singh (b. 1923), the author of *My Village*, *The Idols of My Village* and *The Gossips of My Village* has written essays which are intimate and personal. Wit and irony are their distinguishing features. Balwant Gargi (b. 1916) has written several character sketches of his contemporaries in the field of Punjabi literature. These essays, full of ironic insight, make a specific contribution to the Punjabi prose tradition as they introduce a unique style of prose writing that is witty as well as polished. Gurbachan Singh Talib (b. 1911) has also written several essays in which may be found the cultured wit and sensitive style of the English romantic tradition.

Lal Singh (Kamla Akali') introduced travel literature to Punjabi readers when he wrote *Merā Valaitī Safar Nāmā*, an account of his travels in Europe. He has also attempted another travelogue, *Sailānī Deś Bhagat*, in which he describes the return from Japan of two Indian patriots. The best known works in this field are Hardit Singh Dhilon's *Amrīka Dā Chakkar* (Around America), Sher Singh's *Pradeś Yātrā*, Narinderpal Singh's *Deś Pradeś Vic* (In India and Abroad) and *Rūs Yātrā* (Russian Travel) and the famous actor Balram Sahni's *Merā Pākistānī Safarnāmā* (Experience of My Journey in Pakistan) and *Merā Rūsī Safarnāmā* (Experience of My Journey in Russia).

Prem Singh Hoti, Karam Singh and Gauda Singh, pioneers in the field of historical prose, introduced the scientific method of research in Punjabi. Teja Singh's *Ārsī* (Mirror), Gurbux Singh's *Merī Jīwan Kahānī* (Story of My Life) and Nanak Singh's *Merī Duniyā* (My World) are the best known autobiographies in Punjabi. Each describes the background of the literary career of its author, a celebrated writer of Punjabi literature. In the field of biography writing, Mansa Singh Dubhi and S. S. Amol's *Bhāī Mohan Singh Vaid dī Jīvanī* (Life of Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid), Hardyal Singh's biography of Dr. Dewan Singh Kalepani, titled *Ek Sunerī Dil* (One Golden Heart) and Kripal Singh

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Kasel's biography of Prof. Puran Singh titled *Rāj Hans* (Kingly Swan) are the outstanding works.

Sciences and Humanities

Books on the sciences and humanities are usually written when a language has to function as a medium of instruction. Punjabi has been accepted as a medium of instruction only recently. Books on sciences and humanities are therefore not many. Among the universities which have shown interest in the area, Panjabi University (Patiala) is ahead of others. But by and large the books thus published are not original contributions, but translations of well known books on science available in other languages, especially English. For example, Ajmer Singh Rode's *Viśva dī Nuhār* (1966) is a Punjabi translation on the subject of the theory of relativity. Similarly, Nishan Singh Dhillon's *Sūraj te us tom pare* (1967) is a translation of the theories about solar and lunar systems.

The Punjab Sahit Akademi, Ludhiana, has brought out a few books on certain scientific topics, notable among them being Gurcharan Singh's *Dhartī ate ākāś* (1963) which again deals with the solar and lunar systems. The prose style is delightful. Mention may also be made of the National Book Trust of India, Guru Nanak Dev University (Amritsar), Punjab University (Chandigarh) and Navyug Publishers (Delhi) who have brought out some good books on science and humanities.

Panjabi University, Patiala, and Punjab University Chandigarh, have set up departments to produce authentic works dealing with Punjabi language and literature. At present they have a scheme to produce a comprehensive history of literature in a few volumes to be written by a team of distinguished scholars. A few volumes have already been published. Some literary histories which deserve special mention here are Parminder Singh's and Kirpal Singh Kasel's *Puñjābī Sāhit dī Utpatī te Vikās*, Panjabi University's *Puñjābī Sāhit dā Itihās* and Punjab University's (Chandigarh) *Puñjābī Sāhit dā Itihās*.

Navyug Publishers, Delhi, have published translations of Soviet books on science. A few notable translations are: *Bṛihamaṇḍ* (1973) jointly translated by Joga Singh and A. V. Pushkov, from the Russian original written by Facenakov and Oparin, *S'ānt Sūraj* (1969) by Gurbachan Singh Bhuller from the Russian original by B. I. Silkins.

Research on Language and Literature. Dr Mohan Singh Dewana was the first to do research on the history of Punjabi literature. He wrote his thesis originally in English, which he himself subsequently translated into Punjabi. However, it was Bawa Budh Singh who actually initiated research work in the language. He wrote three works: (1) *Bombīyā Bol*, (2) *Koyal Kū*, and (3) *Hans cog*. The focus of his research was medieval Punjabi literature and he treated the subject in a popular manner.

Research in language and literature is encouraged by the language departments of the various universities; but the books published by them are rather few. Even here the prose employed is not balanced and precise, but is frequently subject to sentimental eulogy. In the field of linguistics a few books have been published. They are of an elementary nature and mostly adaptations of books in English. Prem Prakash Singh's *Puñjābī Bolī dī Utpatī te Vikās* and G. B. Singh's *Gurmukhī Lipi dā Itihās* which claim to be books on linguistics in Punjabi are only general introductions to the history of Punjabi language and the evolution of the Gurumukhi script. Other books which deserve mention here are *Bhāṣāvigñān te Puñjābī Bhāṣā* (1973) by Harkirat Singh and Ujjal Singh Bahri and *Bhāṣā te Bhāṣāvigñān* (1974) by Harkirat Singh.

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Sanskrit

S. VENKITASUBRAMONIA IYER

Unlike in other Indian languages, prose, as a vehicle of literary and scientific expression, has only a secondary place in Sanskrit. The primary place belongs to verse. The earliest Sanskrit literary material available, the *Ṛgveda*, (3000 B. C.) is metrical in form. Several works on philosophy such as the *Bhagavadgītā* and *Sāmkhyakārikā*, have the same form; so too do many of the minor works of Saṅkarācārya (8th century) on Advaita Vedanta, like the *Upadeśasāhasrī* and *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi*. Even the treatises on purely technical subjects such as astronomy, architecture, iconography, painting and medicine are metrical. Expositions of *Bhāṣyas*, or principal glosses, are sometimes in verse, as in the case of Sureśvara's (8th century) *Bhāṣyavārttikas*, on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and the *Taittirīya Upaniṣads*, and Kumārilabhaṭṭa's (c. A. D. 620) *Śloka-vārttika* on the *Mīmāmsā sūtra-bhāṣya* of Śabarasvāmin (c. A. D. 200). Whole commentaries have been written in verse, such as, *Mānasollāsa* of Suresvara on the *Dakṣiṇāmūrtistotra* of Sankara. Even works on the grammatical rules of Panini (Pāṇini, 600 B. C.), such as the *Pāṇinīyalaghuvivṛti* of Rāmaśālidvija (15th century), and comments on classical prose works, such as Aṣṭamūrti's (c. 16th century) *Āmoda* on Bāṇabhaṭṭa's (7th century) *Kādambarī* are in verse. Aṣṭamūrti explains this preference for verse as being due to the fact that it makes for easier composition and enables better remembrance. This explains the metrical summaries of important classical prose works, such as the *Kādambarīkathāsāra* of Abhinanda (9th century) and *Avantisundarīkathāsāra*, probably by Pañcaśikha.

All this has naturally resulted in the paucity of Sanskrit prose works. But it may be noted that in the Sanskrit poet's view, the verse form is not an essential factor; what matters is not the form but the mode of expression. That is why there is to be found in Sanskrit the *gadyakāvya* form, poetry in the prose medium. Prose is considered—the touchstone to test poetic ability ('*gadyam kavīnām nikaṣam vadanti*').

Early Prose

The earliest specimens of prose are found in the *Saṃhitās* of the *Yajurveda* and *Atharvaveda*. The famous *Rudrādhyāya* in the *Yajurveda*, for instance, is entirely in prose, and prose of a simple and direct nature at that. This sort of prose is also found in the *Brāhmaṇas*, which expound the details of various sacrifices, and in many of the Upanishads (texts of early Indian Philosophy). Such specimens are also to be found in the Mahabharata and in many of the Puranas, including the *Śrīmadbhāgavata*, where archaic prose has, to some extent, been, perhaps deliberately, introduced. The sentences are often longer here.

Another type of prose, aphoristic in form, came into being from about the 6th century B. C. These aphorisms are called *sūtras*. They are terse enunciations which purport to give in a nutshell what may normally require elaborate statement. The *Kalpasūtras*, of which there are many, pertain to the different Vedic schools and are grouped into three classes, *Śrauta*, *Gṛhya* and *Dharma*, which are, respectively, the directions for sacrifices, the rules of domestic rituals and the codes of conduct. The basic works of many of the philosophical systems, such as the *Nyāyasūtras* of Gotama, *Vaiśeṣikasūtras* of Kaṇāda, *Mīmāmsāsūtras* of Jaimini and *Vedāntasūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa, are written in the *sūtra* style. The *sūtra* form is adopted in later works such as the *Sāmkhyapravacanasūtra* and the two *Bhaktisūtras*, one attributed to Nārada and the other to Śāṇḍilya. But too much consideration given to brevity made some *sūtra* writings obscure and unintelligible without a prior knowledge of the technical devices used and without the help of commentaries. One such instance is the *Vyākaraṇasūtras* (also known as the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*), the grammatical aphorisms of Panini, wherein the saving of a mora (*mātra*) is considered the equivalent of getting a son.

Of a more expressive form are the *Chandassūtras* (Formulas of Prosody) of Piṅgala (2nd century) on prosody and the *Kāvyālamkārasūtra* of Vāmana (8th century) on poetics.

The aphorisms were deliberately made terse not only with a view to making them key statements but also to facilitate their being committed to memory. The *Bhāṣyas* explain as well as establish what the aphorisms enunciate. The *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali (200 B.C.), on Panini's work, is, as its name implies, a great commentary and is written in a direct conversational style, in the form of a discussion between the author and an imaginary opponent. This style is not, however, adopted in other *Bhāṣyas* such as Sabarasvamin's on the *Mīmāmsāsūtras* or Sankaracharya's on the *Brahmasūtras* (c. 800). These are expository and argumentative, but lucid enough. Jayantabhaṭṭa's *Nyāyamañjarī* (9th century), which expounds the *Nyāyasūtras*, is in admirably pleasant prose.

Ornate Prose. Alongside this matter-of-fact prose there also developed ornate prose, which adopted all the literary norms associated with metrical *kāvya* as codified in works like Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālamkāra* (c. 600) and Daṇḍin's *Kāvyā-*

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darśa (7th century). Such prose must have evolved over a considerable period of time, being influenced by the poetic *kāvya* and the narrative material of the folk tale. In its mature form, there are two types, *Ākhyāyikā*, having an autobiographical, traditional or semi-historical basis, and *Kathā*, essentially comprising fictitious narrative. Mention of *Ākhyāyikās* like *Vāsavadattā*, *Sumanottarā* and *Bhaimarathī* is found in the early work *Mahābhāṣya*. *Harṣacarita* and *Kādambarī* of Banabhatta, however, are respectively the best examples of these two types of prose. Such works abound in ornate descriptions of cities, mountains, oceans, sunrise, sunset, seasons, battles, etc. all in a style which displays enormous *śāstraic* learning and technical skill. Single sentences are loaded with long compounds and run over several pages; the result is that the thread of the narrative is often obscured and, not infrequently, reduced to a subordinate position. These works appeal not so much by the beauty of their themes as by the grandeur of their diction. The essence of prose is considered to lie in the liberal use of long compounds.

This kind of ornate prose is not confined to the *gadyakāvya*, the popular, 'prose romance'; it appears, practically in the same form, in many inscriptions as well. It is also to be found in lengthy eulogies which use long-drawn-out single sentences employing all the devices of poetic diction. The prose in many of these works is intermixed with verse. The Girnar rock inscription of the Kshatrapa king Rudradāman I (A. D. 150) on the construction of a lake is entirely in prose and has clarity, sweetness and flourish, qualities attributed to the king himself by the writer ('*sphuṭa-laghumadhura-citra-kānta-śabdasamayodarālamkṛtagadyapadyapraviṇena*'). The Allahabad stone inscription of Samudragupta (A. D. 350), composed by Harisena, has a long prose passage of similar nature, which describes the pillar erected. The Banskhera copper plate inscription of Harshavardhana (A. D. 628) is in prose and is similar to Banabhatta's. There are several other similar inscriptions. All these, incidentally, show that the general public, for whom these were meant, was familiar with such ornate language.

In contrast with ornate prose, there was also simple, popular prose, particularly of a narrative and didactic form. Such prose was used more to drive home a truth or a moral than to display poetic talent. This kind of prose is to be found in collections of fables such as the *Pañcatantra* (earlier than the 5th century), which is credited to Vishnuśarman, and the *Hitopadeśa* (c. 10th century) credited to Narayana.

Campūs. To break the monotony of prose and the rigidity of verse, a new literary form called *campū* was evolved in Sanskrit. This combined both prose and verse. Even before the evolution of this form, the admixture was to be found in some of the inscriptions. Even in the prose romances, verse was occasionally used. In *campū* proper, however, the prose and verse are in fair proportion to each other and do not differ essentially from their *kāvya* prototypes. In literature which does not give a separate place to this category, its inclusion as prose may be considered reasonable.

The prose romance approximates, to a large extent, the novel. But under the influence of English literature and with the emergence of Sanskrit periodicals in the latter half of the 19th century, a new style of writing, in contrast with the involved classical prose, came into vogue. So did new literary forms like the essay, short story, prose drama and the novel proper. The *Śivarājavijaya* by Ambikādatta Vyāsa, a historical novel on Sivaji, can be ranked among the best of its kind in world literature. It should be remembered, however, that despite this development, the old style of writing and the old categories have continued down to the present day.

Taking Sanskrit prose literature as a whole, the bulk of it can be categorized under the heads: novel, short story, biography and folk literature. What is not categorized is the rich literature in a wide variety that has appeared in such periodicals as the *Pandit*, *Mitragoṣṭhi* (MG) and *Sarasvatīsuṣamā* (SS) of Benares, *Vidyodaya*, *Samskṛtasāhityapariṣatpatrika* (SSPP) and *Sūnṛtavādinī* (SV) of Kolhapur, *Samskṛtaratnākara* (SR) of Jaipur, *Samskṛtabhavitavyam* (SB) of Nagpur, *Sahṛdaya* of Srirangam, *Śāradā* of Poona, *Vijñānacintāmaṇi* of Pattambi, *Amṛtavāṇi* of Bangalore, *Viśvasamskṛtam* (VS) of Hoshiarpur and *Samskṛtapratibhā* (SP) of Madras. Sanskrit periodicals, including some that are now defunct, number about a hundred, and comprise quarterlies, weeklies and even a daily, *Sudharmā*, from Mysore. These publications carry writings on all topics and discussions on matters of current interest.

Religion and Philosophy

A large part of Sanskrit writings on religion and philosophy is in prose. This includes original writings as well as commentaries on the Hindu, Buddhist, Jain systems, etc. not excluding materialism. They are too many to be mentioned here, but Vācaspati Miśra's (c. 1000) *Bhāmatī*, *Sāmkhyatattvakaumudī*, *Tattvavaiśāradī* and *Nyāyavārtikatātparyaṭīka* on the Advaita Vedanta, Sāmkhya, Yoga and Nyāya systems of philosophy respectively, and Mādhavācārya's (14th century) *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, dealing with all the Indian systems of philosophy, are noteworthy. In a *campū* called *Vidvanmodataraṅgiṇī* Cirañjīva Bhaṭṭācārya of Radhapur in Bengal (early 18th century) deals with the different systems of Indian philosophy, refutes the objections raised against each and establishes the fundamental unity in them. Noteworthy modern writings include *Advaitadīpikā* (1922), giving the main tenets of Advaita Vedanta, and *Bhagavadgītā Bhāratīyadarśanāni ca* (1944), a treatise dealing with the accommodation of the different philosophical systems in the *Bhagavadgītā*, both by Mahāmahopādhyāya N. S. Anantakrishna Sastri (1888–

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1963). *Mūlāvidyānirāsa* (1929) by Y. Subba Rao alias Saccidānanda Sarasvatī, which expounds a new view about the nature of *Avidyā* or nescience in Sankara's system, and 'Gāndhīdarśana', a special number of the Bihar journal *Magadha* devoted to different aspects of Gandhian philosophy, should also be mentioned. It is interesting to note that the old *sūtra* form is adopted by D. S. Sarma in the *Gāndhīsūtras* (1938) to summarize the principles and teachings of Gandhiji and by Jwala Prasad in the *Tattvadarśana* (1950), a work on epistemology.

Two rejoinders to the criticism of Hinduism by western scholars are the *Khristudharmakaumudīsamālocana* (Criticism of Christian Philosophy, 1894) of Brajlal Mukhopadhyaya and *Śāstratattvavinirṇaya* (1931) of Nilakantha Sastri Gore. Western philosophy was, however, duly appreciated as may be seen from *Jñānasiddhāntacandrikā* and *Mānavīyajñānaviṣayakaśāstra* ('Pandit', 8, 9, 10), translations respectively of Berkeley's *Principles of Human Knowledge* and Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. A translation of the *Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna* has been published by the Ramakrishna Ashram, Calcutta, and Rabindranatha Tagore's Religion of the Forest appeared in the *Samskṛtapratibhā* (1966).

Among the *stotras* (hymns in prose), the *Gadyatraya* of Rāmānujācārya (11th century), the founder of the Viśiṣṭādvaita system of philosophy, is the most important. Of its three constituents, the first, *Śaraṇāgatigadya* describes the devotee's absolute surrender to God and His service, in accordance with the doctrine of *prapatti* (self-surrender) and his hearing, in his spiritual ecstasy, the voice of the Lord declaring that He has accepted him. The longest and most attractive prose piece in it is the one addressed to the Lord in 12 beautifully strung and highly poetic epithets. The second constituent, *Śrīraṅgagadya*, is addressed to Lord Raṅganātha of Śrīraṅgam, and is also on surrender. The third, *Vaikuṇṭhagadya*, is a description of the abode of God as conceived in his system. The *Raghuvīrāgadya* on Srirama by Vedāntadeśika (13th century) is another important work of this type. There are many *campūs* of a religious import, such as the *Muktacarita* of Raghunatha Misra, a disciple of Chaitanya, which suggests the excellence of Krishna's love for Radha, and the *Śrīnivāsavilāsa* of Veṅkaṭeśa on the glory of the deity at Tirupati.

Narratives

In ordinary narrative, as distinguished from the romance, the *Kṛṣṇacarita* (Story of Krishna) of Agastyabhaṭṭa, identified with Vidyānātha, the court-poet of Pratāparudra of Warangal (early 14th century), is an early work in enchanting prose. It is based on the Krishna story of the *Bhāgavata*. On the same theme are *Śrīkṛṣṇābhyudaya* by Śrīśaila Dīkṣita alias Tirumalācārya (1809–1877) of Chimmanpattu in Chengalpattu ('Sahṛdaya' 13, 14), *Śrīkṛṣṇālīlāyita* by Srinivasacharya (1848–1914), and *Śrīkṛṣṇacarita*, by Radhakrishna Tiwari (1880–1930) of Sholapur. The *Bhāgavatacampūs* by Abhinavakālidāsa of the court of King Rajasekhara (16th century) and by Rāmapāṇivāda of Kerala (18th century), the *Ānandakandacampū* by Mitramisra, the *Ānandavṛndāvanacampū* of Kavikarṇapura and the *Gopālacampū* of Jīvagosvāmin, all of Bengal (16th, 17th centuries), are modifications to suit the theology of the Chaitanya school of Vaishnavism. The *Rāmakathā* of Vasudeva, who was patronized by King Adityavarman of Quilon (Kerala) in the latter half of the 15th century, is a running account of the Ramayana story, but the available portion contains only the *Bālakāṇḍa*. Similar modern works are the *Rāmāyaṇasamgraha* by Lakshmana Suri, *Śrīrāmacarita* by Radhakrishna Tiwari and *Bālarāmāyaṇa* by P. S. Anantanarayana Sastri. Among the *campūs* on the same theme, the *Rāmāyaṇacampū* of the renowned king and prolific writer, Bhoja of Dhārā (early 11th century), is the most popular and is one of the outstanding works in the whole of Sanskrit literature. Bhoja wrote only the first five *kāṇḍas*, the *Yuddhākāṇḍa* being added by Laksmanakavi. *Amogharāghava* by Divakara (13th century), *Campūrāghava* (1868) by Āsuri Anantācārya and *Rāmāyaṇacampū* (1916) by the poetess Sundaravalli of Mysore are other sgnificant *campūs*.

Earlier than Bhoja's work is the *Naḷacampū* of Trivikramabhatta, who lived in the court of the Rashtrakuta king, Indra III, in the early part of the 10th century. In seven sections it covers, in a highly artificial style full of puns and difficult construction, a part of the well-known story of Nala. *Yaśastilakacampū* (959) by Somadeva has also been written in a highflown style, but is less complex. It deals in the first five of its eight sections with the Jain legend of King Yaśodhara of Avanti. The rest is a manual of the Jaina religion. Anantabhatta (14th century) wrote the *Bhāratacampū* on the Mahabharata story starting from the reign of Pāṇḍu in Hastināpura and Mānaveda (17th century), the Zamorin of Calicut, wrote the *Pūrvabhāratacampū* (1663) on the earlier part of the story contained in the *Ādiparvam*. Melputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri (1560–1666), the celebrated poet and scholar of Kerala, has written several highly poetic *campūs*—*Pāñcālīsvayamvara*, *Rājasūya*, *Subhadrāharaṇa* and *Dūtavākya*—on Mahabharata episodes. The *Nīlakaṇṭhavijaya* by Nilakantha Dikshita (1637) is a fine account of the story of the churning of the milky ocean. A popular prose summary of the Mahabharata is the *Bhāratasamgraha* by Lakshmanasuri.

Adaptations and condensations of a number of classical works have been published towards the close of the last century and in the present century, mainly in South India. The *Kādambarīsamgraha* (abridgement of *Kādambarī*) and *Harṣacaritasamgraha* (abridgement of *Harṣacarita*) by R. V. Krishnamacharya condense Bana's works in his own words, leaving out many of the out-of-the-way allusions

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and elaborations. Their popularity can be judged from the fact that they have run into several editions. V. Venkatarma Sarma of Trivandrum has similarly condensed Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*. V. Anantacharya has written *Candrāpīḍacarita*, a summary of *Kādambarī*, and *Harṣacaritasāra*. K. L. V. Sastri's *Kāḷidāsīyanāṭakakathāmañjarī* (Stories of Kalidasa's Plays, 1952) admirably narrates the stories of Kalidasa's three dramas, while Y. Mahalinga Sastri's *Bhāsakathāsāra* (1936) gives the themes of the plays attributed to Bhāsa in simple, chaste prose. Accounts of Shakespeare's dramas have also been attempted with the names of the characters Sanskritized. *Othello* is *Uddālakacarita* by A. R. Rajaraja Varma, *Comedy of Errors* is *Bhrāntivilāsa* by Srisaila Dikshita Tirumalacharya and *Lucrece* is *Kanakalatā* by P. K. Kalyanarama Sastri. Medepalli Venkataramanacharya has translated many stories from Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare*.

Descriptions. There are several purely descriptive pieces in Sanskrit prose. *Yamunāvarṇana* (Description of Yamuna) by Jagannātha Paṇḍita, the renowned poetician (17th century), is well known but is not obtainable. Melputtur Narayana Bhattathiri is the author of several descriptive works, most of them in the form of long single sentences modelled after Bana, with epithet piled on epithet, and full of alliteration, pun and paranomasia. In *Kailāsavarṇana* a description of Mount Kailasa as seen by Arjuna when he goes there to perform penance, brings into relief the snowy peaks, the vast flora and fauna, the sages and devotees extolling Siva and numerous other things. In *Śūrpaṇakhapralāpa* (The Lament of Surpanakha, 1971), a complete description of Sita as the ideal of feminine beauty is given, but without the use of any nasal sounds, as the narrator is Śūrpaṇakhā, after her nose was cut off by Lakshmana! In *Gośrīnagaravarṇana* (Description of the City of Cochin, 1939) the harbour city of Cochin, with its tall spires and varied wares, the ships, foreigners like the Portuguese and the Dutch, the busy markets and the curious exhibits, is graphically described in enchanting expression. The *Aṣṭamīmahotsavacampū* (1923) is a detailed and interesting account of the annual festival of the Siva temple at Vaikom in Kerala. In addition to the religious routine, the entertainments, the different kinds of people in the congregation, the festival fair etc. are described. A work of equal importance is the *Syānandūrapuravarṇanaprabandha* (A Description of Trivandrum City, 1920) of Maharaja Svāti Tirunāl of Travancore (1813–1847), the great musical composer. It describes the legendary history of Trivandrum, the Padmanābhasvāmi temple and the festivals held there.

Panegyrics. Some of the royal inscriptions contain *Praśastis* (eulogies) on the donor kings. Such panegyrics also occur independently. Melputtur Narayana Bhattatiri's *Mānavikramapraśasti* is on his patron king Mānavikrama of Calicut, and is written in the form of what is called *Śṛṅkhalā gadya* (chain prose), each expression beginning with the word with which the previous one ends, similar to the *antādi* in Tamil. The *Ravivarmastuti* of Mṛtyuñjayasvāmin of Tirunava in north Kerala is on King Ravivarma, identified with the king of Veṭṭattunād, who lived in the latter half of the 16th century. *Vañcīśastava* by Asvati Tirunal Yuvaraja of Travancore (1756–1794) is on Kartika Tirunal Ramavarma Maharaja of Travancore, and is a long prose passage preceded by a few verses. In this work, poetic exaggeration is mellowed by fact. The *Divyasūricarita* (1873), by Jaggu Venkatacharya of Melkote in Mysore, is on the Vaishnavite Alwars of Tamil Nadu and may also be assigned to this category.

Essay

The essay is o recent origin in Sanskrit, it being a direct result of the publication of periodicals. Hrishikesa Bhattachary of Bengal (1849–1913), Appa Sastri Rasivadekar of Maharashtra (1883–1913), Ramavatara Sarma of Bihar (1874–1926) and R. Krishnamachariar of Tamil Nadu (1860–1924) may be said to be the pioneers of this branch of Sanskrit literature through their numerous writings in their periodicals, *Vidyodaya*, *Samskṛtacandrikā*, *Mitragoṣṭhi* and *Sahṛdayā*. Their lead was followed by many and essays on every subject under the sun began to appear in the periodicals, including thoughtful editorials on current topics.

Collections of the essays of several writers have also been published. Hrishikesa Sastri's *Prabandhamañjarī* (1928) contains a number of essays in a vigorous language on subjects of contemporary interest. The *Prabandhaprakāśa* of Mangala Deva Sastri, who was the Principal of Government Sanskrit College, Varanasi, and later Vice-Chancellor of the Varanaseya Samskrita Visva Vidyalaya, is in two parts, 'written in an excellent natural style' (Woolner). The first part (1930) contains some 70 descriptive, narrative and reflective essays, with apt quotations from the entire field of Sanskrit literature. The second part (1950) includes 12 addresses by the author on Indian heritage, the importance of Sanskrit, the means for modernizing Sanskrit study, etc. It is interesting to note that he states that the mutual jealousy of the Pandits is one of the causes for the decline of Sanskrit study. Hansraj Aggarwal's *Samskṛtaprabandhapradīpa* (1955) includes essays on modern scientific advancements and on the constitutions of major nations. Srutikantha Sarma's *Laghunibandhamaṇimālā* (1955) contains essays on lighter themes, such as football matches and aimless wandering. The *Prabandhapārijāta* (1956) is a collection of essays by different writers on modern subjects. The *Prastāvataraṅgiṇī* (1963), by Charudeva Sastri, contains over 60 essays in simple, idiomatic language incorporating numerous special usages. The topics, which cover a wide range, are grouped as elucidative, narrative, descriptive, technical etc. In

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addition to abstract subjects like character, courage, patriotism and happiness, there are estimates of the services of Sankaracharya and Mahatma Gandhi, autobiographies of the rupee and the umbrella, expositions on the appearance theory of Vedanta, sentiment in poetry, case-relation in grammar and the contribution of Hinduism to world culture. In one essay, the author warns that attempts at simplification of Sanskrit should not result in its distortion, since each expression has a specific meaning-content. The *Prabandharatnākara* (1967), by Ramesa Chandra Sukla, contains around 70 essays on various topics connected with Sanskrit literature and Indian philosophy, socialism and fascism, society and the individual and several similar subjects. Many of the essays are long and show deep study. They are written in an ornate style which seems to aim at preserving the loftiness of Sanskrit prose rather than demonstrating its adaptability to modern subjects. In the *Samskṛtanibandharatnākara* (1971), by Sivaprasad Bharadvaja, the essays, about a hundred in number, are suitably grouped as general, technical, critical, descriptive, etc. Apart from dealing with conventional subjects, the the author breaks new ground when he dwells on topics such as atomic energy and space flight. There is an essay on English in India, in which the need to retain the English language is stressed, and another on Independent India, which exposes the darker aspects of democracy. The author has a flexible style and his arguments are brief and to the point. *Samskṛtanibandhakalikā* (1976), by Ramji Upadhyaya and Radhavallabha Tripathi, contains short essays on diverse subjects. There are also several other collections of a similar kind.

Essays which might be described as 'a loose sally of the mind' figure frequently in the periodicals, particularly the *Samskṛtapratibhā*. *Varṣāh* (SP4), by Asok Aklujkar, is an imaginative account, in a direct and endearing style, of the diverse aspects of the rainy season. His article 'Mamaiva Janmāntarapātakānām vipākavisphūrjathuraprasahyah' (SP 5) is a realistic and humorous description of the difficulties an organizer faces in arranging a symposium on Sanskrit drama in a college. 'Uñchavṛttih' (SP 4) by P. S. Subbarama Pattar, conveys the happiness of a simple life of self-reliance through an account of a Brahmin mendicant who goes about singing and collecting alms but cooks his own food and declines a rich man's offer of a sumptuous meal. 'Kartavyam' (VS 1) examines to what extent law should be obeyed.

In addition to the essays in the collections already mentioned, there are several others on Sanskrit education, among which 'Samskṛtabhāṣā (Sanskrit Language) and 'Sāmpratam kīdṛśī samskṛtaśikṣā apekṣyate' (What is the kind of Sanskrit education needed at present), by Mahesh Chandra Tarkachudamani (1841–1909), 'Samskṛtaśikṣā' (Teaching of Sanskrit), by Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya (1879–1946) (MG. 2), and 'Bhāṣaṇam' (Speech), by Kshama Rao (1890–1954), the celebrated story writer and author of *Satyāgrahagītā*, in her 'Vicitraparişadyātrā' (Journey to a Curious Assembly), are noteworthy for their forceful language and practical outlook.

Humour and Satire. Amongst humorous writings are: *Varayātrāpratyakṣavarṇanam* (A Spectator's Account of the Bridegroom's Procession VS 10), by Vishnu Kanta Sukla, on the procession of a bridegroom to the bride's house; the *Gītātātparya* (The Essence of the Gita), wherein the views of the Acharyas Sankara, Ramanuja and Madhva on the means of liberation are presented in a lighter vein, *Vedagauravam* (The Greatness of Veda) in which an agnostic seeks sanction in the Vedas for smoking, drinking and other prohibited pleasures and the *Hindūmusalimaśāstrārtha*, in which a Muslim claims to be the son of Earth and a Hindu claims to be the son of Fire. All these are in the collection *Pāṭhakamukhavisphoṭaka* by Rupalal Kapoor. Simple humour turns into satire in skits like the *Budbudapṛṣṭhe ṃaśakah* (The Mosquito on the Bubble) on an insignificant man building his career and ultimately becoming a minister, and *Na me karma vikurute* (What I do Never Goes Amiss), on family planning which puts Brahma in a dilemma, both by Swaminatha Atreya (SP 8). Similar satire is found in *Mā ca yācişma kamcana* (May I not Beg of Anyone), by Kalanatha Sastri (SP 7)—on the emergence of new forms of begging such as grants, donations, benefit shows etc., *Tato jayam udīrayet* (Proclaim Victory Then), by Asok Aklujkar (SP 8), on the activities of students in hostels, and *Aham netā* (I am the Leader), by Rames Kumar (VS 2), on a leader proclaiming his own virtues. The *Indrasabhā* (Assembly of Indra), by Kuttamathu Kunjampu Kurup (1856–1911), is a *campū* satirizing the life of the people in modern Kerala. It is in the form of a discussion among Indra, Bali, Narada and Bṛhaspati in the celestial assembly.

There is a class of *campū* in which a topic is examined from two opposite perspectives. The method followed in these works is an adaptation of the principle of *pūrvapakṣasamādhāna* (objection and answer) found in *śāstraic* works. The best known work of this type is the *Viśvaguṇādarśa* (The Quality of the Universe) by Venkatadhuvarin (17th century) of Kanchipuram, in which two Gandharvas, Viśvāvasu and Kṛśānu, go round the countries of the world in an ærial chariot, one with an eye for the good, and the other with an eye for the evil. The faults of the time are, thus, exposed. Closely following this pattern, Venkatadhvarin's contemporary Ramachandra Dikshita wrote the *Keraḷābharaṇa* (The Ornament of Kerala), in which, to settle a dispute between the sages Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra in Indra's court as to which place on earth is the most beautiful, two Gandharvas, Milinda and Makaranda, visit various places and report on the good and bad in each. They conclude that Kerala is the best country because of its natural beauty and enjoyability. The *Tattvaguṇādarśa* of

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Annayārya (early 18th century) sets forth the comparative merits of Saivism and Vaishnavism in the form of a conversation between Jaya and Vijaya. Dattatreya Vasudeva Sastri (1863–1918) of Pangrada in Konkan wrote the *Gaṅgāguṇādarśa*, wherein the Gandharvas Hāhā and Hūhū speak of the merits and demerits of the river Ganga and finally establish its greatness, sanctity and purity.

Travelogue. Travelogues are few and are mostly accounts of pilgrimages. The earliest of these is the *Yātrā-prabandha* (1613) of Samarapungava Dikshita, son of Venkatesa of Tiruvalangadu in Tamil Nadu. Its nine sections, abounding in descriptions which characterize *mahākāvyas*, give an account of a pilgrimage the author undertook to the holy shrines of South India. The *Kāverīgadya* of Srisaila Dikshita Tirumalacharya describes the author's pilgrimage to the source of the river Kaveri in Coorg. His *Pravāsavarṇana* describes his travel to different parts of India. The *Kāśīyātrāprabandha* of Paramesvara Sivadvija (Pacchu Muttatu, 1818–1883) of Vaikom in Kerala describes the pilgrimage of King Virakerala Varma of Cochin to Benares in 1852. The *Kavimanorañjanakacampū* of Sitarama Suri (1863–1906) records in four sections the journey of the author's *guru* all over India. Rajagopala Chakravarti of Mysore (1882–1934) is the author of a four-chapter travelogue called *Tīrthāṭanam*. Hariharasvarupa Sastri describes the beauty of Kashmir in his *Kāśmīrayātrā*. In the *Tribilvadalacampū* V. S. Ramaswami Sastri gives an account of his travels in different parts of India and describes not only sacred shrines and other holy spots, but also modern institutions such as Universities. M. Ramakrishna Bhat of Bangalore has recounted his experiences in East Africa in the Nagpur weekly *Samskṛtabhavitavyam*.

Letters. Letters do not constitute a sizable part of Sanskrit literature, and even here many writers have resorted to verse, as for instance Manavikrama Ettan Tampuran in his *Rājakīyalekhamālā*. Among authors whose prose letters have been preserved, Appa Sastri Rasivedakar is the foremost. His letters to his scholar friends are nicely phrased and reflect his philosophy of life, love of freedom, patriotism and dedication to the promotion of the study of Sanskrit. A collection of a hundred of these letters has been published under the title *Patraratnamālā* (1916) by Sahasrabuddhe of Dharwar. 25 letters of T. Ganapati Sastri (1860–1926), the famous discoverer of Bhasa plays, addressed to different scholars in India and abroad, have also been published in a collection (1976) under the title *Letters of Ganapati Sastri*.

History

In the field of historical writing in prose, the *Gadyakarṇāmṛta* (1981) of Vidyācakravartin II (13th century), which describes the battle of Srirangam between Narasimha II of the Hoysala dynasty and the combined forces of the Pandyas and Pallavas around 1230, is the earliest available. *Bhāratetihāsa* (SSPP 1948) is a brief account of Indian History. In *Svadeśīyakathā* Appa Sastri Rasivadekar deals with the history of India and the good and bad features of British rule (SC 1907). Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya draws attention to the importance of Indian history in *Bhāratacaritam* (MG 1). Vamana Krishna Chitale's *Bhāratasvātantryam* (Freedom of India), written in elegant prose, treats the Freedom Movement in four parts called 'Vivekānandayuga', 'Tilakayuga', 'Gandhiyuga' and 'Nehruyuga.' *Bhāratīyakangresasyetihāsah* by Srinidesaprasada Pandeya, is a history of the Indian National Congress. Among translations are *Prācyapāścātyam* (the East and the West) by Sitanatha Goswami, a Sanskrit rendering of Swami Vivekananda's Bengali accounts of some Western countries, their people and the influence of the Orient on them, and *Bhāratīya rāṣṭrasamghaṭanā* (The Indian Constitution), a translation of some sections of the Indian Constitution by C. Kunhan Raja.

There are a few histories of Sanskrit literature also. Hans Raj Aggarwal of Punjab has written *Samskṛtasāhityetihāsah* (1951). Its two volumes deal with the main branches of general literature, include sections on the Puranas and *Arthaśāstra*, and discuss the date and poetic merits of each author. The *Samskṛtasāhityavimarśa* (1957) by Dvijendranatha Sastri, is another work of a similar nature; so too is the *Samskṛtasāhityetihāsa* by Ramachandra Misra. R. S. Venkatarama Sastri has published from Madras a short history of Vedic and classical Sanskrit literature. A. G. Krishna Warrier has made a brief survey of the *stotra* literature in Kerala in his *Keraḷīyasamskṛtsāhityadarpaṇa* (The Mirror of Sanskrit Literature of Kerala, VS 1), Jhanjhurama Sastri of Punjab has written an extensive history of Sanskrit literature, but it has not been published. P. P. S. Sastri and K. L. V. Sastri have translated the Vedic section from Macdonnel's *History of Sanskrit Literature* (1938) and V. S. Venkataraghavacharya has translated Macdonnels' *India's Past*, calling the Sanskrit version *Bhāratīyam Vṛttam* (1968).

Science and Arts

Modern science, too, has engaged the attention of Sanskrit writers. A fresh look is also cast on some old subjects. Bhimacharya Chattopadhyaya of Benares wrote *Kṣṭivijñāna* (1905), on agriculture, and an essay 'Tāpah' on the nature of heat (MG 1). In *Purāṇeṣu vikāsavādah* (Prabhandhaprakāśa I), Giridhara Sarma Chaturvedi examines the modern theory of evolution as discernible in the puranas. *Dravyorjaprasaṅge dhvanyorjavivecanam* (Matter and Energy, VS 7) is an attempt by Rama Narayana Das of Benares to examine the interconvertibility of the different forms of energy and matter and establish its indication in

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Veda itself. Venkateswara Rao of Tirupati wrote *Paramāṇutattvadṛṣṭyā paramātmatattvaparyālocanam* (VS 11), which examines modern atomic theory in relation to Indian philosophical systems and argues that Indian philosophy and religion must become integral parts of a general pattern of thought. Ilattur Ramaswami Sastri is the author of *Kṣetratattvadīpikā*, a work on geometry, and A. R. Rajaraja Varma is the author of the *Karaṇapariṣkaraṇa* and *Pañcāṅgaśuddhipaddhati*, both of which deal with the reform of the calendar. Chandrasekhara Sarma has written on earthquakes in his *Bhūmīkampah* and on the five basic elements, Earth, Water, Fire, Air and Ether, in *Pañcabhūtāni* (1916). Giridatta Pandeya in *Śāstreṣu lokaprāmāṇyam* (VS 12) examines the maxims adopted in the *Śāstras* on the basis of everyday life.

Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya's *Prācīnabhāratīyamanovijñānam* (1972) deals extensively with the ancient Indian concepts in Psychology. The principles of Political Science are given in Upanishadic style in the *Rāṣṭrīyopaniṣad* (1919) of Chintamani Ramachandra Sahasrabudhe. Taranatha Tarkavachaspati's *Bahuvivāhavādah* (1890) discusses polygamy, while Kadalangudi Natesa Sastri's *Ṛtumatīvivāhapramāṇānī* (1912) and *Pariṇayamīmāmsā* (1913) examine respectively, the arguments for and against post-puberty marriage and the significance of marriage.

K. V. Sarma has written some detailed accounts of some interesting arts in ancient India, such as the art of debate and philosophical disputation (VS 4), the art of letter writing (VS 5) and the art of thieving (VS 8). Suryanarayana of Hoshiarpur has written on slavery in India (VS 4) and Narendranatha Chowdhury on iconography (VS 2).

Criticism. Dispelling the popular belief that Sanskritists merely venerate their writers and do not critically examine their output, are several works that subject great authors to a thorough scrutiny and objective estimation. Two of the most noteworthy critiques are the *Raghuvamśavimarśa* (Criticism of Raghuvamsa, 1908) and *Meghasandeśavimarśa* (Criticism of Meghadut, 1915) of R. Krishnamacharya. The works on the respective poems of Kalidasa point out the lapses of the great poet. This criticism naturally provoked several replies, including a recent one in verse form Gurusvami Sastri of Trivandrum. Similar are the *Mahābhāratavimarśa* (Criticism of Mahabharata) of Kavyakantham Ganapati Muni and the *Bhaṭṭikāvyavimarśa* (Criticism of Bhaṭṭikāvya) of Charudeva Sastri. But more appreciative in tone are the *Viśākhavijayasamālocana* by T. Ganapati Sastri, on the historical poem of Kerala Varma Valiya Koil Tampuran, and the *Ratnāvalīsamīkṣā*, on Harsha's drama, by K. Rama Pisharoti. Satya Vrata Samasrami has made a critical study in his *Aitareyālocana* of the *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa* relating to the *Ṛgveda*. Madhusudana Ojha of Jaipur has produced several monographs relating to different aspects of the Vedas.

There are also studies on individual authors. Appa Sastri's *Mahākavih Kāḷidāsah* is on Kalidasa. *Kāḷidāsasamīkṣā* is a collection of essays on Kalidasa that were read at a symposium in Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati. A similar work is the *Kāḷidāsānuśīlanam* issued as a special number of the magazine 'Magadham'. Another special number of the same magazine is on Bana and is called Bāṇabhaṭṭānuśīlanam. Ashok Aklujkar's *Appāśāstrisāhityasamīkṣā* appraises the special aspects of Appa Sastri Rasivadekar as a writer.

Research. Articles on poetry and poetics in general and on particular aspects of authors and their poetry, which appeared in periodicals, are too many to be mentioned here, but a few examples from VS may be cited. In a series of articles in this periodical, Sasidhara Sarma gave a critical account of the Ayurvedic doctrines and applications referred to in the three major *mahākāvyas*: *Śiśupālavadha*, *Kirātārjunīya* and *Naiṣadha*. In *Samskṛte lokatantavah* (VS 10), Kalanatha Sastri has traced the threads of folklore in Vedic and classical literature. Janamejayavidyalankara speaks of the value of *Carakasamhitā*, the Ayurvedic treatise, as a *Kāvya*, *Dharmaśāstra*, *Nītiśāstra* and *Itihāsa* (VS 8). Kishornath Jha points out the poetic beauty of the verses of Udayana in his Nyāya works (VS 7). And in *Nibandhurdāyitvam* (VS 3), Haridatta Palliwal discusses an author's responsibility to himself in what he communicates to his reader.

Prose works on the Sanskrit language include the 'Bhāṣācaritra' of A. R. Rajaraja Varma, which is included in the second part of his *Laghupaṇinīyam*, the *Bhāṣāśāstrapraveśinī* of Venkatarama Sastri, which gives the general principles of comparative philology as applied to Sanskrit, and Charudeva Sastri's *Śabdāpaśabdaviveka* on the correct idioms in usage.

Numerous dissertations for different research degrees are written in Sanskrit in the Sanskrit departments of Universities and other research institutions. A modernity in Sanskrit prose style and an objectivity in treatment are discernible in them.

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Sindhi

POPATI R. HIRANANDANI

Fusion of Different Cultures

To understand the spirit and genius of Sindhi literature, it is imperative to know the history of Sind. Sind has been the scene of historical upheavals from time to time. The attacks and conquests have not remained only of a military nature, but of a kind that brought about drastic changes in the life and thought of the people of Sind.

Sind—the distant corner of the sub-continent—was the Gateway of India. Hence it had consistently been under attack by foreign lands. The Sythians, Parthians, Kushans, Huns, Iranians, Greeks, people from Bactria and Afghanistan had come to Sind. Out of the influence of different cultures, that of Islam has been the most dominant one. The literary heritage of Sind vividly reflects the harmonious blending and the the merging in each other of the two great cultures namely the Vedic and Islamic, in the basin of Indus Valley.

According to *Cambridge History of India*, Alexander the Great, massacred Sindhi Brahmins. Hence there is no trace of Sanskrit language in the early period of Sind region. Much later, in A. D. 711, the Arabs, under the command of Muhammed bin Qasim invaded Sind and brought it under the rule of the Caliph. During the Arab rule the local population was either converted to Islam or slain. Some of the local people might have migrated to the neighbouring areas outside Sind or remained as non-entities in the region. Because of the influence and spread of Islam, Arabic language was much in vogue in Sind, and the local language whatever it may have been, did not flourish.

In 1520–21 under the rule ot Shah Beg of Arghun dynasty, everything was switched over from Arabic to Persian. His son Mirza Shah Husain, who ruled over Sind for 32 years, used to compose poems in Persian. Even when Sind came under the rule of Moghul Emperors in 1592, books in Sind were produced in Persian, though by that time the local people had began to compose folk poems in the language of the land namely Sindhi.

Prose Records

Poetry no doubt has always preceded prose everywhere and so is the case with Sindhi language. Some Sindhi scholars have pointed out that Sindhi prose must have originated quite early, i.e. even before the Sumras (Sūmrās) ruled over Sind in 1051. There is no record as such to prove their point. Unfortunately there are no inscriptions whatsoever and no written documents in Sindhi to provide specimens of early prose in the language. G. A. Allana has referred to some sentences by way of blessings uttered by Ismaili missionaries and a Sindhi proverb by Sayyed Jamial Shah Datar Girnari (d. 1244) (Allana, G. A., *Sindhi Nasr ji Tārīkh*, 2nd ed., 1977, p. 4). U. M. Daudpota (Daudpota) maintains that Abdul Rahim Girhori's (?–1778) utterances (called *Malfūzāt*) should be deemed as early prose specimens available so far in Sindhi (Daudpota, U. M., 'Qadim Sindhi Nasr', *Sindhu*, October 1934). However L. H. Ajwani's opinion that 'whatever claims may be made of an earlier origin for Sindhi, for all practical purposes the Sindhi prose came to be such only under the aegis of the British' should be considered sound and correct. (L. H. Ajwani, *History of Sindhi Literature*, 1970, p. 169).

British Period—Age of Prose

Role of Missionaries. The official script of Sindhi language which was introduced by the British in 1853 ushered in a new era. A new wave of education and learning gave impetus to new writing and prose forms of writing were developed. With the encouragement of the enlightened Commissioner Sir Bartle Frere and such officers and scholars as Major F. J. Goldmid, John Beams (1837–1902), Ernest Trumpp (1828–85), Captain George Stack (d. 1853), Sir Ellis Broughs, Rev. Shirt, Ryland and John Jacob were invited the local scholars to translate books into Sindhi from different languages. Thus a good number of works on history, geography, astronomy, arithmetic, Euclid, algebra, grammar, etc. were published in Sindhi prose. With the establishment of schools in the province, a large number of textbooks were required to teach through the medium of the mother tongue. All this gave a great fillip to Sindhi prose.

It will not be out of place to mention here the services of missionaries in the field of preparation of grammar and compiling of dictionaries in Sindhi.

Ernest Trumpp wrote the following books: *Sindhī Pāṭhāvalī* (1872), *Sindhi Grammar* (1872), *Sindhi Reading Book*—in the Sanskrit and Arabic characters (1858); and he edited *Ṣāh jo Risālo* (1866, Germany)

Captain George Stack wrote *A Grammar of the Sindhi Language* (1849), *A Dictionary, English and Sindhi* (1849), *A Dictionary, Sindhi and English* (1855), both in Devnagari characters.

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Rev. Father Shirt wrote *Roots of Sindhi Words* (Akhar Dhātū, 1866) as well as *Sindhi-English Dictionary* (1879) in collaboration with native scholars. Princep published *A Grammar of Scindee Language* in 1835, which was followed by *A Grammar and Vocabulary of Sindhi Language* (1836) by W. H. Wathen. In 1884 *A Grammar of the Sindhi Language* was contributed by L. D. Seymour.

E. B. Eastwick brought out in 1843, *Vocabulary of the Sindhi Language* and Eartheringten got his *Vocabulary of Sindhi Agricultural Term Herbs and Drugs* printed in Germany (1885). Sir George Grierson in his *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. VIII dealt with Sindhi language and its dialects, which no doubt is a comprehensive work in the field. Similarly, John Beams in his *Comparative Grammar of Modern Aryan Languages in India* (1872–79) discussed the peculiarities of Sindhi grammar and the relevant comparison with grammatical rules of other Indian languages.

From the above list one can judge the rich contribution made by early missionaries to Sindhi language, grammar as well as to the field of Sindhi lexicography. One must feel beholden to these missionaries and European scholars for their indefatigable labour of love to provide such valuable basic reference books in Sindhi as in other Indian languages. E. Trumpp's edition of *Ṣāh jo Risālo* and *Sindhi Grammar* and the dictionaries by Rev. Shirt and Captain Stack are still considered important books of reference.

Dictionaries and Books on Grammar and Linguistics

Both Sindhi Hindus as well as Sindhi Muslims vied with each other in contributing to Sindhi the language by writing original books on the grammar and history of the language. Jhamatmal Narumal (Jhamaṭmal Nārūmal), by his *Viyutpatī Koṣ* (1886), an etymological dictionary, and *Nao Sindhi Vyākaṛṇ* (New Sindhi Grammar, 1892), Mirza Calich Beg (Mirza Qalīc Beg, 1855–1929) with his *Sindhi Grammar* (1921) and *Lughāti-i-Latifī* (Lexicon of the words occurring in *Ṣāh jo Risālo*, (1914) as well as *Sindhi Lughāt-i-Qadīmī* (Sindhi Classical Dictionary, 1921), and Bherumal Maherchand (Bherūmal Mahercand, 1876–1953) with his *Vaḍo Sindhī Vyākaṛṇ* (Comprehensive Sindhi Grammar, 1925), *Gulqand* (Conserve of Roses, 1925), a book on Sindhi proverbs, *Gharīb-ul-Lughāt* (a glossary of words in *Ṣāh jo Risālo*, 1906) and *Sindhī Bolī jī Tārīkh* (History of Sindhi Language, 1941) have no doubt enriched Sindhi language by following in the footsteps of missionaries and providing the above books.

In the field of collection of proverbs, sayings, maxims and dictionaries of idioms mention is to be made of Advani Kewalram Salamatrai (Āḍvāṇī Kevalrām Salāmatrāi, 1804–79) whose *Gulṣakar* (Rose Candy, 1905) is an authoritative pioneering work on Sindhi proverbs with equivalents from Hindi, Persian and other languages. Rochiram Gajumal (Rocīram Gajūmal, 1804–1901) produced similar work under the title *Handbook of Sindhi Proverbs with English Equivalents* (1895) and Ghanshamdas Ramandas (Ghanṣām dās Rāmandās) published a book on Sindhi idioms, *Sindhī Bolī-a-jī-Sūnhan* (Beauty of Sindhi Language, 1910).

In lexicography the services rendered by Parmanand Mewaram (Parmānand Mevārām, 1865–1938) are no doubt incalculable. He brought out a *Sindhi-English Dictionary* (1910) and an *English-Sindhi Dictionary* (1933). Earlier, in 1868, a Maharashtrian scholar, Lanman V. Paranjapye, published *English-Sindhi Dictionary*. H. M. Gurbakshani (H. M. Gurbakhṣāṇī, 1884–1947) too did yeoman service to Sindhi lexicography by giving the etymology and explanation of words occurring in *Ṣāh jo Risālo* in his monumental edition of the poetical works of Shah Abdul Latif.

Besides, Anandram Shahani, Kanwalsing Pohumal, Lilaram Vatanmal, Kotumal Advani and lastly Sahijram Tahilram (Compiler of the first Sindhi-Sindhi Lexicon) worked in this field.

Religious Literature

Besides the sacred books translated by either missionaries or local writers a good many books pertaining to religion, mysticism and theosophy were either translated or written originally in Sindhi language. The credit for introducing religious books goes to that versatile and prolific writer Mirza Qalich Beg, who wrote such books as *Ilm Tasauvvuf* (Mysticism, 1912), *Majmaul Mazahib* (Compendium of Religions), *Sulh Kul* (Concordance of all Religions, 1923), *Tuhfatul Sālikīn* (Gift of the Seekers, 1915), *Kīmia-i-Sādat* (Alchemy of Happiness, a book in Persian by Imam Muhammad Ghazali, 1901) and many others.

Jethmal Parsram (1886–1948), another great writer, was instrumental in either translating or writing books on theosophy, mysticism and religion. His *Satgura je Carṇan Meṅ* (From J. Krishnamurti's 'At the Feet of the Master' 1940) and *Gyān Sar* (*The Pool of Wisdom* by J. Krishnamurti, 1944), *Sidhyūn ain cakra* (Charles Leadbeater's 'Talk on the path of occultism and chakras', 1940) and *Yog ji Samjhāṇī* (Annie Besant's *Introduction to Yoga*, 1932) are all inspired by theosophy. His original works include *Atam Vīcār ain Om jī ākhāṇī* (Thoughts on Self and the Story of Om, 1927), *Maut āhe kona* (There is no death, 1935), and *Bhagvatgītā ain Rāj gyān* (A Short Commentary on the Gita, 1927).

Another brilliant scholar and writer of the period who wrote commentaries on *Jap Sahib*, Bhagvad Gita and other Hindu scriptures, was Dayaram Gidumal (Dayārām Gidūmal, 1857–1927). His *Jap Sahib* in 1891, *Srī Bhagvat Gita* in 1893, and *Sri Yog Darśan* (Patanjali, 1903) are classics of Sindhi prose. Parmanand Mewaram's translation of *The Imitation of Christ* (*Krist jī Pairavī*, 1923) by Thomas-

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a-Kempis 'is treasured by Sindhis as one of the best half a dozen prose works in the Sindhi language' (L. H. Ajwani).

Commentaries on or translations of the Gita in Sindhi are legion. N. V. Thadhani, Mulchand Lala, Menghraj Kalvani, Chainrai Bulchand, Ghanshamdas Kripalani and others have been instrumental in giving either metrical rendering or prose version of the sacred work. The best and the most exhaustive and lucid commentary of Shrimat Bhagvat Gita is, however, that done by Hariram Shewaram Pardasani (Harīrām Sevārām Pardāsāṇī) under the title of *Gītā Gyān* (1969), based on discourses by Muni Gridharilal

Ādi Granth (the Sikh scriture) was translated into. Sindhi in 32 volumes under the name of *Gur Vāṇī* (1920–45) by Fatchchand Menghraj.

Sadhu T. L. Vaswani (Sādhū T. L. Vāsvāṇī, 1879–1966) too has written on religious topics and brought out books on religion, philosophy and mysticism, which are very popular with Sindhi readers.

Maulavi Din Muhammad Wafai (Dīn Muhammad Vafāī, 1894–1950), Ghulam Muhammad Girami (Ghulām Muhammad Girāmī, 1920–76), Muhammad Usman Diplai (Muhammad Usmān Dīplāī, b. 1908) and Fateh Muhammad Sehwani (Fateh Muhammad Sehvāṇī, 1882–1942) are some of the Sindhi writers who specialized in writing about Islam, and who have enriched the religious literature in Sindhi.

Journalistic Writing

Sindhi journals have played an important part in introducing new writers who wrote on social, historical, political, philosophical and literary topics in weekly, fortnightly, monthly or annual magazines and journals. Some of the best literary or even critical essays and articles have been printed in such journals. These journals include *Sindh Sudhār* (1884), *Sarasvatī* (1890), *Jyot* (1896), *Akhbār Talīm* (1902), *Rūh Rihāṇ* (1920), *Sindhū* (1932), *Mihrāṇ* (1946), *Risala Madresa* (1904), *D. T. Sindhi College Miscellany* (1901) and *Phulali*, Annual Miscellany of D. G. National College (1924). Mention has to be made of *Bahār-i-Akhlāq*, *Musulmān*, *Al-Amīn*, *Tauhīd* (1923), *Al-Jami* (1925) and *Sitāra-i-Sindh*. Of all these, pride of place must be assigned to *Sindhū* run on the model of Ramanand Chatterjee's *Modern Review* (Calcutta), which contains literary, critical and research articles by some of the best writers of the day such as Bherumal Maherchand, Lalchand Amardinomal, Sobhraj Nirmaldas, L. H. Ajwani, M. U. Malkani, N. M. Bhambhani, Lutf Allah Jogi (Badvi), Maulai Shaidai etc. *Mihran*, which was started as late as 1946, has been instrumental in bringing a sort of renaissance in Sindhi literature.

After Partition magazines like *Kūñj*, *Naīn Dunia*, *Sindhū Dhara*, *Rābel*, *Ākhāṇī* and annual issues like *Mumal*, *Halcal*, *Puṣpa*, *Sorath*, *Jahāzrāṇī*, *Jīvan Jyot*, *Jījal*, *Alkā*, *Surhāṇ Sāhit Sugandh*, *Sindhū Samāj*, etc. have been making substantial contribution to Sindhi literature in general and prose in particular.

Essays in Sindhi

The literary forms that have been in vogue in Europe have been introduced in to Sindhi mostly through English. With his collection of essays with the title of *Magālāt-ul-Hikmat* (Essays of Wisdom, 1877)—the translations of Bacon's *Essays*—Mirza Calich Beg started this trend. Then followed Dayaram Gidumal's introductory essays on Quatrains of Umar Khayyam (*Rubāyate-Omar Khayyām*, 1904) and *Sāmīa-jā-Salok* (Couplets of Sami, the Poet, 1885), which are masterpieces having a classical character.

Bherumal Maharchand Advani (1876–1953), Lalchand Amardinomal Jagtiani (1885–1954), Parmanand Mewaram (1865–1938), and Jhetmal Parsram Gulrajani (1886–1948) blazed a new trail in this genre. Parmanand's collection of essays *Gulphul* (Flowers, I-1925, II-1936) and Lalchand's *Phulan Muṭh* (A Handful of Popcorn, 1927) represent Sindhi prose at its best with its lucidity and wit. Lalchand is often compared to Addison. Another noteworthy essayist was Naraindas Ratanmal Malkani (Nārāiṇdās Ratanmal Malkāṇī, 1890–1974) who gave his books *Anār Dāna* (Pomegranate Seeds, 1942) and *Goṭhāṇī Cahar* (The Rural Savoury, 1929). All these essayists were stalwarts whose combined efforts resulted in the rise of literary prose.

Post-Partition Essaysists. Tirth Basant (b. 1909) has given his first volume *Cingūn* (Sparks) in 1940. His subsequent collection of essays are *Vasant Varkha* (Spring Showers, 1959) and *Sāhitya Sār* (Essence of Literature, 1961). Tirth's style is rich and powerful and some of his essays are considered classical and thought-provoking. Lekhraj Kishinchand Aziz (Lekhrāj Kiṣiṇcand Aziz, 1905–71), a renowned poet, has published the fourth edition of his collection of essays *Adabī Āīno* (Literary Mirror, 1941, '47, '51, '58).

Some of the essayists like Assan Uttamchandani, Kirat Babani and Gobind Malhi flourished as a result of the literary meets of Sindhi Sahitya Mandal of Bombay. L. H. Ajwani (Ajvāṇī, 1899–1972), H. I. Sadarangani (b. 1915), Chetan Mariwala (b. 1928), Ram Punjwanni (b. 1911) and Popati Hiranandani (b. 1924) have also enriched this genre considerably by their contributions. Sadarangani gave his collection *Kākh ain Kanā* (The Straws, 1963), Panjwanni gave two collections *Adabī Gunco* (Literary Bunch of Flowers, 1945) and *Sipun* (The Sea Shells, 1978). Chetan Mariwala also gave two collections *Tārīkhī Mazmūn* (Historical Essays, 1946) and *Ithāsik Citra* (Historical Reflections, 1950). Popati Hiranandani has given as many as eight collections of essays which include *Hiku Puṣup Pandrah Pañkhriyun* (One Flower and Fifteen Petals, 1962) *Man ca Ahiyan* (What Am I?, 1969) and *Bhārat-ji-Istri* (Woman of India, 1965).

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Travelogue

Sindhi can boast of only a few books which may be termed travelogues. In the pre-1947 period Bherumal Maherchand Advani (Bherumal Mahercand Āḍvāṇī 1876–1953) brought out *Sindh jo Sailānī* (The Traveller of Sind, 1923), in which the author describes his visits to the Karachi and Hyderabad districts. The author, while going through the places, describes the places and the people and refers to some personalities of yore and combines both history as well as geography. The same author wrote *Latīfī Sair* (Travels of Shah Abdul Latif, 1928) which describes the places visited by him in and outside Sind. The description is based on his poetry.

Swami Bodhraj (Svami Bodhraj, 1897–1944) in his *Kaṣmīr jo sair* (Travelling through Kashmir) attempted to capture the scenic beauty of Kashmir. Naraindas Ratanmal Malkani too has been able to describe the beauty spots of Kashmir in his own humorous style and given pen-pictures of the common Kashmiri people. *Kaṣmīr jo Sair* (1925) by Malkani is a worthwhile addition to travel books in Sindhi.

By far the finest book on travels is *Sair-i-Kohistān* (Travel in Kohistan, 1942) by Allah Bachayo Samon (Allāh Bacāyo Samon, 1958). 'It is not only the best travel book in the Sindhi language but is a model of prose'..... Some of the passages in this travel-book are so beautiful that they will bear comparison with Kinglake's chapter on the Desert in *Eothon* (L. H. Ajwani, *History of Sindhi Literature*, p. 202). This was followed by *Lāṛ jo sair* (Travel in Lar) but it did not click. In line with *Sair-i-Kohistān* there is *Sair Registan* (Travel in Sandy Place, 1951) by Ursani Muhammed Ismail (Ursāṇī Muhammad Ismail, b. 1906).

During the post-Partition period M. U. Malkani (Malkāṇi, 1896–1980) recorded his visits to places in the West and added his quick observations in his *Pacim Yātrā* (Travelling in the West, 1967). In his writing, his Indian origin brings him the advantage of viewing America from a somewhat different angle.

Then Chetan Mariwala gave his *Dhiu-ja-piu-de khata* (Letters from Daughter to Father, 1976). Popati Hiranandani also has written a series of articles on her visits to Japan, Hongkong, Singapore, England, Paris and Spain. However this branch of literature has not flourished much in Sindhi.

History of Literature

Pre-Partition Period. In the twenties of this century, a serious attempt was made by Sindhi scholars to write on certain aspects of Sindhi language and its literature. Mirza Qalich Beg wrote small pamphlets such as *Sindhi-Zaban-jī-Mukhtasar Tārīkh* (A Short History of Sindhi Language) and *Sindhi-Ṣair-jī-Qadim-halat ain-poe-jo-Sudharo* (Classical Sindhi Poetry and its Development, 1914). However it was Muhammad Siddiq Memon (Muhammad Ṣiddīq Memoṇ, 1892–1958) who embarked on the project of writing a systematic and comprehensive history of Sindhi literature. His *Sindhi-jī-Adabi-Tārīkh* (History of Sindhi Literature, volume I, 1938, volume II, 1951 and 1959) discusses Sindhi language and its literature before the conquest of Sindh by the British. It is considered the first authentic record of Sindhi literature. Lutf Allah Badri (1904–68) published a history of Sindhi poetry, *Tadkira Lutfi* (Poetry and its Appraisal, 3 vols., 1943, 1946, 1953). It portrays the political conditions of various periods and gives a critical appraisal of poets and their works.

Post-Partition Period. Ajwani wrote *History of Sindhi Literature* (up to 1947) in English. This book was published by Sahitya Akademi in 1970. Ajwani's rendering of exquisite lyrics of Shah Abdul Latif in English is his most enduring work. *Sindhi Nasr-jī-Tārīkh* (History of Sindhi Prose, 1968) is a descriptive catalogue of Sindhi prose works. If it were more critical its utility would be considerably enhanced.

M. K. Jetley has written *Sindhi Sāhitya to Ithās* (History of Sindhi Literature, 1972), Popati Hirandani has given *Sindhi Sāhita jī jhalak* (A Survey of Sindhi Literature, 1964), and Jagdish Lachani has published *Adabi Sanas* (Knowing Literature, 1969). All of them have prepared the ground for more comprehensive works in future. Some of the literary associations have ventured to highlight the contributions of the writers of their own city or town and have published books like *Rajdhani-a-ja-Kalakar* (Writer-artists of Delhi), *Barode-ja-lekhak* (Writers of Baroda), etc. However Kimat Harisingani (b. 1936) of Bhopal has attempted to cover all the writers in his book *Sindhi Sāhitya ain Sāhityakār* (Sindhi Literature and Literary Figures, 1976). It gives almost all the names of the writers and their works, though briefly.

Researches, Linguistic and Literary

Pre-Partition. Mirza Qalich Beg, Bherumal Maherchand, Lalchand Amardinomal, H. M. Gurbakshani and U. M. Daudpoto had been conducting researches in Sindhi language and literature by either editing the old classics or writing monographs on various writers and poets. Qalich Beg has brought out a book dealing with Shah Abdul Latif, and edited Risala Karimi and H. M. Gurbakshani edited *Ṣāh jo Risālo* and wrote a masterly introduction to Shah and his poetry (Muqadama Latifi). For the first time a critical edition of this classic with commentary was prepared by Gurbakshani. U. M. Daudpoto was another great research scholar who edited *Bayān-ul-Abifin, Abyat-i-Sindhi* (Poems of Khwaja Ahmed Zaman, 1874, and commentary) and *Kalām-i-Girhoṛī* (Poems of Abdul Rahim, 1739–78). Beherumal Maherchand conducted researches in Sindhi language and history of Sindh. His introduction to *Sindhi Hindun jī Tārīkh* bears testimony to his research

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abilities. His *Qadīm Sind*, published after Partition, is a monumental work and can be reckoned as an important addition to books on ancient history of Sindh, prior to Islam.

A number of young scholars have sprung up in Sind (Pakistan) and edited unpublished works critically and are still conducting research in linguistics and literature with great zeal and acumen.

Post-Partition. In this field Lilo Ruchandani (Līlo Rucandāṇī b. 1921) has brought out two books: (1) *Sindhu ji jhalak* (A Glimpse of the Indus, 1964) and *Sindhi Bhāṣā jo Ithās* (History of Sindhi Language, 1974). In both books he shows his aptitude for research and ability to express his opinions clearly and unambiguously. Satish Rohra (Satīṣ Rohrā, b. 1929) approaches his subject scientifically in his book *Bhāṣā Sindhi Bhāṣā* (1977). The present writer deals with the philological aspect of the subject in her book *Bhāṣā Śāstra* (1962). L. Khubchandani, M. Jetley, Pritam Variani and Parso Gidvani have been conducting researches in linguistics and publishing their learned articles in English.

In the field of literary research the names of K. B. Advani (Āḍvāṇī b. 1911), the editor of *Ṣāh jo Risālo* and author of *Ṣāh*, *Sacal* and *Sāmī*, three monographs on three best known Sindhi poets and B. H. Nagrani, the editor of *Sāmī ja Salok* stand out. Other scholars who have either read research papers in seminars or contributed literary articles of research value to magazines are the writer of the present article, L. H. Ajwani, Kirat Babani, M. U. Malkani and H. I. Sadarangani.

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Tamil

S. SIVAPATHA SUNDARAM

Early Prose: Inscriptions and Commentaries

Tamil prose as a vehicle of literature is a recent phenomenon. Almost all literary compositions in Tamil up to the 17th century were in verse and only after the arrival of the Christian missionaries from the West and the introduction of printing press did Tamil prose come to be used in literary compositions. Essays, stories, biographies, travelogues, histories and such other genres in literature began to appear to enrich the already existing heritage of more than two thousand years.

The earliest use of prose as we know it today is found in records inscribed on stones in temples relating to royal grants and other state activities. Stray pieces in Brahmi characters belonging to the 2nd century B.C. have been discovered in certain parts of Tamil Nadu. With the development of independent Tamil characters called *Vaṭṭeḻuttu*, these records proliferated and numerous documents in stone and copper plates up to the 13th and 14th centuries are now available. The style of the prose used in these inscriptions is non-academic and of the common spoken variety. Since these inscriptions were meant as public notices or proclamations intended for the common man, naturally the day-to-day working language was used.

According to information gathered from some of the commentaries on Sangham classics there seem to have

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existed, after the Sangham period, two major prose works entitled *Takaḍūr Yāttirai* and Peruntēvanār's *Bhāratam*. But no trace of them could be found in actual existence. The well-known epic *Śilappadhikāram* composed by the Cera prince Iḷaṅkō Aḍikaḷ contains some prose passages sewn in as links to condense the time element necessary for dramatic effect. In the preface of the book itself it is mentioned that the work is in 'verse interspersed with prose'.

The next phase in the use of prose in literature is the contribution of commentaries to important grammatical and classical works by traditional academicians. If not for these commentaries the treasury of Tamil classics would not have been revealed to us. From Nakkīrar down to Naccinārkkiniyar—from the 10th to the 14th century—a host of commentators came to the fore to elucidate and expound the mystique of the tersely worded grammatical as well as classical compositions which lay hidden for more than eight centuries. The earliest Tamil classic *Tolkāppiyam*, the major eight anthologies and the 18 minor works are provided with elaborate commentaries by different scholars in different styles. Although these commentaries are meant to make the reader understand the meaning of the verses which are couched in terse and complex language, the structure of the language used in the commentaries is itself complex. Since all literatures of the early days were meant for and practised by academicians only, and since those academicians were equipped with sufficient knowledge of the linguistic exercises of scholars it was easy for them to grasp and understand the intricacies.

The earliest among these commentaries is reckoned to be that of Nakkirar of the Sangham period, who is credited with having orally provided an excellent exposition of a work called *Iṟaiyanār Ahapporuḷ*, a standard treatise on the theme of love. It is the work of an author named Iraiyanar but traditionally identified with Lord Siva. The legend is that Nakkirar gave the commentary and it was orally handed down through nine generations till it was reduced to writing in the 10th century A.D. by one Nīlakaṇṭanār, himself a descendent of Nakkirar. A notable feature of this commentary is a long introduction detailing the origin of the text, how it was lost and finally found and how the commentary was tested and approved by the highest academic council. The language of this introduction is ornate and attractive and hence remains to this day as an example of the prose style practised during the Sangham age. Most of the other commentators who have written elaborate expository notes to the classics cannot be regarded as prose writers since their writings are fragmentary jottings.

Yet another type of commentary writing was practised by certain Vaishnava scholars on their devotional literature. Piḷḷān (12th century), a devoted disciple of Rāmānuja, expounded the mystique buried in the songs of Nammāḻvār, called *Tiruvāymoḻi*, and wrote his commentary called 'Ārāyirappaḍi', in a prose which is designated as 'Maṇipravāḷam', meaning a mixture of gems and coral—a language strung with Sanskrit and Tamil words, the former in the main.

Contribution of Foreign Missionaries

Neither the inscriptions nor the commentaries could be considered prose literature in the accepted sense of the term. It was with the arrival of the Christian missionaries from Europe and their introduction of the printing press that Tamil prose received the status of a literary genre. During the 16th century the Portuguese missionaries who came and set up their head quarters at Tirunelveli in the south, brought with them printing equipment for the first time into India and published books and tracts for the propagation of their Roman Catholic religion. First among them, Henrique Henriques (1520–1600), who arrived in India in 1546, studied the language of the Tamils and wrote in that language a work in simple prose entitled *Tambirān Vaṇakkam* (1578), which is a translation of the Portuguese original *Doctrina Christina*, containing statements of the main articles in the Catholic faith. Another important title, *Flos Sanctorum*, is a Tamil prose work on the lives of saints. This book was republished in 1967 by Father Rajamanikkam under the Tamil title *Aḍiyār Varalāṟu*.

Robert de Nobili, who came from Italy in 1605, learnt Tamil and Sanskrit at Madurai and adopted the name Tattuva Pōtakar, meaning a preacher of philosophy. Sure of his profound knowledge of the Sanskrit language and the Hindu scriptures, he went about attired like a Brahmin sanyasi. He wrote poems in classical Tamil but his prose was simple and could be understood by everybody. Unfortunately many of his writings could not be printed in his time and they remained in palm leaves. The printing project of the Jesuit fathers had declined because of the arrival of the Dutch who contended with Portuguese supremacy.

By far the most celebrated missionary from the West who contributed to the development of the Tamil language, grammar and literature, was the Italian, Father Constantius Joseph Beschi (1680–1746), a versatile scholar and author of many works. His original contributions in Tamil include a book on grammar of the spoken language, a dictionary, a prose work, *Vētiyar Oḻukkam*, on the duties of Christian preachers and a monumental epic in verse on the life of Jesus under the title *Tēmpāvaṇi*, on the pattern of *Kamba Rāmāyaṇa*. While these works were written with an eye on the academician, his outstanding contribution to prose literature catering for the first time to the common reader is his hilarious satirical work *Paramārtha Guruvin Katai* (Story of a True Guru, 1740). This was left in manuscript form and was brought into print in 1822 by one Muttusvami Pillai of Pondicherry. The adven-

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tures of Paramartha Guru and his five half-witted disciples display a knowledge of human behaviour in a prose style which is simple, uninhibited, delectable and sparkling with humour, wit and sarcasm. Aware of the necessity to communicate to the common man, he based his prose style on the dynamics of speech prevalent among the people. Besides the Guru who was a 'noodle', his five disciples are named: Maṭṭi, Maḍaiyan, Pētai, Milēccan and Mūḍan—which in English would mean mutt, fool, knave, barbarian and blockhead! The number of ludicrous adventures they have left for the amusement of the readers is countless. For instance, before crossing a stream they would like to test whether it was awake or asleep and would thrust a burning torch into the water to find the stream alive and screaming! Eager to provide their Guru with a pony for his daily rounds, one of the disciples bought a pumpkin fruit on the assurance of a joker that it was the egg of a horse. While he was carrying the 'egg' home it fell down accidentally and broke into pieces. Just then a colt was seen galloping out of a bush and the simpleton felt disappointed that the 'egg' had hatched before he could reach the *āṣram*! These and several other funny adventures are beautifully narrated by Father Beschi. The work has a freshness and vigour which marks it out as something quite different from the academic exercises practised by the pundits of the day. Benjamin Babington of Madras Civil Service, who translated this burlesque into English under the title *Adventures of Guru Noodle* (1822), comments: 'The story of Guru Paramarthan is one of the lighter productions of that profound scholar and rare genius Father Beschi; and if it had any higher aim than the mere amusement which its author might derive from thus satirizing the Indian priesthood, it was probably intended as a pleasant vehicle of instruction to those Jesuits whose labour required a knowledge of the Tamil language.' This story of Paramartha Guru in Tamil has been told and retold by many after Beschi during the century that followed, under various titles.

The Bible in Tamil

While the Roman Catholic missionaries had established themselves in the South the Protestant Christians in Europe vied to introduce their own faith into India. King Frederick of Denmark, who had already established the Danish East India Company at Tranquebar (Tarangampadi) on the east coast of India, sent two young German missionaries, Zieganbalg and Plutschau, to spread the Protestant Christian faith. Zieganbalg (1683–1719), who arrived in India in 1706, was able to master the Tamil language within the course of five years, bring out the first translation of the New Testament of the Holy Bible in Tamil and get it printed at the press which came from Germany. He also translated the Old Testament up to the Book of Ruth before he died, at the age of 36. The remaining books of the Bible were subsequently translated by another German missionary Benjamin Schultz. It is to be noted that this Tamil version is the first among the Asian languages into which the Bible was translated and printed.

Zieganbalg's translation of the Bible into Tamil is considered to be a turning point in the development of modern Tamil prose. It is a major prose work written in the spoken idiom with the sole purpose that the Good News should reach every Tamil, whether he is a commoner or scholar. Zieganbalg wanted the message to be easily understood. He was interested in the effective communication of the Gospels. Yet Father Beschi, the Roman Catholic missionary, who came after Zieganbalg to India and who attained remarkable scholarship in Tamil, did not approve of the translation. Tinged with sectarian prejudice, he mocked at the Tamil of Zieganbalg thus: 'Already in reading the first line, the reader's eyes burn, his tongue dries up, and his ears must burst; one looks around and bursts into loud laughter.'

Modern Prose

The advent of printing accelerated the production of reading material in prose form for the general public. The East India Company officials had necessarily to learn Tamil for their administrative purposes but there were not enough facilities at the beginning. To make matters easy they established at Fort St. George in Madras what they called 'Chennai Kalvi Saṅgam' (Madras Education Society) and 'Pāḍa Nūl Saṅgam' (Textbook Society) and appointed a number of Tamil pundits to manage the institutions. Ramanuja Kavirayar, a well known scholar of the day, was at the head and he was credited with having made a number of English officials well versed in Tamil literature. To begin with, the Society advertised and offered prizes for the best Tamil grammar in prose. As a result one Subbarāya Mudaliār of Tiruvērkāḍu wrote a book entitled *Tamiḻ Viḷakkam* (1811) in the form of questions and answers. It was translated into English. The prize scheme offered by the Government encouraged many to write books in prose, especially stories and histories. Also some of the English classics got translated for use in schools as textbooks.

It was at this time that another scholar attached to the Sangam, Vidvān Thandavaraya Mudaliar (Tāṇḍavarāya Mudaliār), made a remarkable contribution to Tamil prose literature. Just as Beschi's *Paramārtha Guru Katai* was a landmark in the development of Tamil prose literature, Thandavaraya's Tamil version of *Pañca Tantram* (1826) created history as a notable addition to this genre. Thandavarayar translated this work from the Marathi version and presented the five sections in a graded style—starting the first *Tantram* in easy and simple Tamil and using harder and more complex sentences progressively in the next four

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Tantrams. The first section 'Mitrabēdam,' for instance, could be read and understood by any one with a working knowledge of the Tamil language. Other sections like 'Suhirlābham,' 'Labdahāni' and 'Sandhivigraham' are in turn couched in more difficult language, while the last section 'Asamprēkṣya Kāritvam,' true to the complicated nature of its title, contains sentences and expressions which need the guidance of a scholar. The sentences are complex, syntax involved and the vocabulary far-fetched. The author, himself a grammarian having written a primer in that field, has employed varied styles of writing as exercises in Tamil composition.

Arumuga Navalar. Among the pioneers in prose writing Arumuga Navalar (Ārumuga Nāvalar, 1822–79) stood out as the beacon light to all other practitioners after him. Born in Jaffna, Sri Lanka, he had his early education under his father in all the classical learning and later came to study English under the Rev. Peter Percival. Eventually Percival became the student of Navalar gaining proficiency in the Tamil language. Navalar's handling of Tamil prose so enticed the Reverend that he persuaded Navalar to translate the Holy Bible, which he did, in spite of the fact that he was a staunch and orthodox Saivite Hindu. Accompanying Percival, who came to teach at Presidency College, Madras, Navalar arrived in the city and found that it was congenial for his religious and literary activities. He established a printing press and published all his writings. As an orator par excellence he was conferred the title of 'Nāvalar', which in English idiom would mean 'silver tongued'. He developed his prose style to suit all classes of people, at the same time clean and elegant. His publications include a series of four readers for the children, two catechisms on Saiva religious knowledge, a number of prose translations of the Hindu puranas, and many thought-provoking essays dealing with a variety of subjects like ethics, social manners, religion, culture, history, language, etc. He also got some of the old classics which remained in palm leaf manuscripts edited and printed. This service was later carried on by C. W. Damodaram Pillai and U. V. Swaminatha Aiyar. The most original contribution of Navalar to Tamil prose was the introduction of punctuation marks as practised in English for the first time. One who reads through the four graded readers, *Bālapāṭam*, written for children, would eventually become a master of Tamil prose. Late V. G. Suryanarayana Sastri, a literary critic and historian, was not eulogizing when he described Arumuga Navalar as 'Vacana Naḍai Kaivanta Vallāḷar' meaning Colossus of Tamil Prose. With the significant contribution of Arumuga Navalar it can be easily said that Tamil Prose Literature as a distinct genre has arrived.

A distinguished contemporary of Navalar and one who has gone down in history as a great saint was Ramalinga Swami (1823–74), who himself left a rich legacy of prose writings. His *Manumuṟaikāṇḍa Vācakam*, a work based on the legendary story of Manu Nīti Cōḷa, who is said to have ordered the execution of his own son for accidentally killing a calf. It is said that this Chola king who was a strict upholder of justice had a bell fixed at the palace gate so that any one who had a grievance could ring the bell and get immediate relief. It happened that one day when the king's son was riding in his chariot across the city a calf ran across and got killed under the chariot wheel. The aggrieved mother cow immediately went to the palace gate and rang the bell. The king enquired into the matter and, learning the cause of the calf's death, decided that the guilty prince should meet his death in the same manner as the calf and ordered his charioteer to drive over the body of the young heir to the throne. Of course divine intervention helped to prevent the loss of the prince as well as restore to life the deceased calf to the delight of everyone including the cow.

Essays

Until 1835, the 'natives' were prohibited by the East India company from printing and publishing books. Only the missionaries could do any printing. When the ban was lifted through the strenuous efforts of Sir John Metcalfe, the native people began to utilize printing. With the advance in printing facilities enterprising publishers began to put out books of folk tales and fables which were current among the common people in oral form. This increased the reading habit, which was exploited by some others to run periodicals. *Diṅavardhamāṅi*, a weekly journal started by Rev. Percival and later edited by C. W. Damodaram Pillai, carried brilliant essays by Virasami Chettiar of the Presidency College staff, and these were later collected and published in book form under the title *Vinōdarasamañjari* (1877). This book acquired the status of 'evergreen' in that it has seen a number of editions and is still being read and enjoyed for the varied fare it contains. Besides essays on social themes Virasami Chettiar wrote for the first time the legends relating to the lives of poets like Kambar, Oṭṭakkūttar, Avvaiyār and Kalidasa and various episodes in history. A special feature of these writings is the form in which each topic is treated and delineated. This form of presentation of an episode in all its aspects in easy understandable prose interspersed with proverbs later gave rise to the essay as handled by veterans in the field.

Just as the magazine *Diṅavardhamāṅi* provided the forum for the essays of Virasami Chettiar, other journals soon made their appearance as printing and reading developed. The most prominent among them which catered to the literary-minded readers and writers were the *Vivēkacintāmaṇi* (1892), *Jñāṅabōdhiṅi* (1898) and *Śentamiḻ* (1901). The first among these carried essays on general topics, stories and articles of historical importance. It also had the distinction of publishing in serial form the well known

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novels of B. R. Rajam Iyer and A. Madhaviah. *Jñāṅabōdhiṅi* was edited by the eminent literary historian M. S. Pūraṇaliṅgam Piḷḷai and another distinguished scholar V. G. Suryanarayana Sastri. Essays mainly on literary subjects and criticisms enriched this magazine. The first glimpse of literary criticism in modern lines was noticeable in a series of articles in the issues of *Jñāṅabōdhiṅi* of 1898 by a scholar Prāṇathārthihara Śivan on the epic *Śilappadikāram*. In racy and fluid Tamil prose the writer analysed the structure of the epic as well as its characterization. He severely criticised the handling of the characters Kannaki and Kavundhi by its author Ilanko Adikal. So far, this as well as other epics had been interpreted in commentaries without the commentator going into the literary merits of the work. For the first time Pranatharthihara Sivan attempted a critical approach which was quite unconventional and somewhat daring at that time. He examined the characters as created by Ilanko on the basis of human psychological behaviour and also examined the validity of the behaviour of certain other characters within the framework of the plot. While other essayists like Suryanarayana Sastri, Maraimalai Adikal and others wrote on literary topics couched in a style difficult for the lay reader to comprehend, Sivan made use of a language which was understandable to the ordinary reader who had some basic knowledge of Tamil classics. Instances of these two kinds of writings can be said to have heralded the practice of two sections of scholars, one writing for the learned in a high-flown language and the other writing for the lay reader. The influence of the second kind of writing for the people in general was evident when more writers in later decades made use of the pages of the proliferating magazines to put across their ideas on literature and life.

While the examples cited above relating to the development of prose writing towards the end of the 19th century were the result of individual endeavour by prominent scholars of the day, it was felt, as the 20th century dawned, that the achievements of the pioneers should be followed up by broadbasing the literary attempts on an institutional level where a body of scholars would be able to preserve and perpetuate what had been achieved earlier. Madurai, the city which had the distinction of housing three Tamil Sangams around the birth of the Christian era, was chosen for a new Tamil Sangam under the patronage of Pāṇḍitturai Tēvar in 1901, and among the savants who constituted the Sangam were highly accomplished men like M. Raghava Aiyangar, R. Raghava Aiyangar, U. V. Swaminatha Aiyar, and also some scholars from Jaffna. The Sangam, which aimed at preserving and developing the Tamil language, and publishing Tamil works which remained in palm leaf manuscripts, also had an official organ *Śentamiḻ* which carried essays and articles in prose. Literary criticism, research pieces on the history of the Tamils, essays on current topics and book reviews made the journal *Śentamiḻ* the most authentic mouthpiece of the Tamil scholarship of the day.

Among the writers of essays in Tamil during this period was Tirumaṇam Śelvakēśavarāya Mudaliār, who developed this prose form as an art. It was owing to his meticulous attention to presentation, interpretation and analysis of a topic in an essay that many of his writings were prescribed for students in schools and colleges. He stressed the need for clarity and style. In one of his essays in the collection entitled *Tamiḻ Viyāsaṅkaḷ* (Tamil Essays) he explains the importance of style in communicating an idea to the reader. Just as movement by walking takes a man from one place to another, he explains, it is the movement of words and sentences that carries an idea from the writer to the reader. The point to be noticed here is that the word used in Tamil for style is 'naḍai' which means movement or walk. Selvakesavarayar's writings contain many such definitions of literary forms.

Letter writing as a literary art was not practised by many in Tamil. In the olden days some poets used to 'correspond' through what they termed *Śīṭṭuk-kavi*—chit poetry. But in the modern days of communication all scholars and writers certainly correspond through letters in prose. But the pity is that these writers do not consider that there is literature in these letters and hence are not in the habit of preserving such letters. On the pattern of letters written by Jawaharlal Nehru to his daughter while he was in jail, Prof. M. Varadarajan has written letters to his son but this was a deliberate production and not a spontaneous work. In the case of another scholar, T. K. Chidambaranatha Mudaliar, some enterprising person has collected and published his letters which reveal the literary genius of the author. T. K. C., as he was fondly known to his admirers, a retired official, learned in the classics, was jealous of the literary genius of Kamban, and was always happy to discourse on *Kamba Rāmāyaṇa*. His manner of speech which approximated to the old commentaries of the classics was, however, couched in spoken idiom and this impressed a great number of people, among them scholars and academicians. An example of the way in which TKC expounded the classics is found in some of his letters written to his close friends. It can be said that TKC introduced into Tamil prose the art of letter-writing, which is rather rare in this language.

The Transition. The first three decades of the 20th century saw more and more scholars putting their best in to prose writing and this was the period of transition which witnessed the gradual change of the prose form from the unbending classical to the natural vernacular. Rapid changes in society, political conditions and in communication necessitated the dissemination of information among the masses. This necessity brought about the proliferation of newspapers and journals for the people. The first Tamil daily newspaper,

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Swadēśamitran, started in the year 1882, catering to the common reader, had perforce to write in easy and work-a-day Tamil. Later, when poet Subramania Bharati joined its staff, it acquired a distinctive prose style. Bharati's prose writings, like his poetry, were direct and hard hitting. Another journal *Dēśabaktan*, edited by the great scholar and social reformer Tiru Vi. Kalyanasundara Mudaliar, distinguished itself as a model in Tamil journalistic prose. Through this journal, and later through *Navaśakti*, Tiru Vi. Ka. established a style of prose which became the standard for most of the writers of the day. It was easy, fluent and chaste. Tiru Vi. Ka. for the first time gave a new dimension to modern prose by demonstrating even through his chaste style that all current topics relating to politics, economics, social and religious reforms could be written in simple Tamil.

The style of writing initiated by Thiru Vi. Ka. was adopted and later embellished by R. Krishnamurti, better known by his pen-name 'Kalki' (1890–1955), who had the advantage of having worked under Tiru Vi. Ka. himself and whom he accepted as his literary mentor. Having imbibed the easy communicative writing of Tiru Vi. Ka., Kalki enriched it by his own sense of humour. As one of the upcoming patriots whose aim was to tell the people about the greatness of our past and the need for dedicating oneself to the service of the nation, Kalki found that the manner of writing inherited from Tiru Vi. Ka. served his purpose adequately when he himself took charge of the editorship of the popular magazine *Ānanda Vikaṭan*. Here he displayed all his talent in handling Tamil prose to suit a variety of purposes. His editorials in the *Ānanda Vikaṭan*, and later in his own journal *Kalki*, his critical comments on the performing arts and particularly his short stories and novels brought a new dimension to modern Tamil prose.

The Renaissance

While prose writers like Tiru Vi. Ka. and others were intent upon polishing the language to facilitate immediate comprehension by the ordinary reader, a set of new practitioners were emerging who had been impressed by the nuances of the English language in the writings of the authors of the late twenties in Britain. The impact of English prose on the Tamil writer who was familiar with the literary scene in England was such that he was impelled to emulate writers like A. G. Gardiner, G. K. Chesterton, J. B. Priestley and a number of other writers whose works became available during the early thirties of the 20th century. A conscious effort to model Tamil prose on the English idiom to the extent that the Tamil grammar would permit was visible in the writings of journalists who were engaged in conveying their ideas at an intellectual level. V. Ramaswami Aiyangar (1889–1951), familiarly known by his initials Va. Ra., was the editor of the magazine *Maṇikkoḍi*, which spearheaded the renaissance of letters that had begun to be taken note of in the thirties. Va. Ra. was looked up to as a guide for writing simple prose conveying powerful ideas. There was a remarkable individuality about his style which bore evidence to the clarity of thought. Tamil prose which began with a classical air and grew into a popular pattern acquired in the hands of Va. Ra. a surprising quality of being able to convey ideas which normally made writers of the day seek the help of English terminology. Va. Ra. succeeded in handling the language in a disarmingly simple but profound manner. His achievement in this direction was such that he was hailed by most of the writers of the day as the architect of the new Tamil prose. But in spite of his simplicity and directness of style, his writing lacked charm and dignity and was merely an evanescent phase in the fast growing prose.

T. J. Ranganathan (Ti. Ja. Ra.) having been closely associated with Va. Ra. in many of the literary activities of the day, inherited the art of driving home an idea by using phraseology which the reader identified as part of normal speech. He understood the secret of Va. Ra's alchemy which converted common parlance into literary construction. There was also a fine touch of good humour in Ti. Ja. Ra's writings which softened the force of his sentences even when they were used for conveying pungent ideas. He had also specialized in writing for children. Talking of humorous writings it was Kalki who pioneered this style to attract a wide readership. P. G. Sundararajan who wrote under the pen-name 'Chitti' came under the direct influence of Va. Ra. in the matter of writing essays but was at the same time intent upon introducing a sense of humour into his expression after the fashion of Kalki. There were many other writers who emulated Kalki's humour and who had the advantage of working with him. Mention may be made of Thumilan (N. Ramaswami) and Devan (R. Mahadevan), both of whom proved the efficacy of the style of essay writing practised by Kalki. *Ānanda Vikaṭan*, the journal in which these writers served, was founded specially for humour and light reading.

Histories. History in Tamil prose is a very recent development. For a long time history books on India and its various regions were written by foreigners, mainly Englishmen, in their own language designed for use by students in universities. Such of the books as were written in Tamil were extracts from and translations of the English originals and were meant chiefly for use by school students. The first history for the general reader in Tamil prose was written by that pioneer traveller Pagadāla Narasimhalu Nāiḍu (? – 1902), who was editing a magazine called *Kalānidhi* from Coimbatore. *Dakṣiṇa India Caritram* (History of South India) written by him is the first Tamil history book in prose. Earlier accounts of historical events in Tamil were either in stray inscriptions or in folk songs. The first

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definitive history of South India was *Dakṣiṇa India Caritram* in which the author has described the physiography of many places in South India with relevant historical background as gleaned from authentic sources. Facts like the population of a place, its distance from other important places, the main industry of the region and the history of the place dating as far back as records could vouch, have all been included in this remarkable book, which remained the first of its kind for many decades. It is only with the recent revival of interest among the Tamils in their own history that many works on the history of Tamil Nadu have been brought out. Sadāśiva Paṇḍārāttar's book on Pandian and Chola history saw the light of day only after the forties. These works were notable for the exhaustive research the author had undertaken to trace the history of the two great dynasties in Tamil Nadu. An earlier example of a part of Chera history is the book *Cēran Śenkuṭṭuvan*, by M. Raghava Aiyangar, which is remarkable for its originality and deep insight and for its utilization of epigraphical records available then.

Many attempts have been made to write the history of the Tamil language and its literature by reputed scholars, the earliest of them being *Tamiḻ Varalāṟu*, by K. S. Srinivasa Pillai. Another scholar K. Subramania Pillai followed with his book *Ilakkia Varalāṟu* in Tamil. However the most comprehensive one is by M. Arunachalam, who has been writing a connected history of Tamil literature, century by century. Arunachalam has made effective use of genuine historical sources to determine the dates of many authors and their works. He has also tried with success to show the influence of certain patterns of writing on successive generations of writers.

Other scholars like S. Vaiyāpuri Piḷḷai, T. P. Meenakshisundaram and Mu. Varadarajan have also written histories of Tamil literature wherein they have imported the essence of their experience resulting from their positions as heads of Tamil departments in universities. Vaiyapuri Pillai has touched upon many aspects of Tamil literary heritage in his books *Ilakkiya Udayam* and *Tamiḻ Cuḍar Maṇikaḷ*. Meenakshisundaram's *Kānal Vari* is a learned exposition of some aspects of Tamil musical system as delineated by Ilanko in the epic *Śilappadhikāram*. The various moods which enrich the quality of certain types of musical expressions are analysed with reference to Ilanko's own ideas about them.

With the growth of interest in modern Tamil writing on the part of universities within the country and abroad there have been numerous attempts at research works seeking to explore hereto uncharted areas in the Tamil literary scene. Mention must be made of various articles by S. Vaiyapuri Pillai and T. P. Meenakshisundaram, which have been collected in a few books. Research and critical assessment relating to the Tamil novel which involves a great deal of research in itself has been successfully attempted by K. Kailasapati in his *Tamiḻ Novel Ilakkiyam*. He makes a comparative study of some of the prominent novelists and their works, and brings a Marxist outlook to bear upon his study. Ka. Naa. Subramaniam is known for his critical appraisal of modern Tamil writing as evidenced by his two volumes entitled *Paḍithirukkirīrkaḷa*? (Have You Read?). K. Sivathamby and Senthilnathan have presented historical accounts of the Tamil short story based on literary research. A. S. Gnanasambanthan's *Ilakkiya-Kalai* and T. M. C. Raghunathan's *Ilakkiya Vimarśaṅam* examine the principles of literary criticism generally accepted and apply them to some of the achievements of present-day writers.

It was A. V. Subramania Iyer who initiated studies both from historical and critical points of view in relation to modern Tamil writing. His *Taṟkkāla Tamiḻ Ilakkiya Varalāṟu* (History of modern Tamil literature) traces the development of literature in all its branches while his other book *Tamiḻ Arāyccyin Vaḷarcci* (the growth of Tamil research) presents a comprehensive picture of various attempts at literary research and criticism.

Taking advantage of the centenary of the Tamil novel (1879–1979) P. G. Sundararajan and Sivapatha Sundaram collaborated on an extensive historical study of this genre initially meant for research scholars seeking fresh material. In this book *Tamiḻ Nōvel Nūṟāṇḍu Varalāṟum Vaḷarciyum* (Hundred Years of the Tamil Novel) published in 1977, the authors have unearthed a lot of material not chronicled by their predecessors and have also demolished the theory generally accepted that there was a dark period during the first four decades of the 20th century in the matter of quality in Tamil novels. They have, on the contrary, proved that this period provided sound apprenticeship to the practitioners of the Tamil novel wherein social comment was the dominant note. They have also claimed that the achievement of this period was really the forerunner of the literary awareness which came into being during the forties.

The proliferation of journals from the thirties and the rapid strides science and technology were taking necessitated the purveying of knowledge relating to scientific advance to the avid reading public. Articles and essays on scientific topics and about the way life was changing as a result of new discoveries which were written by many experts who had the right equipment in the subject in addition to a capacity for explaining their own knowledge in simple Tamil. Prominent among such writers were R. K. Viswanathan, himself a professor of science, and P. N. Appuswamy, a lawyer who made writing on science almost his life's work. Appuswamy has written on practically every aspect of scientific progress and is continuing to do so in this age of space exploration and computers. Two books on popular science have recently been published adding to the corpus of knowledge on scientific topics in Tamil. *Bōtayin Pātayil* (On the way to Intoxication) by B. G. L.

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Swami deals with stimulants and intoxicants like tea, coffee and opium and traces the history of their introduction into India. *Kāśaḷavil Oru Ulakam* (The World in the Size of a Coin) is a book on electronics and the use of computers by 'Sujatha' (Rangarajan), the popular fiction writer, and M. Rajaram. Both these books are written in easy Tamil with an innate sense of humour which makes the reading of the various stages of scientific process interesting and informative.

Journalism

Tamil prose in its initial stages of growth was restricted to communication between learned scholars. Later it grew into a tool for dissemination of information to the general public. Still later, one of the branches of Tamil prose was utilized for conveying news and comments thereon. Thus journalism began to take root in about the third decade of the 19th century. In the beginning the kind of journalism that was available in Tamil was preoccupied with 'diffusion of knowledge' on various topics of general interest. The institution which published the monthly journal *Vivēka Cintāmaṇi* in fact described itself as 'Diffusion of Knowledge Agency'. The periodicals of those days published articles on language, literature, science, health, etc. It was only when Bharati and V. V. S. Iyer came on the scene that journalism took on a political colour.

The foundation for political journalism had already been laid by doyens of the profession like G. Subramania Iyer, who founded *Swadēśamitran*, the Tamil daily, benefiting from his experience in founding and running the *Hindu*, the premier English daily. It was Subramania Iyer who showed the way to write forceful editorials on the shortcomings of the foreign government as well as on the shortcomings of the Hindu society. While the language employed by *Swadēśamitran* was embellished by terms from Sanskrit, which was the general way of writing prose in those days, other enthusiasts intent upon talking to the masses in general in a language which they could easily understand, sought to make the style employed in journals simple and effective in a way which would not necessitate seeking the guidance of more learned people in understanding the published material. Among the first to bring into practice this kind of journalism in Tamil was Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu who, in his daily *Tamiḻ Nāḍu* published news and comments in simple readable language. As nationalism spread into the nooks and corners of the country with Mahatma Gandhi's leadership in the struggle for freedom, nationalist writers who wanted more effective and direct communication started many journals in Tamil in which articles were written about current happenings which the man in the street could assimilate in passing. These journals were also priced very cheap, making them accessible to the poorest man. Among many such journals two came to the fore, viz. *Suṭantira Saṅgu* and *Gandhi*, each as a weekly priced at three paise—one-sixty-fourth of a rupee. *Sutantira Saṅgu* made history through the writings of its editor Sangu Subramaniam who, as a devotee of Bharati, followed in his master's footsteps by writing comments on political matters which influenced the reading public. T. S. Chokkalingam, the editor of *Gandhi*, which was equally powerful in dissemination and critical observations, later became the editor of *Diṅamaṇi*, the Tamil daily which served the cause of the national struggle in a very successful way and still remains a standard Tamil daily. A. N. Sivaraman who succeeded Chokkalingam as editor of *Diṅamaṇi* now continues to embellish its columns with substantial articles on science, economics and political theories in a style which is very attractive and conversational.

The simple and direct style of Tamil prose employed in journalism by these historic predecessors was taken a step further in the pages of a chain of dailies headed by *Diṅa Tanti* which has revolutionized Tamil journalism. The style of writing in this journal is so downright simple that an illiterate listening to someone reading the headlines would be able to grasp the importance of the event described. This popular daily has led to numerous imitations and there is at present a proliferation of dailies and other periodicals which cater to the least literate.

A New Phenomenon. One of the consequences of popular journalism which entailed reaching out to the common man and accordingly modifying one's language in writing prose was the emergence of the iconoclasts led by E. V. Ramaswami Naicker, known as Periyār (the Elder) to millions of Tamilians. A staunch nationalist in the beginning, Periyar found that the social evils prevalent in the Hindu society needed priority of attention compared to political problems. In his new role as social reformer Periyar determined to root out superstition and the evils of caste system based on religion. His vehemence in attacking institutions which seemed to perpetuate these drawbacks found expression in his writings in the two journals he founded, *Viḍutalai* and *Kuḍiyaraśu*. He used a style of expression very telling and authoritative in tone. He was also interested in script reform and in his journals introduced certain changes in the use of conventional signs. Some of his ideas in this direction were not taken seriously at that time, but the Tamilnadu Government has given official status to those changes now. Periyar's organization, the Drāviḍa Kaḻagam which purported, among other aims of his, to revive Dravidian tradition, later resulted in the emergence of the parallel movement called the Dravida Munnēṯra Kaḻagam founded by C. N. Annadurai who differed from his mentor Periyar in some of the fundamental objects of the original organization. The Dravida Munnēṯra Kaḻagam in addition to the aims outlined by

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Periyar also sought to gain political leverage in order to put into practice the attempts to revive the past Tamil glory. For this purpose the leaders of this movement employed Tamil writing to grip the attention of the reader. The comparative illiteracy of the great mass of people who required something more than ordinary sentences to convey an idea impelled these leaders to employ a kind of ornate language in speaking and writing which contained in itself a rhythm of ancient folklore. Thus prose writers like Annadurai and Karunanidhi streamlined the Tamil language to an extent where it is being very effectively handled on paper and on the platform.

Travelogue

Tamil writing in prose describing travels within our own country and outside it began to make its appearance in the early years of the 20th century as transportation facilities increased. Travel initially was by foot and consisted of pilgrimages to shrines. With the advent of the steam engine and the motor car such pilgrimages became more frequent. An early example of a pilgrimage is the account of Pakadalu Narasimmalu Naidu in his book *Ārya Divya Dēśa Yāttirai Caritram* (Pilgrimage of the Arya Desam) published in 1890. This travelogue describes most of the important places of pilgrimage in northern India. Quite a few others had written on pilgrimages to Kasi and one of them to be remembered is Kavittalam Duraisami who wrote *Gaṅgā Yāttirai Prabhāvam* (1887). The special feature of this writing is the classical style adopted which reminds one of the ancient commentators. T. M. Bhaskara Tondaman made a significant contribution to Tamil travel literature through his four volumes of *Veṅkaṭam Mutal Kumāri Varai* (From Venkatam to Cape Comorin). Describing his pilgrimage from Tirupati to Kanyakumari he recalls the puranic and mythical legends of the temples. Sivapatha Sundaram's approach to travelogue in his three volumes, on Manikkavachakar, Buddha and the 63 Saiva saints, is something different from many other travelogues. For instance, in the book *Gautama Buddhar Aḍiccuvaṭṭil* (In the Steps of Gautama the Buddha, 1960), the author describes his own travel experiences and recalls the experiences of the Buddha, at the same time relating in detail the history, architecture and culture of the places visited.

One of the first travelogues recounting visits to foreign countries is by A. K. Chettiar, whose *Ulakam Churrum Tamiḻan* (The Tamilian Who Goes Round the World) took the reader to the remote corners of most of the countries of the world where the author went during the early forties in search of material for his film on Mahatma Gandhi. He adopted a simple style to express his experiences with some wit and humour. His book induced other writers to write travelogues and another successful writer is Somalay (S. Lakshmanan Chettiar).

Among the travelogues about places within the country mention may be made of *Naḍantāy Vāḻi Kāvērti*, a title taken from the epic *Śilappadhikāram*, describing a tour along the banks of the river Kaveri from the source to its confluence with the sea. As in the travelogue written by Sivapatha Sundaram this book also narrates the legendary and historical accounts of the places enriched by the writers of this major river in Tamil Nadu. The authors of this book, Chitti and T. Janakiraman, have made effective use of the classics in Tamil and Kannada to recall the greatness of the river as sung by ancient poets. The irrigational and power potential of this river as achieved by various projects along its course has also been dealt with to show the development of the region down the centuries. The marvel of the Grand Anicut constructed near Tiruchi nearly 2000 years ago has been expounded with reference to a number of authorities, historical and technical.

T. Janakiraman later made a mark in this field of writing when he visited foreign countries. His book on Japan entitled *Udaya Sūriyan* (Rising Sun) is a sensitive account of the life and mind of the Japanese. He has been able to observe this industrious race at close quarters and has put down his impressions which tell the reader a good deal about the people of Japan and their way of life and how that nation has taken calculated risks in the face of catastrophies, natural and man-made, and survive with distinction in the modern world of sophisticated communication. Janakiraman's other books on travel include one on Czechoslovakia and Romania. Being a creative writer of great distinction in Tamil, Janakiraman could express the range of literary achievements by writers in these countries. The attitude of the people of these two East European countries to life in general and to the various activities in the artistic fields in particular is brought out in sensitive detail making the reader feel that he himself was moving in their midst.

With the rise in air travel and the opening up of educational and employment opportunities abroad many people who go out of India have begun to write about their experiences. Journalists who visit foreign countries on their own or on the basis of cultural exchanges are also prolific travelogue writers. Among them, Maniyan, the editor of a popular magazine, has more books to his credit on travel abroad than any other visiting journalist. Under the general title *Idayam Pēśukiratu* (The Heart Speaks) he has written a series of travelogues relating to visits to almost all the major countries of the world. One of the travelogues arising out of a training programme in broadcasting is *Akkarai Śīmaiyil* (Beyond the Shores) by Mi. Pa. Somasundaram who has utilized his stay in England for a few months to set down his observations on what he saw and heard there. This work earned the Sahitya Akademi award.

With the arrival of the prose medium all literary genres have gained wider acceptance. The short story writer,

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the novelist, the playwright and the film script writer, all have influenced the essayist, the historian, the travel writer and the journalist to adopt direct communicative language. Biographical writing was rejuvenated in the early thirties of the 20th century, contributing vastly to the growth of Tamil prose. Even the poet of today has become somewhat prosaic.

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Telugu

D. ANJANEYULU

It has long been agreed among scholars that the literary history of the Telugu language begins in the 11th century with Nannaya's translation of the Mahabharata. It was indeed more a transcreation than a literal workaday translation. With this work, so beloved of the Andhras, Nannaya not only inaugurated a notable period, rich in its productivity, but helped to standardize the literary language in a form, which has been accepted for poetic composition until modern times.

Early Prose

The *Āndhra Mahābhārata*, by Nannaya (Naṇṇaya), which was continued by his successors, Tikkana (Tikkaṇa) and Errā Praggada, was not entirely in verse. It was in the *campū* form, which is a composition in verse, interspersed with prose. The prose component may vary from 20 to 30 per cent of the total volume in compositions of this kind. While it is free from the poetic requirements of metre and rhyme (*candas*, including *yati*, *gaṇa* and *prāsa*) this prose is often found to have other characteristics like alliteration (*aṅuprāsa*) and assonance, contributing to the general rhythm of any given passage in classical literature.

Nannaya could thus be regarded as the forerunner in the field of classical Telugu prose as well as verse. He was also popularly credited with the authorship of a Telugu grammar, curiously enough, written in Sanskrit, entitled, *Āndhra Śabda Cintāmaṇi*, whose authentic text is unavailable, like the lost pages of our history.

No poet or writer, however enterprising or inventive, can be expected to produce something out of nothing. Even Nannaya must have fashioned his poetic diction and prose vocabulary only from the linguistic material available to him in his time, be it in some form of Telugu, Sanskrit, Prakrit, or a judicious admixture of two or all of them, with suitable modifications, as and when necessary.

Inscriptions. If we agree that song comes before statement in any language, folk songs, in all their simplicity and variety, must have been in vogue in Telugu before the classical period of Nannaya. As for prose, the examples that have come down to us from the pre-Nannaya age are in the form of inscriptions on stone slabs and on copper plates. They were left by the Rēnāti Cōlas of the 7th and 8th centuries and the Vēṅgi Cālukyās of the 8th and 9th centuries.

Some of these later inscriptions provide a more clearly identifiable form of Telugu prose, though all of them are understandably in a rudimentary form. Linguistic scholars, in collaboration with epigraphical experts, were happy to

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find that in one of the inscriptions of the Chalukya period (9th century), the prose style seemed to approximate to, or at least mark the beginning of, what might have evloved, in due course, into that of Nannaya in his Mahabharata.

The terms *gadya* and *vacana* were used as equivalents, often interchangeable, for the prose literature of the ancient period, including the pre-Nannaya age. Broadly speaking, the prose style of the inscriptions was marked by a few commonly identifiable characteristics. The sentences were generally incomplete, with the finite verb missing or taken to be understood. In the case of vocabulary, the influence of Prakrit is unmistakable, along with the presence of a number of archaic words, presumably Telugu, but no longer in use.

After the Chalukya period came the inscriptions of the Kākatīya rulers, around the 12th and 13th centuries. The language used here marked a further stage in the evolution of Telugu prose. It was obviously influenced by the vocabulary used in poetic classics like Nannaya's *Mahabharata* and Nannecōda's *Kumārasambhava* (Birth of Kumara), which had contributed substantially to the standardization of poetic diction. Apart from getting rid of the Prakrit element in the vocabulary, the sentence structure has become better developed than before.

Spoken Words. The influence of the *campū* style, peculiar to the contemporary *kāvyas*, began to be clearly felt in the prose of the inscriptions of this period; which meant in other words, that the sentence gained in symmetry and variety of structure, as also in clarity of meaning, freed as it was from obscurity and clumsiness. Devoid of the Prakrit element, the vocabulary began to take in more spoken words, including some regionalisms and localisms.

These regionalisms and localisms began to be more pronounced in the inscriptions prepared by the Reddy kings, who succeeded the Kakatiyas in the 14th and 15th centuries. As the sentences became better rounded, they gained in lucidity of expression, avoiding needless repetition. While the language was enriched by the introduction of new words, the style became more euphonious with the use of alliteration and other verbal devices.

Spoken Telugu gained a place of privilege in the inscriptions of the Vijayanagar period, roughly covering the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries. Words from foreign languages, especially Urdu, began to find their way into the 'agreements' and 'grants' perpetuated on these inscriptions. Other foreign words, including English, French and Dutch had crept into the language of the inscriptions during the time of the Naik rulers (of Madura and Thanjavur). But with the growing popularity of paper and ink, under the impact of the British rule, the art of inscription itself, be it in stone or copper, soon began to go out of use.

From the stylistic point of view, prose compositions of the classical period have been divided into at least three kinds by the Sanskrit *Ālamkārikas* (students of rhetoric and prosody). They are: *Vṛttagandhi*, *Cūrṇika* and *Utkalika*. Opening with a line that could be a part of a *padyam* (a verse form in Telugu), the *Vṛttagandhi* proceeds with a rhythm that is reminiscent of the Sanskrit *Vṛttas* (metres). More closely adapted to native elements, the *Cūrṇika* (harmonious prose, with unbroken sentence) makes use of simpler Telugu words, avoiding the long-winded Sanskrit word compounds. The third is *Utkalika* (high wave), full of the long word compounds, so familiar to readers of Bana's *Kādambarī* and passages of Telugu prose inspired by it.

All these three, especially the first, are to be identified in the prose passages of Nannaya's *Mahabharata*. Other poets made a similar use of the prose forms that have taken shape.

Variations. Almost all poets had employed the device of the *Āśwāsānta gadya* (or prose passages at the end of each chapter), among other things. Five variations of this prose had been recognized, based on stylistic peculiarities. They are: *Gadya* (ornate prose), *Birudu Gadya* (honorifics), *Cūrṇika*, *Vacanam* (aphoristic prose) and *Viṇṇapam* (literally 'petition').

Nannaya, in particular, had certain well-defined ideas about the role of prose passages in a *Campū Kāvya*. He used them for a strictly narrative purpose, especially in tracing the genealogical and other aspects of background relating to characters, for which purpose, verse may not be quite suitable. Sometimes, he employed them for condensing a long story and at other times for stating proverbs which do not fit into the verse pattern. He also used them for quick and short dialogues, which would lend a dramatic quality as well as naturalness to the story. He certainly resorted to this for the sake of variety, to break the monotony of an endless chain of verses.

This general pattern was broadly followed by succeeding poets, including Tikkana and Erra Praggada, with a few minor variations to suit their own talent and requirements. In Tikkana's translation of the Mahabharata, prose content was proportionately less, but it certainly contained more of the native Telugu element, as did his verse. Erra Praggada reserved long stretches of prose for specially important descriptive portions.

It has not been settled beyond doubt whether Nannechoda, the author of *Kumārasambhava Kāvya* in Telugu, was Nannaya's contemporary, or predecessor or successor. In his work, the proportion of prose to verse was rather less than in Nannaya's. But it was ornate, replete with Sanskrit *Samāsas* (word compounds) and would stand comparison with Nannaya's.

Of the two great poets, who came later, Pōtana (1450–1510) and Srīnātha (15th century), the former wrote prose as florid, ornate and alliterative as his verse, while the latter kept them distinctly apart. They used it for the same pur-

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pose, though Srinatha, who could be as lofty and high-sounding in his verse as any other poet, took care to be simple and businesslike in his prose links in the *Kāvyas*.

While the works so far referred to were all *Campū Kāvyas*, there is evidence of the existence of some pure prose works as well. Such evidence is in many cases indirect and oftentimes in the form of palm-leaf manuscripts, not yet blessed with publication in print. The earliest prose-writer in this line is said to be Krishnamacharya, who lived around the 13th century in Warangal. He is credited with the authorship of *Simhagiri Narasimha Vacanas*, sung in praise of God Narasimha of 'Simhachalam' towards the north of the east coast. While he is supposed to have composed hundreds and thousands of these *vacanas* (forms of prose composition), only a few dozens of them have now survived for our benefit.

Devotional Compositions. Later in point of time, but in the same Vaishnavite devotional tradition, were some members of the Tāllapāka family at Tirupati. Notable among them was Tallapaka Peda Tirumalacharya (late 14th and early 15th centuries), who composed *Veṅkaṭēśwara Vacanas*, in praise of the Lord of the Seven Hills. Lyrical in their ecstasy of self-surrender, they are at the same time simple and spontaneous like the language of every day life. It may be safe to surmise that these *vacanas* had their influence on the *Saṅkīrtanas* of Annamacharya (1408–1503), who came some generations later. *Śatagōpa Viṇṇapams* and *Śeṣāgirinātha Viṇṇapams* may also be mentioned here.

In the Saivite tradition too there were devotional *vacanas*, that came into existence in the 15th and 16th centuries. Prominent among them were the *Bhavāni Manōhara Vacanas*, popularly called the *Śaṅkara Vacanas*, composed by Sankara Kavi of the 16th century. He was presumably influenced by the *Mahimna Stōtra* in Sanskrit. There were also the *Kāśikādhīśvara Vacanas*, otherwise known as *Śiva Yōga Vacanas* and *Gangādharayya Vacanas*. Works like these could trace their inspiration to the neighbouring area of Karnataka, where the *vacanas* in Kannada were pioneered by Saivaite saints like Basavēśwara, Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita, Akka Mahādevi, Dēvara Dāsamaiah and others of the 13th and 14th centuries.

A metaphysical work that deserves mention in this context is the *Vedānta Vyavahāra Sāra Saṅgraham*, written by Dattātṛēya Yōgi in the middle of the 16th century. It is supposed to be the first commentary in Telugu on the *Brahma Sūtra*, on the lines of Sankara's *Bhāṣya*.

Historical Works. Not that all prose works of the period belonged to the devotional or metaphysical categories. There were a few which could be described as 'historical' by a liberal use of this expression. At least two of them could be mentioned in this connection. One is *Pratāpacaritra*, written by Ekāmranātha, dealing with the life of Pratapa Rudra II of the Kakatiya dynasty, who ruled in the 14th century. The other is *Rāya Vācakam*, celebrating the life and achievements of Krishnadeva Raya, who ruled Viyayanagar in the 15th century. It was written by a man who described himself as 'Sthānapati' (which is an administrative designation and not likely to be a personal name) and served under Viśwanātha Nāyaka of Madurai.

Both these works contain background material relating to the dynasties of the respective rulers, as also some incidental stories of human interest. Their historical character is only rudimentary, and chronological value is minimal and doubtful. For, history and legend, fact and fiction have a way of getting inextricably mixed in celebratory compositions, based on hearsay evidence and authored by court poets or political subordinates. These two works are similar in theme and treatment. The difference is only in style, the *Rāya Vācakam* being comparatively informal in its idiom, drawing liberally from the language of ordinary speech, including regionalisms and foreign words.

Southern School. Following the disintegration of the Vijayanagar Empire after the Battle of Tallikōta (1565), Telugu literature was patronized by the Naik chieftains of Thanjavur, Madurai, Mysore and other centres in the South, who declared themselves independent rulers. Described as the 'Southern School of Telugu Literature' by N. Venkata Rao in his monumental study of the subject, writing in this region evolved along distinct lines, under court patronage. Born and nurtured in centres surrounded by territory in which the people's language was Tamil, the Telugu used for literary purposes, in prose as well as verse, had its own characteristics. As there was not much scope for spoken Telugu here, all the prose works were written only in the unalloyed classical style.

These prose works can be broadly classified under four heads:

1. Those dealing with certain *Sthala Māhātmyams* (description of holy places) and other sacred themes;
2. Those based on the Ramayana Story;
3. Those based on the Mahabharata Story; and
4. Those based on puranic and philosophical subjects and other themes.

In the first category fall *Śrīraṅga Māhātmyam* (Greatness of Srirangam) and *Māgha Māhātmyam* (Greatness of the Magha month) both by Vijayaranga Cokkanātha, Ruler of Thanjavur, a scholar-poet in his own right. *Dhēnu Māhātmyam* (on the glory of the sacred cow) by Kāmēśwara Kavi and *Hālāsya Māhātmyam* by Sripati Ramabhadra Kavi can also be mentioned here.

The second category (i.e. those telling the Ramayana Story) includes the works of Śyāmarāya Kavi, Devaki Venkatasubba Kavi, Kuṇḍurti Veṅkaṭācala Kavi (*Uttara Gōpura Kathā*) and Tupākula Ananta Bhūpāla.

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In the third category, the Mahabharata story was dealt with in the works of Samukham Venkata Krishnappa Naik (*Jaimini Bhāratam*) and Kaluve Veera Raju of Mysore, among others.

Sāraṅgadhara Caritra (the story of Sarangadhara) by Samukham Venkatakrishnappa Naik, *Vēdānta Sāra Saṅgraha* by Velagapūḍi Krishnayāmātya, *Viṣṇupurāṇam* and *Bhagavadgītalu* by Tupakula Anantabhupala are among the prose works that fall in the last category.

A New Age

A new age in Telugu prose dawned with the growing activity of the British missionaries, following the stabilization of the influence of the English East India Company in the early years of the 18th century. These missionaries started their printing presses with typefaces of letters in Indian languages and English, at Serampore, Madras and other centres. It was obviously not for promoting Indian literature but for spreading the Christian gospel that they did so. But the former happened as an incidental result of the latter. The cause of spoken Telugu being used in printed books was also helped in the process. This age, from the early part of the 18th to the latter part of the 19th century, is divided by Venkata Rao into three periods on the basis of the language used, viz. (1) period of spoken Telugu; (2) period of simplified classical prose (*Sulabha grāṅthika*); (3) period of newly evolved artificial prose style (*Navīna Kṛtrima Racana*).

Early translations of the Bible. One of the earliest printed books in Telugu, if not the earliest, was a version of the New Testament, written by a missionary named Benjamin Schultze, which saw the light of day in the middle of the 18th century. The translations, in Telugu, were done with the help of Indian scholars like the pioneer Ānanda Rāyar. Some of these were reviewed by Charles Philip Brown (1798–1884) in the *Madras Journal of Science and Literature*. We owe to Brown and Col. Mackenzie the information available about these publications. The language of the Telugu versions of the Bible and other Christian religious classics was rather stilted, then as now, and is known as 'Bible Telugu'. The missionaries did not mind it, so long as they were able to put the message across, after a fashion.

Soon there appeared works of some literary merit, like stories unrelated to the Bible. These came into being as their need was felt by the company officials posted to the Telugu-speaking areas of the Madras Presidency. Two of these works were: *Vikramārkuni Kathālu* (Stories of Vikramarka, 1819) and *Pañcatantra Kathālu* (Stories from the *Pañcatantra*, 1834). Both of them were written by Rāvipati Gurumūrti Śāstri (1770–1837), chief Telugu pandit at the College of Fort St. George.

These were followed in the next few years by *Śuka Saptati Kathālu* (Stories from Suka Saptati, 1840) by Paturi Ramaswami Sastri, *Hamsa Vimśati* by Dhūrjaṭi Lakshmīpati, and a number of other story collections like *Kambhōja Rāju Kathālu*, *Tātācāryula Kathālu*, and *Bhētālavimśati Kathālu*, besides prose versions of *Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇa* and Puranic stories like those of Harischandra.

Travelogues

Probably the first authentic travelogue in Telugu is *Kāśiyātra Caritra* (Story of a Pilgrimage to Benares) by Ēnugula Vīrāswāmayya (1780–1836) published in Madras in 1838. The author was an interpreter in the Supreme Court of Madras, who had occasion to make a pilgrimage to Benares with his family in 1830–31. He has left a vivid impression of the towns and villages passed *en route*, covering social conditions, family life, habits and customs of people, commodity prices, travel facilities and so on. Because of its wealth of detail, it is useful as a document of social history. Written in simple, spoken Telugu, as was in vogue in Madras, it provides one of the earliest examples of a lucid prose style, with no pretensions to literary scholarship or poetic merit. The narrative is direct and the language is unadorned.

Another book in the same category is *Nīlagiri Yātra* (A Trip to the Nilgris, 1847) by Kōla Śeṣācala Kavi, a clerk in the employ of the East India Company. It gives a graphic account of the author's visit to the Nilgris and an impression of places like Kancheepuram, Vellore and Salem, which he had to pass through *en route*. Written in a mature classical style, it is regarded as a work of high scholarship and close observation, a forerunner to Chinnaya Suri's *Nīti Candrika*.

Yātra Caritra by Pārvatīśvara Śāstri (1833–'97), who accompanied his patron, the Raja of Bobbili, on a pilgrimage to the North and the South, is written in a simple style, made more attractive with puranic allusions. *Mahārāṣṭra Yātra* (Visit to Maharashtra) and *Kāśmira Majilīlu* (Trip to Kashmir) by J. Satyanarayana Murti (1895–1965), a scholar and literary critic, are full of keen observation and vivid description.

Mā Dakṣiṇadēśa Yātra (Our Trip to the South) and *Mā Uttaradēśa Yātra* (Our Trip to the North) by Bulusu Venkataramanayya, give a detailed account of the author's travels along with his colleagues and pupils of a high school in Madras. Nayani Krishna Kumari has kept a good diary of her trip to Kashmir. The novelist and short-story writer, D. Visalakshi, who stayed in Kuala Lumpur, along with her husband for a few years, gives a sensitive account of her impressions of Malaysia. The well-known poet, Dasarathi, presents a vivid picture of his trip to America and Europe in his series of articles, aptly titled 'Vipulā Ca Prithvī' (Wide is the World).

Telugu literature owes a heavy debt to C. P. Brown on

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many counts, including the development of prose in the 19th century as well as the uncovering of many ancient classics in verse. To him also goes the credit for preserving hundreds of letters written to him by his own Telugu Pandits as also members of the public, with whom he came in contact in the course of his official duty as a member of the Madras Civil Service. Written in simple, spoken Telugu, these letters are replete with local idioms and other colloquial turns of expression.

Modern Prose

With the establishment in 1857 of the University of Madras, which was one of the first three in the country, there was a new impetus to the study of the Telugu language, along with English and other subjects. It became one of the subjects prescribed for study at the university level. As there were no standard prose works suitable for such study, it fell to the lot of Paravastu Cinnaya Sūri (1809–'62), the then Senior Telugu Pandit at Presidency College, to supply them on his own.

An erudite scholar in Telugu and Sanskrit, Chinnaya Suri was a staunch protagonist of the *Grānthika* school (bookish, classical), unlike the Christian missionaries and British officials, who would rather make do with the *Vyāvahārika* form (Spoken Telugu) and even the *Grāmya* (rustic/slang) form, if only it served their purpose. He had a plan to translate the whole of *Pañcatantra* under the title *Nīti Candrika*, but was able to complete only the two parts, *Mitra Bhēdam* and *Mitra Lābham*. They were written in a highly ornate style, replete with figures of speech, and were sonorous, because of the alliteration and assonance and a sustained prose rhythm.

It was, withal, a stilted and artificial style, easy neither for the author to write nor for the reader to understand. It could, in fact, be taken as a sustained example to illustrate the rules set out by him in his Telugu grammar, *Bāla Vyākaraṇam*. His books were prescribed for the Matriculation and F. A. examinations continuously for nearly 60 years. This had a far-reaching effect on the development of Telugu prose in the next two or three generations. It had diverse reactions from future scholars and critics. Those like C. R. Reddy (1880–1951), an ardent supporter of the *Grānthika* school, swore by it as an example to be emulated. Others like Gidugu Ramamurthi Pantulu, the pioneer of the *Vyāvahārika* Movement, disapproved of it as being unnatural in its growth and therefore unsuitable for scholars and students to follow.

Luckily for Chinnaya Suri, his immediate successor in office at Presidency College, Kokkonda Venkataratnam Pantulu (1842–1915), was an equally staunch and perhaps even more aggressive, supporter of the *Grānthika* school. Venkataratnam was able to complete in the same style, *Sandhi* and *Vigraha tantra*, left incomplete by Chinnaya Suri. What he might have lacked in creative talent, he made up by the fervour of his conviction. To promote the cause, dear to his heart, he conducted the periodical *Āndhra Bhāṣa Sañjīvaṅi*. He also wrote an account of the visit to India of the Prince of Wales (later Edward VII) in 1871.

While books of the *Grānthika* type were ruling the roost at the academic level, stories of a popular sort, written in an easier style, began to gain currency among the literate people outside. They included the comical escapades of the *Paramānandayya Śiṣyulu* (the foolish disciples of Paramanandayya) and stories from *Tales from the Arabian Nights*.

Work of Viresalingam. The greatest influence on the progress of Telugu prose, comparable to that of Chinnaya Suri, and in many ways more powerful, was that of Kandukuri Viresalingam Pantulu (Kaṇḍukūri Vīrēśaliṅgam Pantulu, 1848–1919). It so happened that officially, he occupied the same post as Chinnaya Suri and Venkataratnam, succeeding the latter at Presidency College. Starting as an admirer of Chinnaya Suri, he translated into Telugu *Sandhi* and *Vigraha tantra* afresh, obviously not satisfied with the work of Venkataratnam. While following the *Grāṅthika* style in general, he took care to render the language a little simpler, so as to make it more readable.

Viresalingam's range was wider, for his subjects, and with them their forms, were more varied. He wrote many other things in prose, besides translating the *Pañcatantra* stories. He translated some of the tales from Shakespeare by Charles and Mary Lamb. He wrote essays on subjects ranging from national history to Natural Science, from the re-marriage of child widows to the removal of corruption in public services. He wrote brief biographies of great men and women of India. He produced a detailed autobiography, the first of its kind in the language, regarded highly for its authenticity and readability. He also wrote a novel, *Rājaśēkhara Caritra*. While he did not use spoken Telugu, (*Vyāvahārika*) except for some of the characters in his *prahasanas* (farcical comedies), he tried to make his *grānthika* style as simple and direct as possible in the interest of lucidity of expression. It was not for nothing that he was hailed as the Maker of Modern Telugu Prose. He helped to forge a prose style that was adequate, serviceable and effective.

We have it on the authority of Viresalingam himself that his *Rājaśēkhara Caritra*, published in 1878, was the first novel to be written in Telugu. This claim, originally accepted, has since been disputed.

Spoken Telugu Movement. Not only in the field of prose fiction, but in other branches of prose too there has been notable development, especially during the last three quarters of the century. For this, at least two factors were responsible. One was the impact of English literature and

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thought. Through the English language became possible an acquaintance with European ideas as well as art forms in literature. The English language served as a stimulus and catalyst for experiments in new branches of writing.

The other factor was the Spoken Telugu movement spearheaded by Gidugu Ramamurti Pantulu (1862–1940) in the early years of the 20th century. For the best part of his adult life, he argued the case for adopting spoken Telugu as a medium of literary expression. And he did it so convincingly. He was not against the study of the traditional Telugu classics, all of which were written in the *Grānthika* style. Only, he did not want the contemporary writer to face the needless hurdle of an artificial, pedantic style, which even erudite scholars could not master, after a lifetime's devoted study. He was also firmly of the view that this hurdle would inhibit the spontaneity of new and aspiring writers.

Thanks to his efforts, *śiṣṭa vyāvahārika* (spoken Telugu of a cultured variety) began to be used by the newspapers as well as by creative writers. The movement gained ground and began to spread by leaps and bounds, even after his death in 1940. It has since been accepted by all individual writers and institutions, including the older universities, which had resisted it for a long time until a generation ago. In fact, now few indeed are the prose writers who insist on the *Grānthika* style.

In his campaigns, Ramamurti emphasized the point that his movement was neither an innovation nor a revolution. It was but a revival of the tradition that had been alive in the age of C. P. Brown and would have progressed further, had it not been checked by the neo-classicist and grammarian Chinnaya Suri and the other pandits who followed in his footsteps. He also reminded students of Telugu language and literature that poets and prose-writers in the past had been using new forms and later grammarians had been revising the rules of grammar and usage in the light of those new forms. What was used by the poets came to be accepted by other literary men and lexicographers.

In his essays, brought out in three or four slim volumes, Ramamurti demonstrated his own mastery of the classical style favoured by the bookish, traditional scholars and also proved the futility of wasting one's energy in a difficult and needless effort of that kind. He also sought to reintroduce in his prose style the Telugu element (*Acca* Telugu—or Pure Telugu) which was widely used in the early period, but began to disappear with the domination of Sanskrit in the vocabulary in the later periods.

It is interesting to remember that Viresalingam, who wrote in the *Grānthika* style, (of a simplified variety though) was convinced towards the end of his life of the rationale behind Ramamurti's campaign. Viresalingam was gathering material for a grammar of Spoken Telugu, but he died before the project was completed.

In other ways, however, he had the distinction of blazing the trail in new branches of prose-writing like the essay, biography and autobiography, literary criticism and scientific writing.

The Essay

Research scholars, specializing in 19th-century studies, seem to think of Sāminēni Muddu Narasimham, whose 'Pramēyamulu' (True Impressions) were published in book form as *Hitasūcini* (Good Counsellors) in 1862, as the first 'essayist' in Telugu. Other forerunners were: Paravastu Venkata Ramanujacharya (1822–1900), who called his writings *Saṅgrahamulu* (Condensations, 1872) and Jeer Suri of Bangalore, whose *Strī Vidyāmaṇi* (Essays on Women's Education) was published in 1875.

None of them wrote so copiously and continuously as Viresalingam did during the years from 1875 to 1897. He also covered a wide variety of subjects; religious, social, political, scientific and biographical. He called them 'upanyāsam' in the written as well as the spoken form.

Notable among his contemporaries and successors were R. Venkatasivudu (1870–1952), D. Sriramulu (1846–1908) and A. V. Sānkhyāyana Śarma (1864–1933) for social, religious and scientific subjects respectively.

Two essayists, who wrote in *Grānthika*, taking great care about their styles were: C. R. Reddy (1880–1951) in his *Vyāsa Mañjari* and T. Ramaswami Choudary (1887–1943). The 'Sākṣi' (Witness) essays by Panuganti Lakshmi Narasimha Rao (1865–1940) were modelled after the Spectator essays of Addison and Steele, but were rather more florid and verbose.

A strange combination of traditional forms and modernist ideas was represented in the prose style of Reddy and Choudary. Reddy, who was educated at Cambridge, was much influenced in his approach by the ideas of English masters like Alexander Pope and Matthew Arnold. His *Vyāsa Mañjari* is a collection of essays on literary and allied subjects, originally contributed by him as prefaces and forewords to the works of other writers. While his ideas could be termed bold and novel, his style was compact and balanced, full of 'wise saws and modern instances', drawing much from native wit and folk wisdom. It has a heavy classical flavour, as well as a contemporary sensibility. The former tends sometimes to dominate the latter.

The combination was even more striking in the case of Choudary, for he was an agnostic and a non-conformist in matters social and religious, and an impenitent classicist in matters literary. He sought to reinterpret the Hindu epics like the Ramayana and the Mahabharata in an entirely new and unconventional light, which might be blasphemy to the orthodox believers. But, he was a seasoned conformist in his prose style, and like Reddy he too was an ardent admirer of the classical poet Tikkana and laid great store by the native Telugu element in the language.

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He also tried to free Telugu prose style from the heavy grip of Sanskrit forms and modes.

With his 'Sākṣi' essays, which are in the form of lectures, Panuganti blazed a new trail. Though written in the *Grānthic* style, they had an easy and natural flow and attained a degree of readability that could be claimed only by the best novels. They were marked by wit and humour, though not always as polished as those of Addison and Steele. The language was flowery and verbose, but generally euphonious. Though he was opposed to the modern Telugu movement (pioneered by Gidugu and others), he was no rigid purist. He freely used colloquial forms of expression where he felt they were best suited to serve his purpose.

The Personal Essay. For a long time, the essays were serious dissertations on specific subjects. An experiment with the personal essay, in the lighter vein, was made by V. R. Narla (b. 1908) in the early fifties. To the credit of Narla goes the introduction or at least the popularization of significant innovations in literature as well as journalism. He wrote a series of personal essays in the lighter vein, like 'Mātā-Mantī' (informal talk) and 'Piccā-Pātī (gossip) in the enjoyable tradition of 'Alpha of the Plough' of A. G. Gardiner, Lucas and Lynd. They wander about, touching on all subjects under the sun and maybe even beyond. The language here is very important, it being simple, spontaneous, sparkling. The mood is even more important, which should be musing, contemplative, alternating between the gay and the grave, the sombre and the reserved and the effusive and the effervescent. The writer succeeds in catching it sometimes.

There were notable examples of good prose among works of literary criticism too. In this branch of writing, a new era was started by C. R. Reddy with his *Kavitva Tattva Vicāramu*—a treatise on the nature of poesy. R. Anantakrishna Sarma's (1893–1979) studies on Vemana and the age of Krishnadevaraya are standing examples of precise scholarship, reinforced by personal integrity. *Kāvya Jagattu* (Poetic world) by G. V. Krishna Rao combines both traditional insights and originality. The literary essays of R. S. Sudarshanam (b. 1927) like 'Sāhityamlo Drukpadhālu' reveal a new outlook based on modern theories. 'Sāraswata Navanītam' (1955) and Vyāsa Mañjuṣa (1956) by D. Ramanuja Rao are non-academic, well-informed and readable. C. R. Sarma has written many interesting essays in comparative literature, with special reference to Telugu and Tamil.

Histories of Literature

While many 'lives of poets' have been written during the past one century from Viresalingam onwards, histories of Telugu literature have been few and far between, and are of recent origin. Even the 'lives of poets' are of no small value as source books for the writing of histories of literature. Viresalingam wrote four such volumes, while Chaganti Seshaiah (Cāgaṇti Sēṣaiah) wrote 15, the last volume being published in 1971–72. Seshaiah had taken the trouble to study the latest archaeological material available to make the treatment of his subject as accurate as possible. N. Venkata Rao (b. 1904) has brought out six volumes, covering the period, 800–1500.

The history of Telugu literature, in its different aspects, has also been dealt with by Venkata Rao. His voluminous book on *The Southern School of Telugu Literature* (first published by the University of Madras in 1954) deals with the Telugu literature developed in the Tamil region, covering Thanjavur, Madurai, Pudukottai, Salem, Woraiyur and Mysore. This literature had flourished under the patronage of the Telugu Naiks and their subordinates during the 17th and 18th centuries.

The same field was covered, to a lesser or greater extent, by other writers in their works. These include: *Kondaru Tanjāvūru Kavulu, Paṇḍitulu* (Some Poets and Scholars of Thanjavur) by Kuruganti Sitaramayya in 1943, *Dākṣiṇātyāndhra Sāhityam* (Telugu literature of the Southern Region) by Nelatūri Veṅkatarāmaṇayya and *Śārada Dhwajam* (The banner of Saraswati) by Yandamuri Satyanarayana.

Separate, self-contained volumes on *Āndhra Vacana Vāṅgmayamu* (Telugu Prose Literature), *Udāharaṇa Vāṅgmayamu* (Udaharana Literature, Udaharana being a metrical form) and *Śataka Vāṅgmayamu* (Sataka literature, Sataka being a collection of one hundred aphoristic verses) were brought out by N. Venkata Rao.

A complete history of Telugu literature, in three volumes, was planned and produced by S. Ramakrishna Sastri, who succeeded N. Venkata Rao in Madras University. His models were Saintsbury's *History of English Literature* and Winternitz's *History of Sanskrit Literature*. The first volume was brought out by the university in 1957 and the rest in later years.

Samagra Āndhra Sāhityam (Comprehensive Telugu Literature) in 12 volumes, by the well-known poet, Arudra (b. 1925), published in 1965–66, was indeed comprehensive in its scope and detailed in its treatment, giving a wide conspectus of Telugu literature from its earliest beginnings. It is well documented, and written in an easy, informal style, which is the nearest approximation to the spoken idiom.

The social and cultural history of Andhra was ably dealt with by Suravaram Pratapa Reddi (1895–1953), in his pioneering work *Āndhrula Sānghika Caritra*. Similar ground was covered in *Āndhrula Caritra-Samskriti* by K. Lakshmiranjanam and K. Balendusekharam, first published in 1951. It seeks to bring the account as up-to-date as possible.

There were other historical works, like *Āndhrulu-Caritra* by Nelaturi Venkataramanayya, and special

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volumes, one on Śātavāhanas, edited by M. Bapineedu, and another on the Kakatiyas, edited by M. Rama Rao (b. 1935). *Āndhrula Caritra* (History of the Andhras) in three volumes by Cilūkuri Vīrabhadra Rāo (1872–1939) and *Kākatīyāndhra Rājayuga Caritra* (The Age of the Kakatiya Kings) by the same author, are worth mentioning in this connection. He also wrote *Jīrṇa Karṇāṭa Sāmrājyamu* (The Decline of the Karnataka Empire) and the lives of Tikkana, Timmarasu, Sivaji and Srinatha. *Kaliṅga Dēśa Caritra* was written by Rāḷḷabandi Subba Rao.

The renowned encyclopaedist and historian, K. V. Lakshmana Rao (1877–1923) wrote a number of essays on historical themes for the general reader, which were later published under the title, *Lakṣmaṇarāya Vyāsāvali* (The Essays of Lakshmana Rao). His style is learned without being academic, precise without being pedantic.

Inspired by the example set by Laksmana Rao was the epigraphist and scholar, M. Sōmaśēkhara Śarma (1891–1961), whose essays on 'Āndhra Vīrulu' (Andhra Heroes), 'Amarāvati Stūpam' (Amaravati Stupa) and 'Cāritraka Vyāsamulu' (Historical Essays), were, among other things, a substantial contribution to Andhra history and culture. His prose style, rich but not heavy, was a happy blend of detailed information and lucid exposition. His works were readable and reliable.

The essays relating to the inscriptions of Telangana and ancient Andhra cities by Ādirāju Vīrabhadra Rāo are written in simple and idiomatic prose suitable for the popular treatment of a difficult subject.

Historical-political subjects were dealt with by A. Kāleśwara Rao (1881–1962), who wrote booklets on American Independence, the French Revolution and Chinese Nationalism. *Vismrita Rāja Kavi Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya* (Krishnadeva Raya—A Forgotten royal Poet) was the first literary contribution of G. Harisarvottama Rao (1883–1960), who also wrote essays on 'Abraham Lincoln' and other subjects.

Quite a lot of learned works have seen the light of the day, during the last two decades, dealing with both literature and the arts. They include: *Telugu Jāṅapada Gēya Sāhityam* (Telugu Folk Songs) and *Āndhra Vāggeyakāra Caritra* (History of Andhra Composers) by Bālāntrapu Rajanīkānta, Rāo, *Āndhra Yakṣagāṅa Vāṅgmaya Caritra* (History of Yakshagana, a type of dance-drama) and *Nāṭya Śāstra* (The Science of Classical Dramaturgy) by P. S. R. Appa Rao.

In the category of miscellaneous publications in prose, relating to aspects of Telugu literature, mention must be made of *Āndhra Vāṅgmaya Sūcika* (A Cyclopaedia of Telugu Literature) by Kāśīnādhuni Nāgēśwara Rāo Pantulu, *Śataka Vāṅgmaya Sarvasvam* (A Cyclopaedia of Sataka Literature) by Vedam Venkatakrishna Sarma, *Prabandha Ratnāvali* (Anthology of *Prabandhās*, a form of fiction) by Veturi Prabhakara Sastri and *Āndhra Navalā Pariṇāmamu* (Evolution of the Telugu Novel) in two volumes by B. V. Kutumba Rao of Osmania University, published in 1962.

Sāraswatāvalōka (Glimpses of Literature) by R. Anantakrishna Sarma, and *Simhāvalōkanam* (Survey) by Veturi Prabhakara Sastri are works of deep scholarship, untouched by scholasticism. *Samskṛta Vāṅgmaya Caritra* (A History of Sanskrit Literature) was prepared for Telugu readers by Mallādi Sūryanarayana Śāstri. Telugu prosody is represented by two authoritative works: *Telugu Chandassu* (Telugu Prosody) by G. V. Sitapati and *Telugu Bhāṣalo Chandōrītulu* (Metrical patterns in Telugu) by Rāvūri Doraiswāmi Śarma.

Letters

Letter-writing as a form of literary art is a comparatively recent feature in Telugu prose. A pioneer in this field was Raja Mantripragada Bhujanga Rao of Eluru (1876–1941), who edited the periodical, *Mañjuvāṇi*. He published a book of love-letters (*Mōha Lēkhāvali*) in 1904. It was in two parts, the first part containing letters relating to the heroes and heroines of Hindu mythology, and the second, to present-day characters of different types, like 'svīya' (wife or mistress), 'parakīya' (another's wife) and 'sāmānya' (courtesan).

Lord Chesterfield's letters to his son were translated into Telugu by Chitravarapu Venkata Narasimha Rao in 1919. Sri Aurobindo's letters to his wife were translated by the late Maganti Annapurna Devi, well-known freedom-fighter in the Congress Movement. Her own letters to her husband, M. Bapineedu, while he was a student in the U. S., were published after her premature death in 1931. A new experiment in this genre was made by the late T. Gopichand (1910–65) in his *Pōstu Cēyani Uttarālū* (Letters Unposted).

Journals and Newspapers

The earliest journal in Telugu was the *Satyadūta* (Messenger of Truth), a Christian missionary organ, published in 1835 under the auspices of the Bellary Christian Tract Society. It used the colloquial form of Telugu and contained only news and articles, relating to the propagation of Christianity.

The next was the *Vṛttāntini* (Courier), started in 1838 by 'some native gentlemen' and edited by Maṇḍigāla Veṇkaṭarāya Śāstri. It mainly purveyed news, political, social and literary, and adopted the *Grānthika* style. The literary items related mainly to the unearthing of valuable manuscripts. The journal ceased publication in 1841.

The *Vartamāṅa Taraṅgiṇī* (Ocean of News) was started in 1842 by Syed Rahmatullah, with the express aim of promoting friendly relations between the Hindus and the Mus-

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lims. Its editor, for many years, was Puvvāda Veṅkaṭa Rāo. It was a forward-looking newspaper, presenting a variety of features; civic, social, educational and literary, as well as official and employed a comparatively popular style of Telugu.

About the same time, there were a few journals, published from outside Madras, prominent among them being the *Hitavādi* of Machilipatnam and the *Srī Yakṣiṇi* of Bellary.

Madras, however, remained the main centre of Telugu journalism in the latter half of the 19th century. The *Diṅavartamāni* was a weekly news digest, run by Christians. The *Tattva Bōdhini* (1864–70) was a monthly periodical, run by the 'Madras Veda Samājam', which later came to be known as 'Brahma Samājam', with the accent on problems of social reform, including widow-remarriage.

Among early literary periodicals, mention must be made of the monthly, *Āndhra Bhāṣā Sañjīvani*, started in Madras in 1871 by Kokkonda Venkataratnam Pantulu, a renowned classical scholar. Its language was bookish and highflown. It had a humorous supplement, called the *Hāsya Vardhiṅi*.

The *Vivēkavardhiṅi*, started in 1874 as a monthly by Kandukuri Viresalingam Pantulu, was first printed in Madras, though it was later shifted to Rajahmundry. It was marked by a well-defined public spirit, which found expression through the exposure of social maladies. Its language was relatively easy and simple, though in the classical idiom. To it was later added a humorous supplement called the *Hāsya Sañjīvani*.

The *Āndhra Prakāśika* was started as a weekly in 1885 (the year of the birth of the Indian National Congress) by A. C. Pārthasārathi Naiḍu, an early patriot of the Congress persuasion. It was not afraid to criticise the Government, when criticism was called for.

The history of daily journalism (in Telugu) is really linked with the birth of the *Āndhra Patrika*. Started in Bombay in 1908, as a weekly, by Kāsinādhuni Nāgēśwara Rao Pantulu, it was shifted to Madras in 1914, where it was converted into a daily. For a long time, it favoured the classical mode of Telugu as its medium, switching over to spoken Telugu in later years. A high class monthly periodical, *Bhāratī*, devoted to arts and letters, was started in 1923 under the management of the *Āndhra Patrika*.

The *Āndhra Prabha*, started in 1938 by the Express Group of Newspapers, was first edited by Nyāpati Nārāyaṇa Mūrti, whose personal column, 'Pān Sūpari' (literally betel and nut) was in the lighter vein, like Pothan Joseph's 'Over a Cup of Tea' in the *Indian Express*, *Deccan Herald* etc. Under the stewardship of V. R. Narla, it later marked a bold departure in the matter of language by employing the familiar spoken idiom (*Vyāvahārika*) in the forties and fifties. Thereby it not only achieved a phenomenal popularity, but influenced the evolution of contemporary Telugu prose along modern lines.

The *Āndhra Jyōti* was started in Vijayawada in 1960 by Narla, after leaving the *Āndhra Prabha* in 1958. It also uses the spoken idiom, but in its general approach, tries to satisfy the classes as well as the masses.

The *Ināḍu*, started in Visakhapatnam (by Ramoji Rao) and now published from Hyderabad and other centres as well, represents the latest trend in daily journalism, presenting the simplest colloquial language and incorporating many innovative features.

The *Āndhra Bhūmi*, published from Secunderabad, started as a mouthpiece of the interests of the Telangana region (former Nizam's dominions) of Andhra Pradesh, also interlaces the Telangana dialect to some extent in its language.

The *Viśālāndhra*, published from Vijayawada, is an organ of the Communist Party of India. It bears ample evidence of its ideological commitment as well as its effort at mass appeal. It has largely helped the dissemination of the Marxist idiom in simple Telugu.

All these dailies bring out their own illustrated weeklies, which are typical examples of popular journalism, with entertainment as the predominant element, though information and education are not completely neglected.

The easy, simple prose adopted by these weeklies and dailies along with that employed by All India Radio in its broadcasts, has had a marked influence on the evolution of contemporary Telugu prose. It has served to make it easier, simpler, closer to the spoken idiom of the people, the language of real life. Almost all the prose writers, notably novelists and short story writers, have fallen in line with this. The classical (bookish) style of writing survives only in some of the universities and other academic centres.

Informative Writing

Encyclopaedias. The idea of an encyclopaedia in Telugu was pioneered by Komarrāzu Veṅkaṭa Lakṣmaṇa Rāo (1877–1923), historian and man of letters, who also started the publishing venture called *Vijñāna Candrikā Grantha Maṇḍali*. He had 17 contributors to help him in the project. Unfortunately for him, he died before he could complete the first two volumes of *Āndhra Vijñāna Sarvasvamu* (Telugu Encyclopaedia), covering the first letter of the Telugu alphabet. These volumes were later reprinted by the Andhra Patrika Press.

Another project in this field was *Āndhra Vijñānamu* (Telugu Encyclopaedia), compiled by Kandukuri Prasadaraya Bhupaludu, the Zamindar of Davidi, in East Godavari District. It was planned in seven volumes and published between 1938 and 1941. Though rather elementary in production, it presents some useful basic knowledge.

There were, in later years, a few isolated attempts at bringing out Encyclopaedias in a concise form for ready reference. One of them was *Saṅgrahāṅhra Vijñāṅakōśam* by K. Balēnduśēkharam and others.

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The most ambitious of the institutional attempts was that of the Telugu 'Bhāṣā Samiti', working from the early years since Independence. Its *Vijñāṅa Sarvaswam* is in more than 15 volumes, covering all the subjects, from history, literature and culture to medicine, engineering and technology. The arrangement is subject-wise, each volume being devoted to one particular subject.

The language used in the 'Telugu Bhasa Samiti's' Encyclopaedia is *Śiṣṭa Vyāvahārika* (refined Telugu prose), while that of the other encyclopaedias is *Sulabha Grānthika* (or simplified bookish style). In either case, it has served the purpose in view quite well.

Books on Science

During the last four to five decades, a lot of literature has appeared in Telugu in the field of science—covering physical and natural sciences as well as social and behavioural sciences.

Some of these books were written by trained scientists, with an intimate knowledge of the subject, others by reputed journalists, anxious to popularize it. On science in general, *Ādhunika Vijñāṅamu* (Modern Science) by V. Venkata Rao, *Ādhunika Vijñāṅa Vikāsam* (Development of Modern Science) by B. Viswanatham, *Viśwa Rūpam* (Shape of the Universe, covering the evolution of scientific thought) by N. Ramamohan Rao and *Sainsu Kathā* (The Story of Science), among other titles, are worth noting.

In specific branches, important titles include: *Viśvarūpam* (Shape of the Universe, on Astronomy) by Kālīpatnam Koṇḍaiah; *Vinu Vīdhi* (Outer Space, also on Astronomy) by A. V. S. Rama Rao; *Dūra Gamanam, Śravaṇam, Darśaṅam*: (Distant Travel, Telephone and Television) by P. Padmaraju: *Jantu Śāstramu* (Zoology) by R. V. Seshaiya, and *Manamū—Maṅa Dēhasthiti* by G. Balasundara Rao in his *Griha Vaidyam* (Home Treatment) series. A book on nuclear physics by Dr. W. Heisenberg, adapted in Telugu by G. R. V. Krishna Rao, was brought out by the University of Madras in 1964.

With the increasing adoption of Telugu as the language of governmental administration and as the medium of instruction in educational institutions, the need for wider scientific and technical vocabulary has been felt. The Telugu Academy and other such organizations have been doing their best to meet this need. This could be an aid to the process of evolution of Telugu prose in the modern context.

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Urdu

M. A. HUSAINI

Ancient Prose

The Arabs were trading with South India long before the advent of Islam. The first Muslims thus came to India as traders. Then came the Muslim conquerors of North India, some of whom preferred to settle first in the Punjab and Delhi, and then in the rest of India. They were occasionally accompanied or followed or even anticipated by holy men, the Sufi saints. All three, the trader, the soldier and the holy man, had to communicate with the local population. And it was this compulsion that gave birth to the Urdu language.

The earliest recorded specimens of Urdu are, thus, to be found in the *Malfūzāt* (sayings, chronicles or diaries) kept by the Sufi saints and their disciples in the Punjab, Delhi, Gujarat and adjacent areas. Among these, a manuscript written in 1308 by Khwaja Saiyyid (Saied) Aṣraf Jahaṅgīr Samnānī of Kichaucha (district Faizabad, U. P.) is generally considered the first Urdu book. Mir Nazr Ali Dard of Kākorī, writing about this manuscript in *Nigār*, Lucknow (December 1925) says:

> Saiyyid Ashraf Jahangir compiled the sayings of one of his preceding saints, Maulana Vajīhuddīn, in Urdu, called 'Zaban-e-Hindi' in those times. One of my elders possessed a copy of this manuscript which runs into 207 pages. I have studied it. An extract from page 118 runs as follows:
>
> 'O Seeker, the earth and the sky, all things are contained in God, and He is in everything. Hence, if thou hast any spark of intelligence, consider it well established that inside and outside all the Attributes exists the (Divine) Self.'
>
> (Hāmid Hasan Qādrī, *Dāstān-e-Tarīkh-e-Urdū*, p. 17)

Some scholars are of the opinion that *Mirāj-ul-Āṣiqīn* (Exaltation of Lovers), ascribed to Saiyyid Muhammad Husain Banda Nawāz Gesū Darāz of Gulbarga (1320–1415), was the first book in Urdu. Apart from the fact that Ashraf Jahangir's book pre-dates Daraz, it is felt that *Mirāj-ul-Āṣiqīn* was actually written two centuries later, by Makhdūm Shah Husain Bījāpūrī. *Mirāj-ul-Āṣiqīn* has been published, whereas Ashraf Jahangir's work still remains unpublished.

Hasan, the founder of the Bahmani Kingdom in 1312, made Urdu his official language, which would seem to indicate that Urdu writers were available in sufficient number in his time. The earliest undisputed prose works, however, are three tracts by Ṣams-ul-Uṣāq Mirāñjī (d. 1496) entitled *Ṣarh-e-Marghūb-ul-Qulūb* (Commentary on 'The Heart's Desire'), *Jal Taraṅg* (Play of Waters) and *Gul Bās* (Fragrance of Flowers). His son, Shāh Burhānuddīn Jānam (d. 1582), wrote *Kalamat-ul-Haqāiq* (Word of Truth) and *Risālā-e-Wujūdia* (On Existence). Shāh Amīnuddīn Ālā of Bijapur (1582–1675) wrote *Gañj-e-Khūbī* (Hoard of Virtue).

The first secular book in Urdu was *Sab Ras* (All Tastes, 1635) by Mulla Asadullah Vajhi (d. 1659). It is an allegorical tale adapted from a Persian *Mathnavī* (narrative poem), *Dāstūr-e-uṣṣāq* (Custom of Lovers) which itself seems to have been adapted from the 11th century Sanskrit drama *Prabodhacandrodaya* by Krishna Misra (*Marathi Sahitya Patrika*, April 1969). The story is about a king Ishq (Love), who has a daughter called Husn (Beauty). Another kingdom nearby is ruled by Aql (Reason), who has a son called Dil (Heart). Like Romeo and Juliet, Husn and Dill fall in love, but the parents prefer to fight. Ultimately, Ishq triumphs, but he decides to make Aql his adviser and so all live happily ever after.

The next important landmark in Urdu prose is Fazl Ali Fazli's, (b. 1710/11) *Dah Majlis* (Ten Sittings), also called *Karbal Kathā* (1731). This work contains orations on the theme of the Karbala where Prophet Muhammad's grandson, Imam Husain, was slaughtered by the forces of Yazīd. Being a sentimental work, *Dah Majlis* became very popular and Fazli revised and rewrote it in 1747. His prose is quite polished and easily comprehensible even today. Though belonging to South India, Fazli spent considerable time in North India.

Maulana Shah Rafi-ud-Din of Delhi translated the Holy Quran from Arabic into Urdu prose in 1776. The rendering was too literal, hence it was not very good prose. His brother, Shah Abdul Qadir (?–1815) also translated the Holy Quran in 1790. He did a much better job and his translation became instantly popular.

The other remarkable book of this period was Ata Husain Khan Tahsīn's *Nau-Tarz-e-Murassa* (New Style, Embellished, 1798). Though the style is ornate and Persianized, Tashin's prose displays a suppleness and strength which indicates that Urdu had become capable of expressing intricate ideas successfully, an ability that was fully exploited by the writers of Fort William College (est. 1800).

Along with Gulbarga, Bijapur and Golconda, Madras

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too had become an Urdu centre by this time. Muhammad Bāqar Āgāh of Vellore (?–1805) wrote many religious books in prose from 1771 onwards. Sharful Mulk Maulana Muhammad Ghous (?–1823) translated *Kaidānī Fiqh-e-Hanafī* (Kaidani's' Hanafi Jurisprudence') into Urdu. And his son, Qazi Badruddowla (1793–1863), also wrote a number of books on religious topics in a fluent style.

Foreign Contribution

After Delhi, Gujarat and Deccan (South India), Calcutta provided the fourth stage in the development of Urdu prose. The initiative there came from foreigners, missionaries as well as secular writers, who either wrote books on the Urdu language and its grammar in their own languages or wrote directly in Urdu. John Joshua Caterlaer, (Director of Dutch East India Company), wrote *Lingua Hindostanica* in 1715, which also included an Urdu translation of the Lord's Prayer. In 1747, the Reverend Benjamin Schulz wrote *Grammatica Indostanica* in Latin. Schulz and Collingbrook translated the Bible into Urdu in 1748. Mirza Fitrat and others translated the New Testament into Urdu. After revision by Dr Hunter, it was published in 1805. Reverend Martin of the Baptist Mission of Serampore (est. 1800), also translated the New Testament into Urdu. After revision by Mirza Fitrat, it was published by the Mission in 1819. The same year, the Mission also published the Urdu translation of the complete Bible.

In 1800, Fort William College was established in Calcutta to teach East India Company employees Urdu, Bengali and Marathi.

Dr John Borthwick Gilchrist (1759–1841), the first principal of this college, found there were no suitable textbooks available. Gilchrist therefore set up a division to compile and write books and he himself compiled a dictionary and a grammar of Urdu.

Gilchrist's leadership and dynamism were matchless. He soon collected a number of gifted Urdu authors and induced them to produce literature of lasting value. Their publications were also used as textbooks. Mir Amman wrote *Bāgh-o-Bahār* (The Garden and the Spring) in 1801; *Ganj-e-Khūbī* in 1802; Haider Baksh Haideri wrote *Gulṣan-e-Hind* (Garden of India) in 1800, *Totā Kahānī* (Parrot's Tale) in 1801 and *Ārāiṣ-e-Mahfil* (Decoration of the Fete) in 1802. Sher Ali Afsos wrote *Bāgh-o-Urdū* (Garden of Urdu) in 1801 and *Ārāiṣ-e-Mahfil* in 1804, a book on history that was different from Haideri's work. Other notable books were: Mirza Ali Lutf's *Gulṣan-e-Hind* (1801), Mir Bahadur Ali Husaini's *Nathr-e-Benazīr* (Matchless Prose, 1802), *Akhlāq-e-Hind* (Manners of India, 1802), *Tarīkh-e-Āssām* (History of Assam, 1805) and *Risālā-e-Gilchrist* (Gilchrist's Manual), an Urdu rendering of Gilchrist's book on grammar; Mazhar Ali Vila's *Madholal Kam Kundala* (1802), *Haft Gulṣan* (Seven Gardens; 1802), *Baitāl Pachīsī* (Twenty-five Ghost Stories, 1802) and *Tarīkh-e-Ṣer Ṣāhī* (History of Sher Shah, 1805); Khalil Khan Aṣk's *Dāstān-e-Amīr Hamzā* (Tales of Amir Hamza, 1801); Nihal Chand Lahori's *Mazhab-e-Iṣq* (Religion of Love, 1803); Sheikh Hafeezuddin's *Khirad Afroze* (Development of Reason, 1805); Ikram Ali's *Ikhwān-us-Safā* (Pure-hearted Brothers, 1810): Beni Narain Jahan's *Cār Gulṣan* (Four Gardens, 1811) and Lallu Lalji's *Singhāsan Batīsī* (Thirty-two Throne Stories). Of these, Amman's *Bāgh-o-Bahār*, Haidari's *Totā Kahānī* and *Ārāiṣ-e-Mahfil*, Jawan's *Shakuntala* and Aṣk's *Dāstān-e-Amīr Hamza* became classics of Urdu prose.

Men of letters outside Fort William College also produced masterpieces. Mir Inshaullah Khan (d. 1817) was a many-sided genius. Though better known as a poet and a courtier of Nawab Sadat Ali Khan of Lucknow, he was a linguist well versed in many languages and a good prose writer. In *Rāṇī Ketkī Aur Kunwar Udai Bhān ki Kahānī* (Story of Rani Ketki and Kunwar Udai Bhan) he tells an absorbing tale in chaste Urdu, without using any Persian, Arabic or Turkish words. The book is still used in both Urdu and Hindi syllabi. *Daryā-e-Latāfat* (River of Felicity) which Insha wrote in 1807 (published 1852) in collaboration with Muhammad Hasan Qateel (d. 1824) of Faridabad (nee Diwali Singh), is the best Urdu grammar of its time. Although written in Persian, it includes long extracts in Urdu prose, specially written by Insha, to serve as examples. Here Insha shows his mastery over the dialects and the technical terms used in various professions and crafts.

Rajab Ali Beg 'Suroor' of Lucknow (1787–1867) wrote *Fasānā-e-Ajāib* (Story of Wonders) around 1825. Suroor's prose has the cadence of Sir Thomas Browne and though it appears artificial to us now, it was acclaimed as a model in his times.

Yet another writer from Lucknow who wrote fluent and simple prose was Faqir Muhammad Khan 'Goya' (d. 1850). His *Bustān-e-Hikmat* (Garden of Wisdom, 1835) is a free translation of *Anwār-e-Suhailī* (Glimmer of Stars), an Arabic rendering of *Pañcatantra*. Incidentally, the famous Urdu poet, Josh Malihabadi, happens to be a great grandson of 'Goya'.

Translations

The East India Company declared Urdu the court language in 1833. But, even before that, the North-West Province (present Uttar Pradesh) Government had published a *Hidāyat Nāmā Mālguzarī* (Manual of Rent) in 1803. Sadasukh Lal had compiled his *Majmūā-e-Qawānīn* (Compendium of Laws) in 1835. The chief credit for producing non-literary books, however, goes to the Delhi College which was established in 1825 to teach modern sciences and other subjects through the Urdu medium. Later, English was also introduced as a subject. While Fort William

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College was meant only for employees of the East India Company, Delhi College catered to the needs of the general public.

The Education Committee and the Society for the Promotion of Vernaculars in India, both of this College, drew up a scheme for compiling or translating into Urdu, books on all types of social and physical sciences. Various members of the college staff produced successful translations in a short time. Prominent among these were: Maulvi Mamlūkut Ali, Master Ram Chander, Master Pyare Lal Ashob, Motilal Dehlavi, Subhan Baksh, Pandit Ram Kishan Dehlavi, Master Husaini, and others.

In Hyderabad, Deccan, Shams-ul-Umarā Amīr Kabīr Sānī (d. 1862) gave a fillip to literature on science. He wrote two books on astronomy, *Sittā-e-Ṣamṣīā* (The Seven Suns) in 1830 and *Āmāl-e-Kurrā* (Motions of Spheres) in 1841.

These efforts were later supplemented by the Scientific Society established by Sir Saiyyid Ahmad Khan in 1863, the Dar-ut-Tarjuma of Osmania University, and the present Bureau for Promotion of Urdu set up by the Government of India. The UNESCO scheme of translations of world classics and those of the Sahitya Akademi and, the National Book Trust, of translations from one Indian language into another also enriched Urdu prose.

Journals and Newspapers

The first Urdu newspaper was the weekly *Jām-e-Jahān-Numā* (Cup that Mirrors the World). Its first issue was dated 27 March 1822 (vide April 1822 files of the *Calcutta Journal*, which quotes the *John Bull* as its authority). Atīq Siddīqī, however, favours April 1822 as the date of publication and considers 27 March the date when an application seeking permission to print the paper was filed.

The first Urdu newspaper in Delhi, the *Delhi Urdū Akhbār* (Delhi's Urdu Newspaper, 1836), was owned and edited by Maulvi Muhammad Bāqar, father of Maulana Muhammad Husain Azad. It was immediately followed by *Sāiyyid-ul-Akhbār* (the Pre-eminent Newspaper) which was edited by Saiyyid Muhammad, elder brother of Sir Saiyyid Ahmad Khan. By 1852, Delhi had eight Urdu newspapers.

In Madras, the *Jāme-ul-Akhbār* (the Comprehensive Newspaper) weekly started publication in 1840 under the editorship of Rahmat Ullah (vide *Ājkal* [Urdu], June 1973). In Punjab, the first Urdu newspaper to be published was the *Koh-e-Ñur* (The Hill of Light) issued by Munshi Harsukh Rai on 14 January 1850. The first regular newspaper published from Lucknow, the *Avadh Akhbār* (Avadh's Newspaper, 1859), was the most popular, most voluminous and the best produced paper of its time. It specialized in politics, social reform and literature. It became even more popular under the editorship of Ratan Nāth Dar Sarṣār, who serialized his celebrated novel, *Fasānā-e-Āzād* (The Story of Azad), in its columns.

The latter half of the 19th century also saw a sudden spurt in humorous periodicals. But only the *Avadh Punch* (Punch of Avadh, 1877) survived and left its impress, mainly because of its galaxy of writers which included Ṣarar, Sarṣar, Chakbast, Nawab Saiyyid Muhammad Azad, Machchū Beg Sitam Zarīf and others. Its editor, Sajjād Husain, was a gifted humorist, staunch nationalist and a fearless critic of the Government.

Munshi Mahbūb Ālam of Punjab revolutionized Urdu journalism with his daily, the *Paisā Akhbār* (Paisa Newspaper, 1888), which cost just one paisa.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was not only a scholar and an orator, a passionate writer and a national leader, but also a professional journalist. The *Al-Hilāl* (The New Moon) which he started in 1912, was printed in type. It was also the first Urdu paper to use photographs. 'Within two years,' writes Azad in *India Wins Freedom*, '*Al-Hilāl* reached a circulation of 26,000 copies per week, a figure which was till then unheard of in Urdu journalism.'

Though much is lost in translation, the following lines may convey some idea of Abul Kalam Azad's style:

> If nothing exists but matter, then how to account for the faculty among the humans called reason or perception? From which fire did this spark fly? How to explain this intrinsic urge to dissect and analyse the heart of the matter itself and to draw differing conclusions? Undoubtedly, like all else in creation, this faculty has undergone different stages of evolution. For a long time it lay dormant in trees and plants. Then it began to stir softly in birds and bees and animals. And, finally it acquired its full dimensions among the superior beings, the humans. (tr.)

Other papers that fostered a national spirit similar to *Al-Hilāl* were Hasrat Mohāni's *Urdū-e-Moallā* (Exalted Urdu) Kanpur, started in 1903; Maulana Muhammad Ali's *Hamdard* (The Sympathizer), Delhi; and Maulana Zafar Ali Khan's *Zamindār* (The Landowner), Lahore.

The All India Congress Committee started *Qaumī Āwāz* (The Voice of the Nation) in Lucknow in 1945 to propagate the Congress ideology. It has prospered and is now being simultaneously published from Delhi, Lucknow, Patna and Bombay.

At present, seven Urdu dailies of different ideologies are being published from Delhi alone—the *Daily Tej*, the *Milāp*, the *Qaumī Āwāz* and the *Saverā* (Congress); the daily *Pratāp*; (Arya Samaj), the *Al Jamīat* (Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind); and the *Dāwat* (Jama't-e-Islami) [*Dāwat* has become a Weekly now].

Bombay, Hyderabad, Calcutta, Lucknow, Srinagar and Jullundur publish Urdu papers of high standard besides Delhi. Of these, the *Inquilāb* and the *Urdu Times* of Bombay, the *Siyāsat*, and the *Rahnumā-e-Deccan* of

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Hyderabad, the *Rozānā Hind* of Calcutta, the *Qaumī Āwāz* of Lucknow and the *Āftāb* of Srinagar deserve special mention.

Among Urdu dailies, the *Hind Samāchār* of Jullundur has the largest circulation. Its editor and proprietor, Lala Jagat Narain, was assassinated in 1981.

The earliest noteworthy magazine in Urdu was Sir Saiyyid Ahmad Khan's *Aligarh Institute Gazette*. It was started in 1866 with the objective of publishing informative articles on technical and scientific subjects. In 1870, he issued the *Tahzīb-ul-Akhlāq* (Refinement of Morals), a literary journal devoted primarily to social and educational reform. Maulvi Abdul Halim Şarar's *Dilgudāz* (Heart-melting) was started in 1887. It became popular mainly because Sharar serialized his historical novels in its pages. Sir Abdul Qadir started the *Makhzun* (Treasure House) from Lahore (1901) and Daya Narain Nigam, the *Zamānā* (The Era) from Kanpur (1903). These two journals played a historic role in the development of creative Urdu prose.

Other prestigious magazines of the pre-1947 era were: the *Al Nāzīr* (The Observer) of Lucknow; the *Mārif* (The Acquaintances) of Aligarh and Azamgarh; the *Urdu*, Aurangabad; the *Nigār* (The Beloved), Lucknow; the *Şāer* (The Poet) Bombay; the *Nawā-e-Adab* (Voice of Literature), Bombay; the *Jāmia* (The Academy), Delhi; and the *Ājkal* (Today), Delhi. The *Ājkal* is an organ of the Union Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, but it has established itself as a prestigious literary and cultural magazine.

Since Independence, many magazines of high calibre have been started. Among these, Abid Suhail's *Kitāb* (Lucknow); Faruqi's *Şabkhūn* (Night Raid, Allahabad); Gopal Mittal's *Tahrīk* (Movement, Delhi); Ali Sardar Jafri's *Guftgū* (Conversation, Bombay); and, of more recent origin, *Fikr-o-Nazar* (Thought and Views, Aligarh); *Tahrīr* (Script, Delhi); *Asarī Adab* (Contemporary Literature, Delhi); *Meyār* (Standard, Delhi); *Şa'ūr* (Consciousness, Delhi); *Tanāzur* (Thinking Together, Delhi); and *Fun aur Şakhsīat* (Art and Personality, Bombay), are noteworthy.

The Modern Period

The modern period in Urdu prose was ushered in by Sir Saiyyid Ahmad Khan (1817–1898), who established the 'Scientific Society' in 1863 and started the Society's journal, the *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, and, later, *Tahzīb-ul-Akhlāq*. These journals laid the foundations of the modern Urdu essay. Sir Saiyyid's main writings include *Asbāb-e-Baghāvat-i-Hind* (Reasons of Indian Revolt, 1858), *Āsār-us-Sanādīd* (Relics Immortal, 1854) and *Khutbāt-i-Ahmadiya* (Ahmad's Lectures). The first named is a short political treatise on the causes of the 1857 uprising against the British, courageously written in quest of social justice for the enslaved Indian people; the second work is a research manual on the archaeology, architecture and social history of Delhi; and the last named is an interpretation of the Holy Quran in the light of reason and logic of the modern times. Sir Saiyyid's main contribution to Urdu literature is a rational outlook and the prose style he developed in his essays.

Urdu prose took a sudden leap forward during Sir Saiyyid's time with a remarkable increase in the number of prose writers. The prose style also attained a new directness, depth and precision. Many new forms of literature—essay, novel, drama, biography, history, linguistics—began to assume importance in Urdu during this period.

Soon after 1857, there was a sudden polarization of forces between the orientalists who sought refuge in revivalism and the modernists who were seeking to reject all that was old and adopt western models and ideals instead. In the ideological debate which ensued, a new literary style emerged with a simplicity of diction and an immediacy of comprehension, so that one could not only communicate but also persuade. Yet another reason for simplicity was the rapid growth, following the introduction of printing presses, of newspapers and periodicals in which space was limited.

Among Sir Saiyyid's associates were, Muhammad Husain Azad (1832–1910), Nazīr Ahmad (1836–1912), Altaf Husain Hali (1837–1914) and Shibli Nomani (1857–1914), who may be called the four pillars of Urdu.

Muhammad Husain Azad, the stylist *par excellence*, uses allegory and metaphor as a device to elevate simple prose to the level of the sublime. He has made history, criticism and even linguistics interesting and easy to understand. Azad's first book, *Qasas-e-Hind* (Tales of India, historical tales for children), was published in 1869 and his last book *Sukhandān-e-Fārs* (Poets of Persia on Persian linguistics) in 1907. In between, he published *Āb-e-Hayāt* (The Elixir, 1881—a literary history); *Nairaṅg-e-Khayāl* (Marvels of Ideas—an allegory); *Darbār-e-Akbarī* (Akbar's Court—a history of Akbar's reign); and *Nasīhat Ke Karan Phūl* (Jewels of Advice—a textbook for children).

Nazir Ahmad, the pioneer novelist, wrote *Mirāt-ul-Urūs* (Bride's Mirror) in 1869. Though more famous as a novelist, he was also an essayist and a competent translator. His Urdu translation of the Holy Quran was colloquial, though controversial, and his translation of the Indian Penal Code is still in use. His lectures were also received well and were devoted to various social and cultural problems of his times.

Altāf Husain Halī of Panipat (Haryana) was the first modern biographier and objective critic in Urdu. His first book *Majālis un Nisā* (Ladies Meetings, 1874) was meant for educating young girls. The publication of *Hayāt-e-Sā'dī* (Life of Sa'di, 1884), *Yādgār-e-Ghālib* (Memoirs of Ghalib, 1897) and *Hayāt-e-Jāvīd* (Life Immortal, a biography of Sir Saiyyid Ahmad Khan, 1901) established him as an important biographer. The introduction to his collec-

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tion of verses, called *Muqaddama-e-Ṣ'er-o-Ṣāeri* (Introduction to Verse and Poetry) remains the mainstay of literary criticism in Urdu even to this day. In it basic critical problems such as the objectives of poetry, the devices through which it achieves its purpose and the standards of excellence have been discussed.

Shibli Nomani devoted himself to criticism, history, biography and religious discourses. His *Sīrutun Nabī* (Life of Prophet), a biography of Prophet Muhammad, is still regarded as perhaps the best Urdu biography, while *Al Fārūq* (Life of Caliph Omar Faruq, 1899) and *Al Māmūn* (Life of Caliph Mamun) were valiant efforts to rehabilitate the past glory of Islam. His critical treatises, *Mawāzina-e-Anīs-o-Dabīr* (Comparative Study of Poets Anis and Dabir, 1907) and *Ṣer-ul-Ajam* (A History of Persian Verse, 5v, 1908–18); letters and travelogues, *Safar-Nāmā-e-Misr-o-Rūm-o-Ṣām* (Travels through Egypt, Turkey and Syria) were landmarks in the evolution of Urdu prose. He founded the Nadwat-ul-Ulama (Assembly of Scholars), Lucknow, and after leaving Nadwa, the Dār-ul-Mussannifīn (House of Writers, also known as Shibli Academy) at Azamgarh in 1913. Darul Mussannifin is a unique body which engages scholars-in-residence and publishes their writings. Both these institutions sought to make available the light of modern disciplines to Urdu-knowing people.

Other remarkable writers of this exuberant age were: Zakaullah (1832–1910), who wrote about 150 books including 61 textbooks on mathematics and a history of India in 10 volumes; Saiyyid Ali Bilgrami (1851–1911), who translated from French into Urdu, Gustave Le Bon's *La Civilization Des Arabes* and *Civilization Des Indes*, calling them *Tammadun-e-Arab* and *Tammadun-e-Hind*, respectively; and Saiyyid Ahmad Dehlawi (1846–1919) (not to be confused with Sir Saiyyid Ahmad Khan) who compiled a four-volume dictionary of Urdu called *Farhaṅg-e-Āsifia* (Asif's Dictionary, 1868–92) and wrote an illuminating treatise on the social customs of Delhi.

The Essay

The new form of light essay was initiated by Sir Saiyyid Ahmad Khan and his associates and dealt with topics of varied social and cultural import, but with a personal touch. These early pioneers were followed by Abdul Halim Ṣarar, Mir Nasir Ali Dehlavi, Sajjad Haider Yeldrim, Mehdī-ul-Ifādī, Sajjad Ali Ansari, Abul Kalam Azad, Niaz Fatehpuri, Hasan Nizami, Farhatullah Beg, Abdul Mājid Daryābādī, Latifuddin Ahmad (L. Ahmad), Majnuṅ Gorakhpuri, Qāzi Abdul Ghaffār, Rashid Ahmad Siddiqui and others.

Translations and the impact of foreign literatures also helped. Yeldrim's translations from Turkish literature and various prose translations of Tagore's *Gitanjali* helped considerably in popularizing the trend of *belles-lettres*. Those who knew English were directly inspired by Oscar Wilde and Walter Pater.

In the post-Independence era, the highly individualistic light essay yielded place to feature writing, literary criticism and, a phenomenon peculiar to Urdu, the humorous essay. This is not so illogical as it appears; humour also devalues the individual by making fun of him.

Humour

Humour, wit and satire have always been dreaded weapons in the armoury of Urdu writers. While even rulers feared the poet Saudā's lampoons (Hajv), pure humour was first found in Nazīr Akbarābādī's poems and in letters written by Mirza Ghalib.

Ghalib introduced a new form of letter-writing in which he claimed to have transformed the letter into a dialogue. He begins abruptly, asks a question from the addressee, provides the answer himself, comments on it, builds an intimate rapport with the addressee and so the merry game goes on. He does not fail to mention the troubles he and his contemporaries face, but hardships are always mentioned in good humour.

Ghalib's approach was in complete contrast to the writers of *Avadh Punch* and other humorous journals, which criticised, found fault with and ridiculed others.

During the first half of the 20th century, however, Urdu humour attained maturity. The most gifted among the new generation of writers was Ahmad Shah Bukhari (Pitras, 1895–1957). His solitary slim volume of essays, *Mazāmīn-e-Pitras* (Essays of Pitras) was enough to establish his supremacy. Along with him, Azīm Beg Chughtāī, Farhatullah Beg and Shaukat Thānavī also developed into fine humorists. Rashid Ahmad Siddiqui, who was a Professor of Urdu at Aligarh University, enriched humour with a deep awareness of the social milieu, a philosophical understanding of human predicament and a rich literary flavour.

This group was followed by Kanahya Lal Kapur, Krishan Chander, Fikr Taunsvi, Ghulam Ahmad Furqat, Ahmad Jamāl Pāṣā, Shafiqa Farhat and Mujtaba Husain. Fikr has been writing a humorous column for about 40 years in *Milāp* (Delhi), entitled *Piāz Ke Cilke* (Onion Peelings).

The most welcome development in recent humorous writing is the emergence of a body of young writers in Hyderabad, 'Anjuman-e-Zinda Dilan-e-Hyderabad' (Association of the Lively Hearts of Hyderabad), who organize annually an All India Humorous Writers Conference and also publish a humorous monthly, *Ṣugūfā* (Nascent Flower).

Letters

Letter writing is yet another literary form in which Urdu abounds. In addition to the letters of Ghālib, those of Sir Saiyyid Ahmad Khan, Hāli, Shibli, Dāgh, Amīr Mināī,

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Shauq Kidwāī, Riāz Khairābādī and others, have also been published.

Letters written by Abul Kalam Azad, Muhammad Iqbal, Mehdi-ul-Ifadi, Niāz Fatehpuri, Maulana Muhammad Ali, Rashid Ahmad Siddiqui, Chaudhary Muhammad Ali and Safia Akhtar are particularly fascinating.

Abul Kalam Azad's letters, however, are in a class by themselves. They have been published in two collections, *Makātīb-e-Abul Kalām* (Letters of Abul Kalam) and *Ghubār-e-Khātir* (Dust on the Heart). The latter is a unique collection of letters written in the Ahmednagar Fort jail during his imprisonment as a political detainee from 1942 to 1945. Written at leisure, they reveal Azad in his true form. In them we see the vast range of Azad's knowledge and style. Simple, emotional, learned and full of quotations from the Holy Quran and Arabic and Persian poetry, he weaves the web of human emotions while writing on such ordinary things as a house sparrow or a cup of tea. Another bunch of letters from prison, Sajjad Zaheer's *Nuqūṣ-e-Zindān* (Jail Sketches) displays the essentially decent, cultured, affectionate and balanced personality of the writer.

But perhaps the most moving collection of letters ever written in Urdu is *Zer-e-Lab* (Murmurings) by Safia Akhtar. Sister of the famous poet Majaz, and married to another significant poet, Jan Nisar Akhtar, Safia wrote with devotion and feeling to her husband during the period they were separated from each other due to political and economic compulsions. These letters are full of love and hope, and give a new dimension to the personal art of letter writing.

Chaudhuri Muhammad Ali's *Goyā Dabistan Khul Gayā* (As if a School Opened) marks a new style. Frank, cheerful and perceptive, these letters depict a lovable and genuine personality with nothing to hide and a whole new world to reveal.

Travelogues

The tradition of travelogue writing in Urdu goes back to Yusuf Kambalposh, who describes his journey to Europe, followed by Muhammad Husain Azad who wrote of his travels in Persia and Shibli Nomani, who wrote of a tour of Egypt and Syria. But the only travelogue that provides an insight into the ways of life in a foreign country is Ehtesham Husain's *Sāhil aur Sāmunder* (The Coast and the Sea), which gives a three-dimensional picture of his visit to the USA. Other important travel writings include travelogues by K. A. Abbas and Qurratulain Hyder.

Reportage

The first significant attempt at reportage was by Sajjad Zaheer. His *Yāden* (Memories), later developed into *Roṣnāi* (The Ink), describes the evolution of the Progressive Writers Movement. It was followed by Krishan Chander's *Paude* (Plants), *Subh Hoti Hai* (Appears the Dawn) and *Jab Khet Jāge* (When the Fields Stirred, on the Telengana movement), Ādil Rashid's *Khizan Ke Phūl* (Autumn Flowers), Tajwar Samri's *Jab Bandhan Ṭūṭe* (When the Bonds Broke), K. A. Abbas's *Surkh Zamīn Aur Pāñch Sitāre* (Red Earth and Five Stars), Fikr Taunsvi's *Chhata Darya* (Sixth River), Ismat Chughtai's *Bambaī Se Bhopāl Tak* (From Bombay to Bhopal), Safia Akhtar's *Ek Haṅgāma* (An Uproar), Anwer Azeem's *Nāch, Gīt Aur Pathar* (Dance, Song and Stone), Qazi Abdus Sattar's *Safar Hai Ṣart* (Only if You Travel) and others.

Informative Writing

The Humanities. Urdu is rich in biography and history. The chronicles of holy men, and the modern biographies written by Hali, Azad and Shibli, have already been mentioned. Besides the output of the Shibli Academy, there is considerable literature on Ghalib, Iqbal and Abul Kalam Azad to which additions are made regularly each year. Similarly, Gandhi, Nehru and Tagore have also been favourite themes for authors. Abul Kalam Azad's autobiography, *Tazkirā* (Remembrance), Qazi Abdul Ghaffar's *Hayāt-e-Ajmal* (Ajmal's Life), Saliha Abid Husain's *Yādgār-e-Hālī* (Memoirs of Hali), Diwan Singh Maftoon's autobiography, *Nāqābil-e-Farāmoṣ* (Unforgettable), are all memorable works in this genre. Biographical sketches by Raṣid Ahmad Siddiqui (*Gañj Hā-e-Girāṇ Māyā* (Precious Hoard), *Ham Nafasān-e-Rafta* (Departed Companions) and K. G. Saiyyidain's *Āndhī Men Cirāgh* (Lamp in Tempest) also provide rich and rewarding fare.

There is considerable literature in other branches of humanities as well. Books on philosophy, psychology and education have been written by eminent scholars like Ābid Husain, Khalīfa Abdul Hakīm, Dr Vahiduddin, Dr Zakir Husain, K. G. Saiyyidain, Muhammad Mujeeb, Salāmantullāh, Abdul Majid Daryabadi, Niaz Fatehpuri and others. There is also considerable literature on politics and economics.

Science and Technology

The early years of the 19th century saw a proliferation of books on science. Besides, the literature produced by Fort William College and Delhi College, there were other writers also who wrote on scientific and technical subjects. Captain Thomas Roebuck wrote *Lughat-e-Jahāzrāni* (Dictionary of Navigation, 1811), a dictionary of Urdu navigational terms. John William Peel wrote *Alāt-e-Tabaʿī* (Instruments of Physics, 1830), perhaps the earliest Urdu book on modern physics. There are in the British Museum, London, 11 Urdu books on physics, two on economics, one on geography and seven on other subjects such as astronomy,

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mechanics, the steam engine and even on printing technology, all belonging to the pre-1857 period.

During the last thirty years, hundreds of books on popular science and technology have been published by paperback publishers.

General History

The Shibli Academy, Azamgarh, has published a large number of books on history, such as *Tārīkh-e-Islām* (History of Islam—4 volumes), *Tārīkh-e-Daulat-e-Uthmānia* (History of the Ottoman Empire—2 vols), *Tārīkh-e-Saqalīa* (History of Sicily), *Tārīkh-e-Undlus* (History of Spain), etc. A number of useful books have been published on the medieval period in Indian history, namely, *Hindustān Ke Ahd-e-Vusta Kī Ek Jhalak* (Glimpses of Mediaeval India), *Hindustān Ke Ahd-e-Vusta Ka Fauji Nizam* (Military System of Mediaeval India), *Hindustān Ke Musalmān Hukmrānon Ke Kārnāme* (Achievements of the Muslim Rulers of India), *Tārīkh-e-Sindh* (History of Sind), *Bazm-e-Taimūrīa* (The Mughal Kings), *Bazm-e-Mamlūkīa* (The Slave Kings), and *Bazm-e-Sūfīa* (The Sufis of India).

Literary History

Urdu literary history begins with the *Tazkiras*, handbooks of selected verses giving names, dates and comments on the poets. The first modern Urdu *Tazkira* was by *Maulvī* Karimuddin and F. Fallon, called *Tabaqāt-e-Ṣoarā-e-Hind* (Groups of Indian Poets, 1847). This was followed by Muhammad Husain Azad's *Āb-e-Hayāt*.

The first comprehensive history of Urdu literature was written by the French orientalist Professor Garcin de Tassy of Paris. The professor never visited India, but he assiduously collected all relevant information about India from newspapers, periodicals, books and personal correspondence. Between 1850 and 1869 he gave 19 annual lectures on developments in Urdu language and literature. According to Hamid Hasan Qadri, Garcin de Tassy wrote 17 books on Urdu in French, including a history of Urdu literature. His lectures have been translated into Urdu, but the history is yet to be rendered into Urdu, although Fallon translated it into English and he and Karimuddin drew largely on it for their *Tabaqāt*.

Muhammad Husain Azad, Abdul Haye and others concentrated on poetry and mentioned prose writers only in passing. The first history of Urdu prose was published as late as 1924, when Muhammad Yahya Tanha released his *Siyar-ul-Musannifīn* (Authors' Lives). Ram Babu Saxena's *A History of Urdu Literature* was also published the same year. It was translated into Urdu as *Tārīkh-e-Adab-e-Urdū* by Mirza Muhammad Askari, with revisions and improvements, and published in 1927.

These histories were followed by Saiyyid Muhammad's *Arbāb-e-Nasr-e-Urdū* (Masters of Urdu Prose), Ahsan Mārahravī's *Mansūrāt* (Prose Works), Hakim Ṣamsullah Qadri's *Urdū-e-Qadīm* (Old Urdu), Ejaz Husain's *Mukhtasar Tārīkh-e-Adab-e-Urdū* (Short History of Urdu Literature) which has run into a dozen editions, Idāra-e-Adabiyāt-e-Urdu's *Tārīkh-e-Adab-e-Urdū* (History of Urdu Literature), Mohiuddin Qadri Zore's *Urdū-ke Asālīb-e-Bayān* (Urdu Literary Styles) and Hāmid Hasan Qadrī's *Dāstān-e-Tārīkh-e-Urdū* (Narrative of Urdu's History, 1941), by far the most comprehensive history of Urdu literature so far. Ejaz Husain also wrote *Urdū Adab Āzādī Ke Bād* (Urdu Literature Since Independence), while Muhammad Hasan's *Jadīd Urdū Adab* (Modern Urdu Literature) covers subsequent developments. The last and the most ambitious effort made in this direction was the Aligarh University project of compiling a comprehensive history of Urdu literature. The project is yet to be completed; only the first volume has been released so far.

There have been several evaluations of various forms of literature. Ali Abbas Husaini's *Urdū Novel kī Tārīkh-o-Tanqīd* (History and Criticism of Urdu Novel) was published in 1945. Atīq Siddīqī's *Hindustani Akkbār Navīsī Kampanī Ke Ahd Men* (Indian Journalism during Company Days, 1957) and Imdad Sabri's *Urdū Sahāfat Nigarī* (Urdu Journalism, 4 vols.) are standard works on journalism while Abdul Qadir Sarwari and Viqār Azīm have written on fiction.

Studies of the development of Urdu literature in various regions have also been carried out and published. Thus there are titles like *Dakkan Men Urdū*, *Gujarat Men Urdū*, *Bihār Men Urdū*, *Beṅgāḷ Men Urdū*, *Lucknow ka Dabistān-e-Ṣāirī* (Lucknow School of Poetry), *Delhī-kā-Dabistān-e-Ṣāirī* (Delhi School of Poetry), etc.

A number of Urdu research scholars have specialized in determining the dates of manuscripts or in tracing books, manuscripts and authors. The doyens among these scholars are Masud Hasan Rizvi, Qāzī Abdul Wudūd, Imtiaz Ali Arshi, Mukhtaruddin Ahmad, Mohiuddin Qadri Zore, Malik Ram and Rashid Hasan Khan.

Of late, the Central and the State Governments have been taking particular interest in promoting the Urdu language. Urdu academies have been set up in Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal and Delhi. These academies give annual awards to authors of literary, scientific and technical books, and some of them have their own publication programmes as well.

Encyclopaedias, Dictionaries, etc. The Tarraqi-e-Urdu Board (Board for Promotion of Urdu), set up by the Central Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, has an ambitious programme which includes production of standard books on science and humanities, textbooks for secondary and university stages, books for children and an Urdu encyclo-

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paedia in 12 volumes. Also planned are English-Urdu and Urdu-Urdu dictionaries.

A Note on Style

The evolution of the Urdu prose style has been a movement from the ornate to the simple. Vajhi's *Sab Ras* (1635) was in rhymed Deccani prose. Fazli's *Karbal Kathā* or *Dah Majlis* (1731) is less ornate and has less rhymed phrases. Tahsin's *Nau Tarz-e-Murassa* (1798) seems to rely heavily on Persian and Arabic and involved figures of speech have replaced the rhymed phrases.

With Mir Amman's *Bāgh-o-Bahār* (1803), Urdu prose reaches its glory. Short, simple, idiomatic sentences lead the way to heights of eloquence. Amman's contemporaries Haider Baksh Haideri, Sheikh Hafizuddin, Ikram Ali and Nihal Chand Lahori, also write simple and idiomatic prose. *Rāṇī Ketki ke Kahānī* by Inshaullah Khan (? –1817) proves that the words common to Urdu and Hindi even then were good enough for creative writing. Rajab Ali Beg Surur's *Fasāna-e-Ajaib* (1824) displays a highly embellished and learned style, while Ghalib (1797–1869) gives a new dimension to Urdu prose in his letters. Here one can find the informal, conversational language of Delhi at its best.

Sir Saiyyid Ahmad Khan and Muhammad Husain Azad (1832–1910) are the founders of two different prose styles. The former pays more attention to the message and less to the medium, changing his style according to his subject. In Azad's case, the medium is the message. He wrote and rewrote many a time to achieve aesthetic perfection. The short phrases, the apt similes and metaphors and the elegance of style almost intoxicate the reader. Such a style, however, can only be admired and rarely imitated or emulated. Hence, though practically all writers of beautiful prose remain under the spell of Azad, it is Sir Saiyyid's style that is the basis of modern Urdu.

It is difficult to surmise what shape Urdu prose will take in the future. The pervasive influence of English is becoming evident in all forms of literature. At the same time, Urdu writers in greater numbers are studying the other regional languages of India. Urdu has never hesitated to borrow the best from other languages. Will it now turn to the West or to its Indian roots? Only time will tell.

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Section 9

BIOGRAPHICAL WRITINGS

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Introduction

M. K. NAIK

E. C. Bentley's witty description of biography as 'Geography is about maps/But Biography is about chaps' is manifestly inapplicable to early biography in the Indian languages for the simple reason that it is normally less concerned with persons than with personages and is generally more of hagiography than biography proper. The earliest works in India which could be termed biographical occur in Buddhist literature written in Pali, and they narrate the life story of the Buddha. In fact, great religious teachers, saints and monarchs were practically the only subjects of ancient Indian biographical writing. Furthermore, the art of biography was regarded purely as a branch of the *belles-lettres* and generally used verse as its medium of expression. This naturally made the employment of flights of poetic fancy and romantic hyperbole inevitable and the modern idea of biography as the 'truthful transmission of personality' was evidently not relevant in these circumstances. Again, owing to his stance of reverential admiration for his subject, the ancient Indian biographer could seldom maintain his own 'freedom of spirit', which, according to Lytton Strachey, is another duty of the biographer.

Nevertheless, though biography as a genre as we understand it today was, like many other forms of modern writing, the gift of western education to India, there was a considerable body of biographical writing, mostly of the kind already described in the Indian languages during the centuries before the British conquest. The tradition of the lives of great religious teachers and saints is as old as the *Buddhacarita* of Ashvaghosha in Sanskrit (2nd century A.D.). Ancient Jain literature, both in Sanskrit and Prakrit, abounds in biographies of Mahavira and other saints, and Hindu religious teachers like Sankaracharya, Ramanuja and others have had *Mahākāvyās* and *Campūs* written on them. This tradition is exemplified by Puranas like the *Periya Purāṇam* (12th century) in Tamil, the *Caitanya Bhāgvat* (16th century) in Bengali, the *vastuka* or *campūs* like the *Ādi Purāṇa* (10th century) in Kannada, the several *guru-caritas* (17th and 18th centuries) in Assamese, the *Janam Sākhis* (life stories dealing with Guru Nanak) in Punjabi (16th to 18th centuries), the verse narratives dealing with the lives of Prophet Mohammad and his relatives in Kashmiri (17th century), and the biographies of the Mahanubhava saints in Marathi (13th to 14th centuries), which unlike the general run of ancient Indian biography are in prose, not verse. While all such biographies are frankly hagiographical in spirit, a few are not above maligning gurus of other sects and some also offer interesting vignettes of the social life of the times.

The tradition of the lives of kings can be traced to Bāṇabhaṭṭa's well-known *Harṣacarita* in Sanskrit (7th century). Ancient Tamil Sangham poetry also deals with the lives of kings and men of valour. The *rāso kāvyas* written by court poets in medieval Hindi and the *Vamśāvalis* (genealogies) written in Marvadi in the 16th century are idealized variations of the same royal theme. The *Bakhars* (18th century) in Marathi are a combination of biography and history. The *Mathnavīs* (verse tales in Urdu, 17th century) also

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deal with the lives of rulers while the *Marthia* (elegies) commemorate the martyrs of Karbala.

With the spread of western education in India from the mid-19th century, biography, like prose fiction, gained a distinct identity. Now written in prose, it was liberated from the conventions and attitudes which the employment of verse as a medium of expression had inevitably imposed upon it for centuries. Unfortunately, the model immediately available to the early western-educated Indian biographer was the British Victorian biography, which Lytton Strachey has justly pilloried as 'Those two fat volumes, with which it is our custom to commemorate the dead—who does not know them?—with their ill-digested masses of material, their slipshod style, their tone of tedious panegyric, their lamentable lack of selection, of detachment, of design'. It was thus a case, at least initially, of exchanging the King Log of ancient hagiography for the King Stork of Victorian whitewash, although as the 20th century progressed, the Indian biographer's art did mature, though slowly.

Among the factors which encouraged the steady growth of biography from the closing decades of the 19th century onwards were the Indian's awareness of the need to scrutinize his past, his equally pressing need to come to terms with his colonial present, and his interest in the great men in the western tradition to which he had now been introduced. A practical motive was the need for producing suitable textbooks for curricula in the educational institutions. After Independence, the establishment of Sahitya Akademis in the various languages gave a new impetus to biographical writing with 'men of letters' series being launched in several Indian languages. The western-educated Indian biographer had therefore a far wider choice of subjects than his ancient and medieval forbears. Great religious teachers are still a compelling subject, but with a distinct lowering of the hagiographical temperature, as in the biographies of Sankaradeva by Lakshminath Bezbarua and Maheswar Neogi in Assamese, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's *Kṛṣṇacarita* in Bengali, K. M. Munshi's *Narasaiyo Bhakta Harīno* (Narassaiya, God's devotee) in Gujarati and Jethanand Sanvlani's series of biographies of the Sikh gurus, in Sindhi. Another favourite subject is heroes and heroines of history like Rana Pratap, Shivaji, Ranjit Singh, Rani Lakshmi of Jhansi, etc. and practically every modern Indian language has biographies of this type. The progressive intensification of the Independence movement led to a spate of biographies of freedom-fighters like Tilak, Gokhale, Lala Lajpat Rai, Gandhi, Nehru, and a host of others. While all the Indian languages have produced biographies of Gandhi and Nehru, local heroes have naturally claimed attention in the relevant languages. Biographies of 'Andhra-Kesari' T. Prakasham by K. Venkateswara Sastry in Telugu, of N. C. Bardoloi by Nalinibala Devi in Assamese, and Gopabandhu Das by Nityananda Satpathy in Oriya are representative examples. Along with political leaders, social reformers have also aroused considerable interest. The lives of Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar in Bengali by Benoy Ghosh, Navalram Lakshmiram by Govardhanram Tripathi in Gujarati and K. C. Mamman Mappila by Vasudevan Kartha in Malayalam are cases in point.

Outstanding examples of biographies of writers and artists are Vishnu Prabhakar's *Avāra Maśiha* (The Wandering Messiah), a life of Sarat Candra Chatterjee in Hindi; A.R. Krishna Sastri's biography of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee in Kannada; D. N. Gokhale's study of the great encyclopaedist, Dr. S. V. Ketkar in Marathi; Va. Ra.'s (V. Ramasvami Aiyangar) *Mahākavi Bhāratiyar* in Tamil and Prabhat Kumar Mukhopadhyaya's four-volume biography of Rabindranath Tagore in Bengali. Among lives of artists may be noted G. Krishna Pilla's *Raja Ravi Varma* in Malayalam and Gulam Kuddus's *Surer Āgun*—a biography of the noted singer K. L. Mullik in Bengali. Apart from all these original biographies, a number of biographies in English have been translated into the Indian languages, and practically every Indian language can boast of a number of translations of important biographical works from other Indian languages.

Fictionalized biography, of which André' Maurois' *Ariel* is a prominent model, has been attempted rather sparingly in the Indian languages as in Maheswar Neog's *Bez-*

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baruā: Mānuhjan—a brief account of the early life of Lakshminath Bezbarua, the central figure in modern Assamese literature, in Assamese; A. K. Sengupta's *Udyata Khadga* (Unsheathed Sword) on the life of Subhas Chandra Bose in Bengali; S. K. Kanetkar's biography (*Swapnabhūmi* [Dream World]) of the noted Marathi poet, Madhava Julian, who was a close friend of his, in Marathi; Surendra Mohanty's character-novel *Satābdi Sūrya* (Sun of the Century) on the life of Madhusudan Das, one of the greatest sons of modern Orissa, in Oriya, and K. Surendran's *Kumāran Āśān*, a great modern poet in Malayalam.

Autobiographical writing is not germane to ancient Indian literature, for the Indian tradition believed in the principle of underrating the individual role of the artist, the finished work of art being all-important. The only major exceptions are the biographical accounts of themselves by Banabhatta and Dandin in *Harṣacarita* and *Avantisundari* (7th century) respectively. There were no full-fledged autobiographies in Indian literature before the middle of the 19th century. But once the western model was accepted, autobiography flourished in almost all the Indian languages so well that perhaps the Indian achievement in this form has outstripped that in biography. It is arguable that the Indian mind's innate capacity for rigorous analysis has made intensive self-scrutiny possible; (in biography, this analytical ability has perhaps been frequently subordinated to another characteristically Indian trait, viz. his capacity for reverential admiration) and it is this process that makes for successful autobiography. It is significant that among the few books by modern Indians which have been translated into a number of world languages are the autobiographies of Gandhi, Nehru and Nirad Chaudhuri.

Indian autobiography exhibits a fascinating variety. Foremost among the authors are political figures like Gandhi (in Gujarati), Nehru (in English), Upendranath Bandopadhyaya (in Bengali), Rajendra Prasad (in Hindi), E. M. S. Nambudiripad (in Malayalam), V. D. Savarkar (in Marathi), and others. Social workers like Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar in Bengal, K. Veeresalingam Pantulu in Andhra, Mannath Padmanabhan in Kerala, and D. K. Karve in Maharashtra have also narrated the story of their careers, while Debendranath Tagore and Baba Padamanji have recorded the history of their religious development in Bengali and Marathi respectively. Prominent autobiographies by major writers include works by Lakshminath Bezbarua in Assamese, Rabindranath Tagore and Buddhadeva Basu in Bengali, Narmad and Kalelkar in Gujarati, Bachchan in Hindi, Masti Venkatesh Iyengar and Sivaram Karanth in Kannada, K. P. Kesava Menon in Malayalam, N. S. Phadke and P. K. Atre in Marathi, Kalindi Charan Panigrahi in Oriya and Josh in Urdu.

A noteworthy feature of modern Indian autobiography is that a surprisingly large number of women have written stories of their own lives. They hail from different walks of life. Among them are stage and cinema actresses like Kanan Devi (from Bengal) and Hamsa Wadkar and Durga Khote (from Maharashtra); writers like Amrita Pritam (from Punjab), Lakshmibai Tilak (from Maharashtra), Nalinibala Devi (from Assam), T. Hemalata (from Andhra) and Nayantara Sehgal (who wrote in English); women in public life like Vijayalakshmi Pandit (whose autobiography, *The Scope of Happiness* was written in English), Janaki Devi Bajaj who wrote in Hindi, and Sirinben and Sharadaben Mehta (from Gujarat); and wives of men in public life like B. Kalliani Amma (wife of the Kerala freedom-fighter, Swadesabhimani K. Ramakrishna Pilla) and Ramabai Ranade (wife of Justice M. G. Ranade) and Anandibai Karve (wife of Bharatratna D. K. Karve)—both from Maharashtra. There are even examples of fascinating autobiographies by housewives, e.g. Rasasundari Devi in Bengali and Anandibai Vijapure in Marathi.

Memoirs, pen-portraits, sketches, diaries and letters are also forms of biographical and autobiographical writing and while every Indian language provides many examples, only a few are outstanding like Mahadevi Verma's memoirs—*Path ke Sāthi* (Fellow Travellers) in Hindi, V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's *Thumbnail Sketches* in English, the Diary of Anandarangam Pillai in Tamil (18th century) translated into English and published

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in 7 volumes, Mahadevbhai Desai's Diary (in 16 volumes) in Gujarati and the letters of the Gujarati poet, Kalapi and the Urdu poet, Mirza Ghalib.

'It is perhaps as difficult to write a good life as to live one', says Lytton Strachey. It can hardly be claimed that the Indian languages contain works of biography in the same class as Boswell's *Life of Johnson* or Lytton Strachey's *Eminent Victorians;* but as far as autobiography is concerned, books like Gandhi's *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, Nehru's *Autobiography* and Nirad C. Chaudhuri's *The Autobiography of an Unknown Indian* can certainly rank with the best in this genre in world literature.

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Assamese

GOBINDA PRASAD SARMA

Introduction

Biography in Assamese literature had its beginning in the 17th century when following the death of Sankaradeva (Śaṅkaradeva, 1449–1568), the great neo-Vaishnavite saint, preacher and writer of Assam, his followers took up the task of recounting the manifold events of his life. Narration of the life story of this Vaishnava saint soon became a sacred practice for the disciples, especially for the clerics in the *satras* (Vaishnava monasteries). It is thus that old Assamese literature came to have an abundance of biographical writings. Recounting the life of Sankaradeva also meant to the Vaishnava devotees recounting the life of Madhavadeva (Mādhavadeva, 1489–1596), Sankaradeva's chief disciple, dearest associate and immediate successor in his religious order, who was also a writer of equal rank. Thus a biography of Sankaradeva in the Vaishnava age also becomes *pari passu* a biography of Madhavadeva. After them there were other apostles and preachers whose lives too became the subjects of biography for their followers. Indeed in the Vaishnava *satras*, to preserve the written records of the life and activities, not only of the saints and other major preachers but also of the successive *adhikārs* or abbots of the *satras* has been an established practice; and each *satra* possesses in this way heaps of records of the lives of saints, apostles and other devotees.

How far these life stories of the religious masters narrated by their obsequious devotees are objective and authentic is, however, a different matter. In medieval European literature, where too, such writings exist in plenty, those which indulge in exaggeration and supernaturalism, have been called hagiographies, not biographies. Significantly enough, in Assamese too, these biographies of the 17th and 18th centuries have come to be known as *guru-caritas* or *caritas* (guru-carita), and not as *jivanis* (jīvanī) or biographies proper. And these *caritas* or hagiographies too, like those in medieval European literature, are generally full of exaggerated and supernatural events. There has not been an attempt in these *caritas* to look upon the subject as a human being with all his innate frailties. Instead, the subject is always shown as a god in the form of man with his superhuman and supernatural qualities. The only difference between a good *carita* and a bad one lies in the proportion of exaggerated events and supernatural elements.

Most of these *caritas* are in verse. A few of them, of the 18th century, however, have been in prose. All of them have not yet been collected from the *satras* and catalogued and preserved in libraries or research institutes, while fewer still have been edited and published. Those classified or published would number about fifty.

We shall mention or discuss here only a few outstanding *caritas* where the zeal of a hagiographer has not completely marred their qualities as biographies. A true biography is the re-creation in writing, of the person's life, with a study of the interaction of his life, time and society in a literary or artistic form. A good biographer, while vividly portraying the subject, should never mutilate or twist his personality or character in any way. We shall apply the measuring stick of a good biography based on this theory of the western scholars like Harold Nicholson, John A. Garraty and Paul Murray Kendall in our assessment of Assamese biographies and hagiographies.

Old Period

Three *caritas* of the Old or Vaishnava period of Assamese literature deserve notice here. They are: *Śaṅkaradeva-Mādhavadevar Jīvan-Caritra* by Daityari Thakur (Daityāri Ṭhākur, late 16th–early 17th centuries) composed in the first half of the 17th century. *ŚrīŚrīŚaṅkaradeva* by Bhusan Dwija (Bhūṣaṇ Dvija, late 16th–early 17th centuries) composed in the first half of the 17th century, and *ŚrīGuru-Caritra* by Ramananda Dwija (Rāmānanda Dvija, 17th century), composed in the latter half of the same century. All in verse, these three too, like the other hagiographies of the period, are written with the conviction of the authors that their subject Sankaradeva was an incarnation of God. As such these too abound, like the others, in exaggerations

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and supernatural events. Even then these three authors prove their sobriety in handling matters. Besides, these *caritas* show some artistic or literary quality in form and language.

In the later stage of the Old Period of Assamese biography which covers the 18th century, the authors, being farther away in time from their subjects like Sankara and Madhava, imposed generally more godly qualities on them. The hagiographies of this period therefore abound in more exaggeration and supernatural elements. But while these hagiographies thus lose to some extent authenticity and accuracy, they gain in another aspect. They present much more materials not only of the subjects' lives but also of contemporary life, society and politics. They have thus proved to be good source-materials for the history of the time. This abundance of materials in the later *caritas* is due to the wider spread of religion with the gradual establishment of more and more *satras* throughout the length and breadth of the north-east region. Religious men travelled from *satra* to *satra* in order to gather more information about the lives and ideals of their gurus, learning in the process more about the life, society and politics in various areas of the region.

This is not to imply that these masses of facts collected in various regions could not, at any time, be arranged in the form of a good biography. The *Kathā-Gurucarita*, the prose-hagiography, as the title indicates, written in the first half of the 18th century by some anonymous writer or writers, is the best instance of a later-day hagiography of some excellence. However, though a biography is generally written about one person, this vast *carita* depicts the lives, not only of Sankara and Madhava, but also of nine other subsequent apostles, presenting in the process, a mass of information about the contemporary milieu. It thus betrays a tendency towards a chronicle of the Vaishnava order. In spite of this, it is a hagiography of the higher order because of its fine portrayal of the lives of the two saints with minute details and vividness in a very charming, yet simple and racy prose style.

Subsequent works are mostly a rehash of the familiar materials, bearing a new unhealthy trend. As time passed, Sankara and Madhava's Vaishnava religion had had many sects, each finding its own founder in some apostle, though in reality, he might be a disciple of Sankara. The hagiographers of such scions, while eulogizing and deifying their gurus and glorifying their sect, very often indulge in mud-throwing on other sects and their gurus. Of the *caritas* that do not stoop to such a game, mention may be made here of two of the best: Ramananda Dwija's (Ramānanda Dvija) *Bangśigopāldevar Carita* (mid-17th century) and Nilakantha Das's (Nīlakaṇṭha Dās) *Deva Dāmodar Caritra* (18th century). The first one is marked by the lively depiction of its subject in a rather poetic style, while the second is marked by a sound restraint in the handling of materials.

Modern Period

As the British established their rule in Assam with the Yandabu Pact of 1826, the Christian missionaries along with their proselytization had started spreading western education and using the spoken Assamese language as a vehicle for their literature. Soon native Assamese people too rose to the occasion, acquired western education, studied its literature and thus took to creating literature in popular Assamese. Modern Assamese literature, secular-humanistic in nature and quite distinct from earlier religious literature, had thus made its beginning towards the second half of the 19th century. Modern Assamese biography, also secular-humanistic in nature, had its birth at about the same time.

The first Assamese biography of this period is *Ānanda Rām Dhekiāl Phukanar Jīvan Caritra* (1880) by Gunaviram Barua (Guṇābhirām Baruvā, 1837–94). The subject here, instead of being a religious leader as in an earlier *carita*, is a literary figure of the mid-19th century. Ananda Ram, by profession a civil servant under the British, had fought for the re-establishment of Assamese language as the medium of instruction in schools instead of the prevalent Bengali language. Having written a few books for the same purpose, he acquired the status of a hero asserting the identity of the Assamese people and their culture. Besides this change in the nature of the subject which is very significant, there have been changes in many other respects in this biography which are all indicative of the modern biography of the West. The attempt to deify the hero at all costs has been discarded here, though the author is still reverential to the subject. The life story of the subject has been told with the help of ascertained facts alone, though there are no footnotes or documentary evidences to prove the statements. Further, though the life story is narrated chronologically and in an apparently unadorned language, it still makes interesting reading. This first biography of the modern period, therefore, has risen above many usual deficiencies of a pioneering work, and has preserved its place in Assamese biography.

There is, however, one aspect in which we see here an undesirable tendency. The author, in being all along respectful to his subject, has been blind to his human frailties. But this is a flaw which is recurrent in all the biographies of this period, good, bad and indifferent.

Biographies of this modern period can be divided into four groups according to the nature of their subject. These are: the biographies of literary and cultural leaders; those of political or national leaders; those of religious or spiritual leaders; and those of persons belonging to fields other than these. We shall also include in the fourth group collections of biographical essays or sketches.

Cultural Heroes. Coming first to the biographies of cultural

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or literary figures, it may be said that though their number is large, the quality of most of these is such that only a few deserve our notice here. After Gunaviram Barua's *Ānanda Rām Dhekiāl Phukan*, there is Suryya Kumar Bhuyan's (Sūryya Kumār Bhūña, 1894–1964) *Anundoram Barooah* (Ānanda Rām Baruvā, 1920). The good qualities of a biography, authenticity and accuracy of facts, and treatment of the subject as a human being, are all present here. It improves upon Barua's *Dhekiāl Phukan* in that whereas Barua presented the facts, all authentic and accurate, in the manner of story-telling, Bhuyan presents them in this biography always with the help of evidences and by quoting sources. This biography by Bhuyan, who was a tireless historian, bears the sign thus of his effort to collect materials of the life of this erudite Sanskritist of the second half of the 19th century, an I.C.S. officer, from different places of Assam, the then unpartitioned Bengal, London and Oxford. Himself a writer and scholar, Bhuyan has also offered here assessments of Barooah's Sanskrit works which all came in the wake of the Indian Renaissance. Bhuyan takes meticulous care to make his biography authoritative, accurate and convincing. But even after all these, it must be said that Bhuyan's success here is limited. In spite of so many facts and details of Barooah's life, the biographer has not been able to conjure up the living man in his pages. Also Bhuyan's language, though precise, expressive and idiomatic, is rather dull for a biography which bears a dual identity of history and creative literature. But there is no denying the fact that with its wealth of materials gathered scientifically and arranged systematically as well as with the assessment of the subject's life and works, this work will be considered a major work among scholarly biographies.

Sarbeswar Sarma Kataki's (Sarbeśvar Śarmā Kaṭakī, 1896–1946) *Hem Candra Barūā* (1927), and *Satyanāth Borā* (1928), two figures who were at the helm of modern Assamese language and literature, the first one in the second half of the 19th century and the second one, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, are also notable biographies. In both the biographies, all important facts, sometimes even less known facts, of the subjects' lives, find a place. However, there is no attempt at presenting the materials in an artistic form in either of the biographies.

Maheswar Neog's (b. 1918) *Bezbaruā: Mānuhjan* (1938) is only a biographical essay on the early life of Lakshminath Bezbaroa, the central figure of modern Assamese literature of the early 20th century. But even then, this essay needs mention here because it happens to be the only attempt in Assamese at the New Biography or Novelized Biography. But Neog has missed his mark here. A New Biography is one where the subject's life is built up with a few selected and well-scrutinized materials arranged artistically, and not with all the available materials put just chronologically. The emphasis here is on bringing out the man alive and making the book pleasant reading. It is also seen here that the subject does not become all along an object of reverence; and for this, he is often even satirized. For its emphasis on artistic arrangements of materials and readability, a new biography is also known as a novelized biography while for its satirical, anti-reverential overtone it has also earned the term 'debunking biography'. Considering all these, there was need for more drastic selection and careful scrutiny of the materials in Neog's work. Irony and satire are also not conspicuous here. However, the prose style and the artistic arrangement of the materials—two important traits of a new biography—deserve credit.

Another biographical essay by a young writer, Akshay Kumar Mishra (Akṣay Kumār Miśra) entitled *Paṇḍit Nārāyaṇ Dēv Miśra: Mānuhjan* (1973) also needs mention here. It is the only attempt in Assamese at intuitive biography. An intuitive biography is one written with imagined incidents and details that could be probable in the life of the subject as intuitively guessed by the biographer. Such a biographer must perforce have a good idea of the subject's personality and character. Mishra has also been able to conjure up the personality of the traditional Sanskrit scholar here very nicely with imagined incidents and details based on his intimate knowledge of the subject's character and personality.

We may next mention Abdus Sattar's (Ābdus Chāttār, b. 1922) *Kṛṣṇakānta Hāndiqui* (1975). This biography of the eminent scholar shows strict economy in the presentation of materials as well as in the handling of the language, though many unknown facts of the life and works of this dedicated orientologist who lived a carefully secluded life, making himself thereby a legend in his lifetime itself, come to light in this first full length biography of the scholar. It is all along neat and orderly; but the subject remains lifeless. Also, like most other Assamese biographies, it is one-sided and eulogistic.

Nanda Talukdar (Nanda Tālukdār, 1935–83) had a comparatively short span of life, yet he has about half a dozen biographies coming out in quick succession to his credit. An industrious biographer, Talukdar works hard in gathering materials. His biographies, therefore, are full of information. But one wishes he had a stricter sense of analysis of the collected facts along with an individual view point about his subject. The absence of the last mentioned qualities causes his biographies to suffer from lack of a central motif or focal point. His language is no more than functional, and thus not ideal for a biography with creative overtones. We may mention here three of his comparatively good biographies, viz. *Kaṇaklāl Baruvā* (1972), a biography of the reputed historian of early Assam and a civil servant under the British, *Vanaphular Kavi Dowerah* (1970), a biography of one of the major romantic poets of the mid-20th century, and *Hēm Baruā* (1978), Talukdar's second and enlarged biography of the founder

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of post-war modern Assamese literature and a political leader of repute.

National Leaders. Coming to the second group of biographies of the political or national leaders, we see that the British period of Assamese literature which had brought in the modern Assamese biography, was also the period of our freedom movement. Political leaders who had played significant roles in this movement and made hard sacrifices now came to be regarded as ideal men or heroes and thus became fit subjects for biography. It can only be expected, therefore, that these biographies would be fervent with the spirit of hero-worship and that they lack any objective analysis. But what is worse with these biographies is that they also show the authors' apathy towards the hard work of collecting materials, either first-hand from the fields or second from published books. As a result, they generally cannot portray the subject in the round. Also, these biographers very often lack artistic qualities. It is for these reasons that, inspite of a heap of biographies on Gandhi, Assamese literature still lacks a good or even a standard biography of him.

One important biography of this group is *Smṛtitīrtha* (1948) by Nalinibala Devi (1898–1978). It is a biography of Nabin Chandra Bardaloi (Navīn Candra Bardaləi; 1876–1936), an illustrious national leader and statesman. Written by his daughter who was a reputed poet, it is not only laudatory throughout but also full of emotional warmth. But it presents all the important events of the subject's life which covered the most important phase of the Congress movement in Assam from the beginning till the thirties of this century. Also it makes a rare effort in Assamese biography to portray the subject in a lively way with many small details of his private life.

The next biography worth mentioning is *Maṇirām Devān* (1950) by Benudhar Sharma (Veṇudhar Śarmā, 1894–1982). Sharma is an Assamese prose master of the top rank and a discerning historian. He is, therefore, a fit person to write a biography of Maniram Dewan, a statesman of the beginning of the British rule in Assam, who from his rank of a high official under the earlier Ahom rule, became a tea-planter and statesman under the new British regime and soon became a rebel against the British until he was hanged by them in 1857. A biography of such a man needed a historian to write because this first martyr of Assam's freedom struggle soon came to be living only in people's memory and in songs and ballads. The author here has done commendable research work by bringing to light many forgotten facts and recreating the life of the martyr with hard labour. Though in this way it is a valuable research work in history, as a biography it is rather shapeless.

Mahadev Sharma's *Gopīnāth Bardalai* (1956) is sincerely written with all the important facts, incidents and events of the life of this popular leader and freedom fighter of the last phase of the freedom movement, who became the first Chief Minister of Assam in Independent India. It also contains many private incidents of this public leader's life along with extracts from his diaries which throw light on his personality. But it bears no sign of an authoritative biography, the method of recounting the life here being that of a story-teller.

But when we come to the next biographer Praphulladatta Goswami (Praphulladatta Gosvāmī, b. 1921) in his *Māṇik Chandra Barooah* (1977), we come to a biographer who knows his job and responsibility well and does his work neatly. His subject, an independent-minded statesman of Assam of the second half of the 19th century and the first two decades of the present century, gave leadership to the State in matters of education and politics. Goswami reconstructs Manik Chandra's life by taking the records of his life not only from second hand sources of the few existing life-sketches and a small biography, but also from first hand sources like records and papers in the government offices and other institutions and organizations and also from the lips of old persons. Again his materials are not simply those concerning the life and activity of the subject but also such as throw light on his age and society in economic, political and moral aspects and on his personality and character as well. And he has done a fine job by using these materials not just systematically but skilfully. The result is a nice biography in the trend of Life-and-Time-Account that lays emphasis not so much on the artistic side but on the side of depicting the life and times of the subject with accuracy. The success of the biographer here is such that over and above depicting the subject and his age accurately, he has been able to bring out the subject as a living human being to a great extent with the help of many small details of the subject's private life.

Satyendranath Barkataki's (Satyendranāth Barkaṭakī, b. 1917) *Napoleon Bonaparte* (vol. I, 1973; vol. II, 1977; vol. III, 1978) is another important biography of this group. Though based on second-hand materials gathered from published books, it bears the sign of the author's competence in the selection and analysis of the materials to write out a standard, authentic work unlike other Assamese biographies of this nature on the lives of persons outside Assam or India. This too is a Scholarly Biography.

Religious Personalities. The third group of biography concerned with the religious or spiritual figures betray a respectful fervour towards the subjects. But still these biographies differ from the earlier hagiographies as they look upon the subjects not as gods but as men, albeit extraordinary. These biographies are also free from supernatural elements. However, this comment is valid only about the best of the lot. As for the bad ones which are larger in number, they are not only indifferent to truth and worshipful

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towards the subject but also smack of their authors' neglect of systematic research and hard work.

The first biographer of this group to deserve attention here is Lakshminath Bezbarua (1868–1938). Both his biographies, *Śaṅkaradeva* (1912) and *Mahāpuruṣ Śrī-Śaṅkaradeva āru Śrīmādhavadeva* (1916) based on two earlier hagiographies, are good in the sense that they are free from exaggeration and supernaturalism. The worshipful attitude persists; but the two saints are still considered human beings. The author, being a top writer of the early phase of the modern Assamese literature, has made his biographies pleasant reading.

When we come next to Maheswar Neog's *ŚrīŚrīŚaṅkaradeva* (1949), we see Assamese religious biography not only attaining maturity but also at its best. Neog the eminent scholar and writer has winnowed and sifted the whole mass of materials in the earlier hagiographies and chronicles to gather facts and details of the saint's life and character and has written this biography with the critical mind of a scholar-biographer. The works and the philosophy behind them are also assessed aptly. What is more, the subject has been placed against the broader perspective of the all-India Vaishnava movement of the time. This comes out thus to be the best scholarly biography in Assamese. Bapchandra Mahanta's *Mahāpuruṣ Śaṅkaradeva* (1964) is also a noteworthy biography of the great saint.

The next biography *Harihar Ātā* (1960) by Suryya Kumar Bhuyan is a unique work in the sense that it traces with meticulous care the human traits of the subject, a Vaishnava Elderman of the 18th century, who commanded wide respect as a strictly religious man. In this aspect, this religious Elderman, always strict and stern in his religious practices which he made inseparable from his private life too, emerges as a lovable and amusing personality. A by-product of Bhuyan's more serious historical studies, this biography with less emphasis on facts and figures than on the portraiture of the subject's personality and character, is thus a religious biography with a difference.

Men of Other Fields

We now come to the biographies of the persons in the fields other than those covered already. Such biographies, though many, are not of much significance, being generally based on second hand materials, betraying the author's inability to handle materials or to present them in a delightful way. As for the collections of biographical essays and sketches, one work needs special mention here. It is Benudhar Sharma's *Arghyāvalī* (1967), which is a collection of biographical essays. The essays are written in the vein of subjective essays with emphasis on the personal traits of the subjects and the driving forces behind their life's mission. No essay is burdened with dry facts and figures; on the other hand, care has always been taken to make the reading delightful.

Praphulladatta Goswami's *Eṭi Jīyā Kāhinī* (1979) is another distinguished work of this category. It has come to occupy a unique place for two reasons. First, its subject is an ordinary person quite unfamiliar to the people of his time. Such unknown figures who did not have a public life had not become the subject of a biography in Assamese earlier. Secondly, the exposition of the life here is very pleasant. It is done in the method of story-telling. The subject's life being quite unusual and adventurous and the method of narration of such a life being that of story-telling, this book was recognized almost immediately on its publication, as one of the few very delightful biographies in Assamese.

There is as yet no translation of any important biography from other languages. However, Boswell's *Life of Johnson* has been abridged and rendered into Assamese by Raihan Shah (Rāyhan Śāh, b. 1914), under the title *James Boswellor Samuel Johnsonor Jīvanī* (1974).

Allied Branches

Compared to biography, Assamese literature is poor in its allied branches of autobiography, memoir, reminiscence and diary.

Autobiography. Lakshminath Bezbaroa's autobiography, *Mor Jīvan Śovaraṇ* (part I, 1945; part II, 1961), and his contemporary writer Padmanath Gohain Barua's *Mor Śovaraṇi* (1971), both published posthumously, are good works written in charming styles and bringing to light many important facts. In a different key is *Harkānta Sadar Āminar Ātmajīvanī* (1960) by Harkanta Majindar Barua (1815–1901). A day-to-day record of this British Government servant's life in the 19th-century Assam, this book has already made its mark as a treasure-house of authentic facts and information about the economic, political and social conditions of Assam in that period. The first two parts of the book covering the period from his birth till 1856 are written in the form of an autobiography. However, the last part that covers the period from 1856 to 1890 is in the form of an elaborate diary. But even this portion must be treated as autobiography because the author's original diary of this period was rewritten in the present form later, though it still retains the dates of record. Its language appears archaic today; but its simple colloquial style has a charm of its own.

Eri Ahā Dinbor (1976) by Nalinibala Devi is a good autobiography of the poet written in a sensitive style. In the same key are *Mor Jīvan Dapoṇ* (1969) by Benudhar Rajkhowa (1872–1955) and *Atītar Śovaraṇī* (1969) by Sailadhar Rajkhowa (1890–1968), both of them being writers of repute.

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Memoir. *Kṛṣṇa Śarmār Diary* (1972) by Krishnanath Sharma (Kṛṣṇānāth Śarmā), published posthumously, is a good memoir of a dedicated freedom fighter's life in the early part of the present century. This memoir, not a diary, though called so in the title, has proved itself to be a valuable source of information about the Congress Movement in Assam.

Congressar Kāciyali Radat (1959) by Benudhar Sharma is another very important memoir that reflects the Congress Movement in Upper Assam during the author's youth, more particularly in the twenties and thirties of the present century. The author tells, in his typically charming style, the story of his involvement in the movement as it touched the towns and villages around him under the magnetic influence of Gandhi. The author's personal tone in the narration makes it a more valuable work than Krishnanath Sharma's.

Reminiscence. Nazar Ali's (1879–1957) *Mor Jīvanar Kicu Kathā* (1969) is a very good reminiscence of the author's private life. The author, who was no more than a primary school master in an interior village, gives here an impression of village life, especially Muslim village life, in Assam in the early part of the present century while recollecting his own life.

Diary. Only one diary in Assamese has been published so far. That is the diary of Lakshminath Bezbarua published under the title *Dinlekhā* (1969) and under the editorship of Maheswar Neog.

Translations. Assamese autobiographical literature has a few translations of some outstanding Indian autobiographies in English. Chief among them is Gandhi's *My Experiments with Truth* translated by Omeo Kumar Das (Amiya Kumār Dās, 1895–1975) and published in the forties under the title *Mor Satya Anveṣaṇar Kāhinī* (1953). This charming translation bears the fruit of the translator's good understanding of Gandhi's mind and ideal, he himself being a sincere Gandhian and a nationalist leader. Another famous autobiography, also well translated, is that of Nehru by Narendranath Sarma under the title *Ātma-Jīvan Carit* (1964).

Conclusion

By way of conclusion it may be observed that in all Assamese biographies, both old and modern, the reverential or laudatory attitude of the authors towards their subjects is a very easily marked common trait. Even the single piece of new biography is not shorn of this trait. The worshipful attitude of the hagiographers is understandable against the deep-seated Indian tradition of guru-worship. But even in the British and post-British periods the tendency persists—not exactly the same worshipful tenor, but a laudatory or respectful one. In the British period, it is certainly a manifestation of the nationalistic spirit. The biographer in this period took to writing biography not to study man as man as it is done in many good western biographies, but to pay homage to the heroic qualities of their leaders in order to assert their national, cultural or religious identity or to inspire their countrymen with the ideals of their heroes. This is understandable in the case of a subjugated nation engaged in a freedom struggle. But why should the same spirit continue when the situation is different? The reasons are apparently two. The first is the continuation of the inherent Indian tradition of guru-worship as well as the hang-over of the nationalistic spirit of the earlier period of the Freedom Struggle. The second is the percolation of the British Victorian sense of morality or prudery and the Victorian ideal of hero-worship into the 20th-century Assamese society. This percolation has been possible either because of the biographers' direct study of Victorian literature, especially of Victorian stalwarts like Tennyson and Carlyle, or because of the influence on them of a few famous scholar-teachers of English of the past. Very often the students of these illustrious teachers also influence the biographers as teachers, writers or leaders. Therefore in Assamese, biographies which are historically sound and artistically of high class are not many.

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Bengali

DEVIPADA BHATTACHARYA

The Background

The writing of biography was practically non-existent in Bengali literature prior to the advent of Sri Caitanya Dev (1486–1533). Caitanya's 'Bhakti' movement brought in a socio-religious and literary revolution in Bengal and Orissa. He was regarded as an *avatāra* (incarnation) of Vishnu and Sri Krishna (Kṛṣṇa) by his devotees and followers. The earliest work on the life of Caitanya is *Caitanya-Caritāmṛta*, a metrical narrative composed in Sanskrit by Murari Gupta, a resident of Navadvipa and a contemporary. It consists of four '*prakramas*' (sections) and remains a valuable record of Caitanya's life although many extraneous and miraculous legends find a place in it. Next came another *Caitanya-Caritāmṛta* (1542) by Paramananda Sen, son of Sivananda Sen, a close associate of Caitanya. He was awarded the title of 'Kavikarṇapūra' for his poetic talent by Caitanya himself. His 'maha-kavya' (epic) consists of 20 *Sargas* (cantos) depicting all the major events of Caitanya's life and presenting him as a deliverer of mankind, an incarnation of Śrīkṛṣṇa. He also wrote a biographical drama in 10 acts: *Caitanya-Candrodaya-Nāṭaka* (1572) at the command of Gajapati Prataparudra, king of Orissa. He was partly influenced by Śri Kṛṣṇa Misra's allegorical drama *Prabodha-Candrodaya* and introduced some allegorical characters in his work. It is the first biographical drama, based on the life of a contemporary religious personality. Biographical Kavyas in Sanskrit paved the way for writing metrical narratives in Bengali on the life of Caitanya and his followers. The Vaishnavas in Bengal were thus responsible for creating a new genre in Bengali literature.

Vṛndāvan Dās, a disciple of Nityānanda, was the pioneer in writing in Bengali the most important biography of Caitanya in metrical verse, *Caitanya Bhāgavat* (1548), in three parts, of which the last remains incomplete. It was composed within fifteen years of the death of Caitanya. The earlier part of Caitanya's life, his human side, has been faithfully portrayed in the book. Occasional inclusions of supernatural elements, however, are not lacking in it. The book was written not only to identify Caitanya with Sri Krishna but also to highlight the activities of Nityananda, his 'guru'.

Locan Das, son of Kamalākar Das of Kogram and a disciple of Narahari Sarkar, wrote *Caitanyamaṅgal* divided into four khandas (parts). It was meant to be sung, and truly speaking, its value is more poetical than historical. Another poet Jayananda Das, disciple of Gadadhar Pandit, composed a different *Caitanyamaṅgal* in nine parts, which is rather unorthodox in content and attitude. He is the only biographer of Caitanya who narrates his death caused by wounds in his left leg. His work, as also that of Locan, belongs to the last quarter of the 16th century, when the Caitanya legend had been firmly rooted in Bengal. Of all the 'lives' of Caitanya the best is *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* (1615) in Bengali by Krishnadās Kavirāj. The Caitanya school of Vaishnavism grew up at Vrindavan after the demise of Caitanya Dev, under the scholarly guidance of the Six Goswamins. He narrates elaborately the closing years of Caitanya's life, especially his practices of *gopi bhāva* or *Rādhā Bhāva*. His book deals with the theological aspects of the 'Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava' sect and so is more a *Caritāmṛta* (homage) than a *carita* (biography). Mention may also be made of Cudāmaṇi Das's *Gaurāṅga-vijay* (The Triumph of Gaurāṅga) written in the 17th century. Other biographical kavyas include *Advaitamaṅgal*, *Narottoma Vilās* (The Līla of Narottam), *Premavilās* (Līla of Love), *Bhakti-ratnākar* (Ocean of Bhakti) etc. They possess valuable material on the history of Vaishnava groups or sects in Bengal.

It has to be admitted that in mediaeval Bengal writing a 'biography', i.e. the history of the life of a particular person as an individual man, was unthinkable. These biographies rather belong to 'Hagiography' (Lives of the Saints) as the purpose of these writers was the deification of Caitanya and his associates. But in spite of the inclusion of miracles and incredible stories these biographies, like the *Lives of the Saints* in the West, may be treated as rich mines of information about the social conditions of the times and the ways and customs of the people.

The Modern Period

Whereas 'other-worldliness' remained the basic philosophy of life in mediaeval Bengal, 'this worldliness' overtook society as it approached the more modern period. It flourished in the changed socio-political structure of Bengal from the early 18th century. Both the banks of the river Gaṅgā (Ganges) were now under the commercial dominance of western mercantile companies, which subsequently led to the victory in Plassey in 1757. The new 'rajas' who were installed were actually the servants of the East India Company, having no ancestral pedigree. This was a group of the 'new-rich' people who served as brokers and middle-

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men of the Company and grew enormously rich. They made themselves prominent in society. Raja Navakrishna Dev (Navakṛṣṇa Dev), Raja Krishnakanta Roy (Kṛṣṇakānta) and other 'New rājās' belong to this category. People like Rāmdulāl Sarkār or Motilāl Śīl also started life as the poorest of the poor, but later earned crores of rupees by dint of their commercial acumen. No wonder that a metrical composition Kāntanāmā (In Praise of Kānta) came to be written by Manullā Mandal in praise of Krishnakanta Ray of Cossimbazar Raj, or that a Derozean, Kishory Chand Mittra, agreed to write the life of Motilal Sil in English.

In the first half of the 19th century, Calcutta was the field of activity of distinguished individuals like Rammohan Roy (1772–1833), the first modern man in India, Dwarakanath Tagore (1795–1846), a leader of the rising national bourgeoisie and a pioneer in industrial and banking enterprises, David Hare (1775–1842), the Scottish humanist, Rādhākānta Dev (1784–1867), a conservative Hindu but an enthusiastic supporter of the western system of education and others who were responsible for bringing about the spirit of renaissance in Bengal. The rise of rich and enlighted 'individuals' demanded a new kind of biography or 'the biography proper'. Pearychand Mittra (1814–83) wrote the 'lives' of David Hare (1877), Ramkamal Sen (1880) and Colesworthy Grant (1881); his brother Kishory Chand followed him with the 'memoirs' of Dwarkanath Tagore (1870), Radhakanta Dev (1867) and others. Rev. Lālbehary Day (1824–94) wrote 'Recollections of Alexander Duff' (1879), a very remarkable book on the life of the distinguished Scottish missionary. These writings in English paved the way for informative biography in Bengali.

With the introduction of movable metallic types for the Bengali alphabet for printing N. B. Halhed's *A Grammar of Bengal Language* (1778) and the establishment of Fort William College (1800) in Calcutta, Bengali prose began to make headway. Prose became the most effective medium for the propagation of thoughts and ideas. This was an age of reason and of prose. The first full-scale biography in prose, the 'Life' of Bhavanīcaran Bandyopādhyāy (1787–1848), editor of *Samācar Candrikā* and secretary of Dharma Sabhā (an organisation of the conservative Hindus) was published in 1849 by his son; it was a panegyric from beginning to end.

Didactic biographical sketches found their way into the text books for schools. Spread of western education through schools actually took place after Macaulay's *Minutes* were accepted (1835). Īśwarcandra Vidyāsāgar (1820–91), the great educationist and humanist, felt it necessary to impart moral lessons through school-books and biographies, and himself compiled *Jīvancarit* (Lives) in 1849, adapted from *A Miscellany of Useful and Entertaining Tracts*. Similar text books with a didactic tone were issued by Kālimay Ghatak, Śambhucandra (brother of Vidyasagar) and others. These books follow Plutarch's motto that his *Lives* should combine both 'pleasure and instruction'.

After the Bethume School of Girls was founded in Calcutta in 1849, female education began to spread, though at a slow pace at first. The 'Young Bengal' group of the Hindu (later, Presidency) College, the members of the Brahmo Samaj and men of progressive outlook like Vidyasagar and Devendranath Tagore (1817–1905) extended a helping hand to this movement. After the death of David Hare (1842) the 'Hare Prize Fund Committee' in 1851 declared a prize for writing an 'exemplary biography of females in oriental and modern times'. In response were written Nilmaṇi Basak's *Navanāri* (New Woman, 1852), Martha Saudamini Sinha's *Nāri Carit* (Lives of Women, 1865), and Gopikrishna Mitra's *Mahilavali* (Women, 1867), with the purpose of imparting 'moral education'.

A new venture in the writing of 'lives' was made by Iswarcandra Gupta (1812–59), editor of *Saṁvād Prabhākar*. The journalist-poet collected details of the life of poet Bhārat Candra Ray, who had died in 1760 and published a 'life' in 1855. He also printed in his journal 'lives' of 'Kaviwalas' (minor poet-singers) who flourished under the patronage of the 'neo-rich' class of Calcutta and its suburbs in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

Bankimchandra Chatterjee (1838–94), the great novelist and thinker, wrote a book called *Kṛṣṇacaritra* (1886) in which he treated Śrīkṛṣṇa not as God but as an Ideal man. The influence came from Bentham, Herbert Spencer and J. S. Mill. In this respect his attitude is similar to that of Renan as noticed in his *Life of Jesus*. It is also quite probable that Bankim was familiar with *Ecce Homo* (1866) of Robert Seeley (1834–95).

On the other hand, taking his cue from Johnson's (1709–84) *Lives of the Poets*, Bankim wrote biographical sketches and made evaluations of his contemporary writers like Ishvarchandra Gupta, Pearychand Mitra, Dīnabandhu Mitra and Sañjībcandra Chatterjee (Cattopadhyay), his elder brother. Johnson believed that 'Lives' can only be written from personal knowledge, and Bankim followed Johnson's instructions quite faithfully.

Historical and Political Biographies

A new type of biography, 'historical biography', was introduced by Ramram Basu (assistant to William Carey) in *Rājā Pratāpāditya Caritra* (1801), but it was no more than a school text. After the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, the spirit of nationalism came to pervade the minds of a large section of the people which found expression in the organizing of the 'Hindu Melā' (Hindu Fair, 1867) and the founding of the 'Indian Association' (1876). As a result, biographies of eminent freedom-fighters, both Indian and foreign, began to be written in Bengali. *Lives of Mazzini and Garibaldi*

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(the leaders of the unification of Italy) came from the pen of Jogendranāth Vidyābhūṣaṇ (1845–1904) in 1879. Similarly, nationalist historians like Akṣay Kumār Maitra (1861–1930) made sincere attempts to free our national heroes from the calumnies heaped upon them by British historians. History and biography thus came to merge together in Akṣaykumār Maitra's *Sirajaddaulā* (1897) *Mīrkāśim* (1906) or in Satya Caraṇ Śastri's *Chatrapatī Śivāji* (1895) and the like.

Since 1881, biographical literature began to flourish in both quantity and quality. Carlyle's *Heroes and Hero-Worship* and *Heroic in History* had a significant influence over our biographers. They adopted the models of *Life and Letters* or *Life and Times*, the two-volume biography of the Victorian era. We can refer to Nagendranath Chattopadhyay's *Mahatmā Rājā Rāmmohan Rāy* (Rammohan Roy, the Great Soul, 1881), Gourgovinda Ray's *Acārya Keśav Candra* (1896), Caṇḍīcaran Bandyopadhyay's *Vidyāsāgar* (1895), Yogindranath Basu's *Michael Madhusūdan Datter Jīvancarit* (the life of Michael Madhusudan Datta, 1896), Ajit Kumar Chakravarti's *Maharṣī Devendranāth Tagore* (1915) and a few other valuable specimens of 'standard biographies'.

Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941) was no admirer of the 'objective' or the 'two-volume' type of biography. Like Anatole France, he had no faith in objective art. He wrote biographical essays on Rammohan Ray (1884), Vidyasagar (1895) and his own father Devendranath (1905) from a subjective or interpretative point of view. These essays have been compiled in *Cāritrapūjā* i.e., the worship of the *personality per se* as Emil Ludwig would put it. Tagore's '*Mahatma Gandhi*' (1947) is also impressionistic and emanates from the particular attitude he had towards Gandhi. Interpretative biography found a new form at the hands of Bipincandra Pal (1858–1932), the revolutionary leader and journalist, in his *Carit-Kathā* (narration of lives, 1916). He wrote biographical essays on Surendranath Banerjee (Bandyopādhyāy), Pandit Sivnath Sastri and Aswinikumar Datta. His writings are influenced both by Darwin's 'Theory of Evolution' and Carlyle's *God in History*. In recent times Satyendranath Majumdar's *Stalin* (1941) and Annadāśaṅkar Rāy's *Gandhi* (1969) are worthy of note as political biographies.

Fictional Biography. After the First World War, romanticized or fictional biography came into vogue through Andre Maurois's *Ariel*, and Nripendrakrishna Caṭṭopādhyāya (1905–70) made a Bengali version of it in *Shelley*. Pramathanāth Biśi's *Michael Madhusūdan* (1941), Acintya Kumār Seṅgupta's (1902–75) *Param Puruṣ Śrī Rāmkṛṣṇa*, *Jaiṣṭher Jhaṛ* (on Nazrul Islam), *Udyata Khaṛga* (Unsheathed Sword) on Subhas Chandra Bose, etc. are all in the Maurois tradition. *Surer Āgun* by Gulam Kuddus is also a fine specimen of fictional biography of the renowned singer K. L. Mullik. Among others, Manmathanath Ghosh (1884–1958) wrote a few informative biographies. He deserves praise for recreating for us the lives of *Kāliprasanna Sinha* (1915), *Hemcandra Bānerji* (the poet) (1919–23) and *Kishory Cand Mittra* (1926), all luminaries of the Bengal Renaissance.

Other Biographies. The four-volume biography of Rabindranath Tagore, *Rabindra-Jīvanī*, written by Prabhat Kumar Mukhopadhyay is a monumental work. It may rightly be compared to Mason's *The Life of John Milton*, in four volumes. Benoy Ghosh's (1916–80) *Vidyāsāgar O Bangālī Samāj* (Vidyasagar and Bengali Society) is also a remarkable addition to the biographical literature in Bengali. A historian and a sociologist, the author has accumulated rare data and interpreted them from a socio-economic point of view, with an unbiased mind to show the humanist character of Vidyasagar.

Sahitya-Sādhak-Caritmālā (Lives of the Men of Literature), compiled and edited by Sajanikanta Das, Brajendranath Bandyopadhyay and Jogescandra Bāgal (published by Baṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat) is a collection of short, factual and authentic accounts of writers in Bengali language of the 18th and 19th centuries. This project is still being continued.

Biographical drama in Bengali is the contribution of a litterateur (also a professional pathologist) named Balaicand Mukhopadhyaya (pen-name 'Banaphul') through his *Śrī Madhusūdan* and *Vidyāsāgar*. But this trend has not been developed subsequently.

Autobiographies and Memoirs

Autobiography (or *ātmajīvanī*) in the western sense may be traced to 1868 in Bengali. Short autobiographical accounts of Vānabhatta (7th century) and Bhavabhūti (8th century) give us some information of their parentage and education but tell us nothing about their 'self' or personality. Bhāṣā-Purāṇas and Maṅgal Kāvyās often offer us very brief accounts of the patrons of the composers, their parentage and social conditions.

As the Vaishnavas were responsible for writing 'Lives' in the mediaeval period, the Brahmo Samaj of the 19th-century Bengal should be given the credit of introducing autobiography into Bengali literature with a difference. But we did not experience the atmosphere of Italy where art and roguery were one as in Cellini. On the contrary, the Brahmo-movement was essentially puritanical in character. Keśab Candra Sen (1838–84), the great Brahmo leader, had sincere admiration for Jesus Christ and Christian theology. He read the Bible and the works of Cardinal Newman and Theodore Parkar. He brought into the Brahmo faith the Christian concepts of the Original Sin, Repentance (confession) and Grace, as can be seen in St. Augustine's *Confes-*

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sions. The first such autobiography was written by Krishna Chandra Majumdar (Kṛṣṇa Candra Majumdār), a teacher of Sanskrit and Persian, who came into contact with the leaders of the Dacca Brahmo Samaj (founded in 1867). He wrote *Ra Ser Itivṛtta* (1868) under a pseudonym. 'Rā Ser' is Ramchandra Daser—'er' means 'of' in Bengali. In Bengal as soon as a child was born astrologers gave a name to the new baby according to his 'rāśi' (such as mīna, karkaṭa, etc.). So the baby was given the name 'Rāmchandra Dās' on the basis of his 'rāśi'. So *Rā Ser Itivṛtta* literally means 'History of the Life of Ramchandra Das'. He was addicted to drinks and lived an unclean life. But his contact with the Brahmosamaj transformed him. He frankly narrates the sins he had committed, repents for them and seeks God's grace. The autobiography proper appeared with *Āmār Jīvan* (My Life) in 1876 written by a Vaishnava housewife of a conservative family of Eastern Bengal, Rāsasundarī Dāsī. In weal and woe alike she cherished in her heart an undying faith in the divinity of life. It does not have a confessional tone; nor does it deal with sin or atonement. Rather she unfolds her life like, as she puts it, a lotus unfolds its petals. She had no formal schooling, but she succeeded in pouring into her book a very homely and intimate style recording all her personal experiences at a tender age.

Iswarchandra Vidyasagar (1820–91), the great social reformer and educationist, planned to write an account of himself. But he left it unfinished and unpublished. His son later published it in 1891 after his father's death. Vidyasagar narrates only the earlier part of his life and his student days in Calcutta Sanskrit College with much clarity and precision. He sees himself from a distance where the subject becomes the object, and the book is free from egotism. He calls his grandfather and parents by their proper names and writes about them as a historian would. Though incomplete, it is a great contribution to autobiographical writing in Bengali.

The *Ātmajīvanī* (1898) of Devendranath Tagore (1817–1905), who was known as 'Maharṣi' (the great sage), gave a faithful account of his spiritual development in the book. Covering the most significant period of his life (1838–58) the book describes how he, a luxury-loving young man gradually underwent a metamorphosis. Evlyn Underhill, who wrote the Introduction of the English version (1917) of this book, comments: '(It) must rank with the few classic autobiographies bequeathed to us by certain of mystics and saints.' Rajnarayan Basu's (Rājnārāyan Basu, 1826–99) autobiography *Ātmacarit* (1909) is another notable contribution. The author (grandfather of Sri Aurobindo) was a student of Hindu College, and later a teacher and leader of the Brahmo movement, and a staunch patriot. In the book he narrates all his follies, his conversion to the Brahmo faith, and his social and political endeavours against heavy odds. His book reminds us of Mill's *Autobiography*. Pandit Shivnath Shastri (Śivanāth Śāstrī, 1847–1919), another leader of the Brahmo Samaj, gave a very faithful account of his own life in his *Ātmacarit* (Autobiography, 1918). Born in a conservative Brahmin family, he fought hard to renounce orthodox Hinduism and to get himself converted into the Brahmo faith. The result was that he was driven out of his home and had to lead a life of bitter struggle. But he never regretted embracing a new faith. He was a close associate of Kesab Chandra Sen but he left him when Kesab Chandra violated the principles he had set before himself. Shivnath nowhere drops a hint of megalomania and the book really reads like noble 'experiments with truth'. Srinath Chanda's (Śrīnāth Canda) *Brāhmo Samāje Calliś Batsar* (Forty Years in Brahmo Samaj, 1912), Nilmoni Chakravarti's *Ātmajīvansmṛti* (Reminiscences of My Life), Rajanikanta Guha's *Ātmacarit* (1949), as also Krishna Kumar Mitra's *Ātmacarit* (1930) are some of the well known examples of autobiography written by the followers of the Brahmo Samaj.

Navin Chandra Sen's (1847–1909) *Āmār Jīvan* (My Life) completed in five volumes (vol. I was published in 1907), is another interesting book of this kind. He narrates all the acts of the drama of his life, his aspirations, achievements, failures, love episodes, poetical pursuits and so on. He actually planned his book on the pattern of a novel. But an excess of 'self-love' does not make it a dispassionate account. From its pages, however, the reader can gather interesting glimpses of Vidyasagar, Keshab Chandra, Devendranath, Ramakrishna Paramahaṅsa, Rabindranath and many other personalities of the 19th century Bengal.

Mīr Muśāraff Hossain's (1848–1912) *Āmār Jīvanī* (1908–10) is the only autobiography of a Bengali Muslim writer written before the First World War. He gives in it an account of his predecessors, his parents, and of the incidents in his life till his unfortunate marriage at the age of 17. It remains a valuable contribution since it is here that one finds for the first time, a comprehensive picture of a wealthy Muslim family in the 19th century Bengal along with their social customs and characteristic ways of life.

Tagore's *Jīvansmṛti* ('Reminiscences', in English) came out in 1912. He calls it a 'picture gallery' with portraits painted with the colours of memory. The narrative begins from his childhood days and comes up to the threshold of his manhood (twenty-five years) as Goethe's (1749–1832) autobiography *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (Truth and Poetry) does. Tagore mainly traces here the unfolding of his poetic personality and his communion with nature. It is unique in Bengali literature in the sense that a great poet lays bare in this book his poetic self. It is by no means a factual record, but a work of art, a thing of beauty.

After the First World War was published *Nirvāsiter Ātmakathā* (Autobiography of an Exile, 1921) by Upendranath Bandyopadhyaya (1879–1950). The writer was a veteran

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revolutionary and was sentenced for life in the famous Muraripukur Bomb Case in 1908. It is a truthful account of his political activities and his prison-days. All along he maintains a detached view touched with humour. 'Reminiscences' of freedom fighters (both terrorists and communists) include books like Hemchandra Kanungo's (1871–1950) *Āmār Biplab Praceṣṭā* (My Revolutionary Activities), and Barindra Kumar Ghosh's *Dvīpāntarer Bānśi* (A Call for Banishment, 1917) Trailokyanath Chakravarti's *Jele Triś Bachar* (Thirty Years in Prison, 1947), Jadugopal Mukhopadhyaya's *Biplabī Jīvaner Smṛti* (Memoirs of a Revolutionary), Arun Chandra Guha's *Biplaber Padacinha* (Footmarks of Revolution, 1956), Ananta Sinha's *Chattagram Yuvabidroha* (Youth Rebellion of Chattagram, 1964), Bina Das's *Śṛṅkhal Jhaṅkār* (The Music of Shackles, 1948), Kamala Dasgupta's *Rakter Akṣare* (In Letters of Blood), etc. Muzaffar Ahmad (1889–1970), who was one of the founders of the Communist Party of India, wrote *Āmār Jīvan O Bhārater Communist Party* (My Life and the Communist Party of India, 1967) in which he narrates the history of the growth and development of the Communist party in this country, the famous Meerut Conspiracy Case (1929–33) and its later phases. He is a historian all through, and so the book remains an authentic document of the Communist Movement in India.

Reminiscences of professional people include Binodinī Dāsi's (the 'prima donna' of the Bengali stage in the 19th century) *Āmār Kathā* (About Myself, 1913), film actor and director Madhu Basu's *Āmār Jīvan* (My life, 1967), folk-singer Abbas-uddin Ahmad's *Āmār śilpī jīvaner kathā* (My Life As an Artist), actor Dhiraj Bhattacharya's *Yakhan Nayāk Chilām* (When I played the Hero), actor Ahindra Chaudhuri's *Nijere Harāye Khunji* (In Search of My Lost Self), and the porverbial actress Kanan Devi's *Sabāre āmi nami* (I Bow to All).

Apart from autobiography and memoir there are some reported memoirs in Bengali. *Śrī Rāmkṛṣṇa-Kathāmṛta* (The Nectar-Words of Sri Ramakrishna), in five volumes, compiled by Sri 'M' (Mahendra Nath Gupta), is a valuable record in detail of what the Master (1836–86) actually said either to the author or in reply to questions put to him by various people of different faiths and creeds. *Keśabjananī Sāradāsundarī Devīr Ātmakathā* (The Autobiography of Saradasundari Devi, Kesab's Mother, 1914) is again not an autobiography proper but a reported memoir recorded by Yogindralāl Khāstagir. It gives us valuable information about Ramcomul Sen (her father-in-law), about her husband, her son Kesab Candra Sen and Ramakrishna Paramahaṅsa. Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyaya, a poet, recorded in detail what Rabindranath's elder brother Jyotirindranath Tagore (1849–1925), had told him in a book called *Jyotirīndranāther Jīvansmṛti* (The Memoirs of Jyotirindranath Tagore, 1920). It is a mine of information about the Tagore family, Jyotirindranath's literary activities, nationalist projects and many other things.

Bepinbehari Gupta's (Bipinvihari Gupta, 1875–1936) *Purātan Prasaṅga* (Of Former Days), in two volumes (1913–1923) also falls in this category. He faithfully records the memoirs of Krishna Kamal Bhattacharya, Dwijendranath Tagore, Umesh Chandra Datta and others.

This branch of biographical literature also includes books like *Gharoyā* (Intimate Conversation) and *Jorāsānkor Dhāre* (Beside Jorasanko) by the doyen of oriental art in India, Abanindranath Tagore. The books are actually transcribed in an inimitable style, by the artist Srimati Rani Chanda, from what Abanindranath told her day after day in a reminiscent mood. Abanindranath was a marvellous 'Kathak' (a teller of stories) besides being an artist. His narrations of men and events of his time and his experiments with art have become beautiful vignettes in colourful words.

Of the autobiographies published in recent times, the outstanding works are Buddhadeva Basu's (1908–74) two short but invaluable books, *Āmār Śaiśav* (My Childhood) and *Āmār Yauvan* (My Youth). Saumendranath Tagore's (b. 1901) *Yātrī* (Wayfarer), Balaichand Mukhopadhyay's (1899–1979) *Pascātpat* (Background, 1979), Benodbehari Mukhopadhyay's *Citrakār* (The Painter, 1979), Pavitra Gangopadhyay's (1893–1974) *Calaman Jīvan* (Flowing Life) in two volumes, Ibrahim Khan's *Bātāyan* (Window, 1967), and Abul Kalam Shamsuddin's *Atīt Diner Smṛti* (Days Gone By, 1968).

Women writers have also made a mark as autobiographers. References have already been made to Rāsasundari Sāradasundari Binodini or Kanan Devi. Among others, Indira Devi's (wife of Priyanath Sastri, a close associate of Devendranath Tagore) *Āmār Khātā* (My Sketchbook), Jnānādandini Devi's *Purātani* (Of The Past), Saralabala Sarkar's *Hārāno Atīt* (Lost Days of the Past), Sudakṣiṇa Sen's *Jīvansmṛti* (Reminiscences) and Pratima Tagore's *Smṛticitra* (Memoirs) deserve mention. These works have a fine feminine touch. But the most striking volume is that veiled autobiography *Na Hanyate* (It Cannot be Destroyed) by Maitreyi Devi where the old lady lays bare the days of passionate romance in her early youth with a Rumanian student in Calcutta and of her trip to America at the fag end of her life to meet him, also an old man now. She assumes the name 'Amṛtā' only to give it a fictional mask.

The autobiographical novel as it occurs in western fiction has not made much progress in Bengali literature. But there are reasons to believe that in Saratchandra's *Śrīkānta* (Part I), Bibhuti Bhusan Bandyopadhyay's *Pather Pāñcāli*, Tarasankar's *Dhātrī Devatā*, Manik Bandyopadhyay's *Jiyanta* or Satinath Bhāduri's *Jāgarī* large sections of the personal life of the authors are clearly depicted.

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Biographical literature in Bengali, though not at all poor in quality or quantity, does not show anything comparable to Boswell's *Life of Johnson* or Lytton Strachey's *Eminent Victorians*. Similarly, as few people have the boldness of frankly describing their private life, autobiographies in Bengali have yet to express the uncut version of life. We are still to see a truly uninhibited biography or autobiography in Bengali.

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Gujarati

DHIRU PARIKH

The Early Attempts

The earliest attempts at biographical writing in Gujarati were by the Jain poets who wrote biographies of kings, sadhus, religious founders, propagandists and prophets under such titles as *Cariu*, *Carita*, *Prabandh*, etc. All these works are in verse. These biographical works only commemorate the good deeds and preachings of the heroes. Being written with the utmost reverence, they are full of exaggeration and cannot be called biography in the strict sense of the term. Also lacking in them are details about the worldly lives of their subjects, the result of an indifference to documentation.

Western influence during the latter half of the 19th century changed this situation and people began to look at worldly life with greater optimism and cheer. A sense of history and an appreciation of its importance developed. At the same time an aesthetic outlook on life began to be reflected in literature. As a result, many new forms of literature were adopted and developed. Prose became accepted as a medium of expression congenial to biographical writing. Thus, Gujarati writers after 1850 turned to writing biographies as a form of literature.

The first stalwart of this movement in Gujarati was Narmad (1833-66). He wrote the first modern biography, a work called *Kavicaritra* (Biographies of Poets, 1865), wherein he has included sketches of 13 poets, each containing biographical data, an introduction to the poet's literary works and an evaluation of his literary output. *Mahapuruṣonāṅ Caritra* (Biographies of Great Persons, 1870) is a similar work by Narmad; in it are also included 27 biographical sketches. These two books are the first models of Gujarati biographical writing that have been consciously cultivated as a literary form.

Narmad, the pioneer, was followed by Manasukhram Tripathi (Mansukhrām Tripāṭhi, 1840–1907), who wrote *Fārbas-Jīvan-Caritra* (The Biography of Forbes, 1869), wherein he has recorded the benevolent deeds of a European officer, Alexander Kinlock Forbes, who lived in Gujarat from 1843 to 1865, during which time he contributed much to Gujarati education, art and literatre. Tripathi's other works are minor and include *Ṣēth Harivallabhdās Bālgōvind dāsnuṅ Caritra* and *Sugna Gōkuljī Sampatrām Jhālā Taṭhā Vēdānta*. The biographer has adopted the style of the Victorian biographers who trace the life-history of the hero, describe the hero's nature and the remarkable episodes in his life.

An artistic attempt at biography is found in *Uttam Kapol Karsandās Mūljī Caritra* (1878) by Mahipatram Nilkanth (Mahīpatrām Nīlkaṇṭh, 1819–91), which describes the life, deeds and thoughts of a social reformer, the author's friend, Karsandas Mulji (1832–71). Other biographies by the same author are *Mahētājī Durgārām Manchhārām Caritra* (1879) which describes the life, work and thoughts of the social reformer Durgaram, mostly in the hero's own words, and *Pārvatikunvar Ākhyān* (The Story of Parvatikunvar, 1881), a short biography of the writer's wife, which throws light on her good qualities and describes their married life. The latter biography is a landmark as it portrays, for the first time in Gujarati biographical writing, the personal relations of a great man.

Most of the biographies of the early period were written in a very crude style employing colloquial language. The biographers took more care to adhere to facts and to relate

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the hero's deeds, than to write mature biography as a form of literature.

Organized Attempts

It is in the Age of Scholars, the Panditayuga (1887–1920), that one finds the first organized attempts at biographical writing. In *Kavijīvan* (The Life of the Poet, 1887) by Navalram Pandya (Navalrām Pāṇḍya, 1836–88) are found such attempts for the first time. The biographer gives an organized and authentic account of the life of Narmad, the pioneer of modern Gujarati literature, and tries to evaluate the literary contributions of his hero.

Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl Indrajīnuṅ Caritra by Jhaverilal Yagnik (1836–97), describing the life of the historian-hero, his scholarship and his honour at home and abroad, *Mōhanlāl Raṇchod dās Jhavērīnuṅ Saṅkṣipt Jīvan Caritra* by Chunilal Mody, mainly describing the efforts of the hero to promote education in the Surat and Bharuch districts, and *Bhōlānāth Sārābhai* by his son Krishnarao Divatia (Kṛṣṇarao Divatiā, 1836–1921), which is more an essay on the activities of Bholanath as a social reformer and philanthropist than an attempt to portray his individuality, were three significant biographies published in 1888. *Raṅchoḍ dās Girdharbhāinuṅ Janmacaritra* by his son Mohanlal Jhaveri (Mōhanlāl Jhāveri, 1828–96) is a brief biography that was published in the same year. It narrates the public activities of the man known as the father of education in Gujarat, but pays greater attention to the history of education at that time in Gujarat than to the life of its hero.

The most important biographer of this age, however, is Govardhanram Tripathi (Gōvardhanrām Tripāṭhi, 1855–1907), the master novelist of Gujarat, who wrote two biographies, *Navalrām Lakṣmīrāmni Jīvankathā* (1891) and *Lilāvati Jīvankalā* (The Art of Life of Lilavati, 1905). In the former, the biographer has graphically brought out the four facets of Navalram as a man, teacher, writer and social reformer. *Lilāvati Jīvankalā* is a brief biography of the author's eldest daughter who met with a premature death. She was an ordinary housewife with extraordinary virtues. The book throws light mainly on the positive side of Lilavati and also presents a picture of the status of women in the society of the latter half of the 19th century.

Other Biographies

Śrijut Gōvardhanrām (1910), an important biography about the greatest novelist in Gujarati literature and written by Kantilal Chhaganlal Pandya (Kāntilāl Chaganlāl Pāṇḍya, 1886–1958) is modelled on Victorian biographical writings. It is divided into two parts, *Jīvankathā* (life story) and *Tulana* (comparison), and portrays the gradual development of the hero's spiritual and worldly life. The book is classical in style, being both well documented as well as artistic. It is a milestone in the history of Gujarati biography.

Nandśaṅkar Jīvancitra (The Picture of the Life of Nandsanker, 1916) is another excellent biography of this period. This biography written by his son Vinayak Mehta (Vināyak Mehta, 1883–1940), is divided into three parts viz, *uday* (rise), *madhyāhna* (mid-day) and *nivrutti* (retirement), and provides a chronological survey of the hero's life. Also provided is a detailed picture of the city of Surat during 1850–70.

Ambalālbhāi (1928) is a biography of Diwan Bahadur Ambalal Sakarlal Desai written by the great poet and critic Balvantrai Thakore (Balvantrāi Ṭhākōr, 1869–1952). The author attempts to show in proper perspective the virtues of the hero as well as the limitations of his nature. The style is reflective and as such the work appears more like a biographical essay.

Some other minor works should also be remembered. Shanker Prasad Chhaganlal Rawal (Śaṅkar Prasād Caganlāl Rāval, 1887–1957) has written a short biography of the last medieval poet Dayaram. The book, *Bhakta Kavi Dayārāmbhāinuṅ Jīvancaritra* (1919), is simple in style and detailed. Tribhuvandas Jamanadas Sheth (Tribhuvandās Jamanadās Śēṭh, b. 1873) has also written a biography of the same poet. His work is titled *Kaviratna Dayārāmbhāinī Sampūrṇa Jīvankathā* (The Complete Biography of the Poet Jem Dayarambhai, 1899). Many biographies were published from Baroda in the *Sayājī Sāhityamāla series*. The outstanding books of this series are about the medieval Akhyan poet Premanand, Miranbai the medieval lyric poetess (by Bhanusukhram Nirgunram Mehta, 1867–1954), Dayaram and Girdhar (by Jagjivandas Dayalji Mody, 1871–1954) and Bhalan (by Ramlal Chunilal Mody, 1890–1949).

The biographical literature of the Panditayuga is more artistic than that of earlier periods. The biographers not only recorded the biographical details of their heroes, but also presented their lives in the proper perspective of their times so as to bring out the individuality and the achievements of the heroes. The biographers have chosen their heroes from various walks of life but have written about them mainly in a pedantic style.

Impact of Mahatma Gandhi

After 1920, Gujarati literature is marked by the influence of Mahatma Gandhi, and this period is known as the Gandhiyuga. The biographies of this era are mainly about the figures of history and mythology and were written with a heroic sense and much patriotic fervour.

Kishorlal Masharuwala (Kisōrlāl Maṣaruvāla, 1890–1952) was one of the prominent Gandhiyuga biographers. His four biographies, *Rāma ane Kṛṣṇa* (1923), *Buddha anē Mahāvīr* (1923), *Iṣu Khrist* (1924) and *Sahajānand Svāmi* (1924), set a new trend. He succeeded in giving his heroes a human dimension and avoided exaggeration

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in narrating the miracles in their lives. His attempts to interpret the lives and deeds of his heroes in a new light reveal Masharuwala's deep study of his subjects. His approach is original and evaluation independent. Kakalbhai Kothari (Kakalbhāi Kothārī, 1904–66) and Jhaverchand Meghani (Jhāvērcand Mēghani, 1897–1947) collaborated on two biographies *Zandadhari* (The Flag Bearer, 1926) and *Narvīr Lālāji* (Lalaji, the Brave man, 1929). Both biographies are divided into two parts, the first part of each being written by Kothari and the second by Meghani. The first biography is about Swami Dayanand Saraswati and describes several episodes that reveal his greatness. The second biography presents Lala Lajpatrai as a political fighter, social reformer, historian, educationist and a man of letters.

Mahadev Desai (Mahādēv Dēsāi, 1892–1942), a devout disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, is also a noteworthy biographer. He wrote three brief biographies in a very simple style. In his *Vīr Vallabh bhāi* (1929), *Saint Francis* and *Be Khudāi Khidmatgār* (Two Divine Servants, 1936), Vallabhbhai Patel, Saint Francis, and Abdul Gafarkhan and Dr. Khansaheb are presented in a manner meant to arouse the patriotism of contemporary readers.

Vīr Narmad (1933) is an important biography written by the well-known critic Vishvanath Bhatt (Viśvanāth Bhaṭṭ, 1898–1969), who has depicted Narmad's times, his nature, his social and literary services and many episodes from his life. In this work the biographer has paid greater attention to describing the hero's life and evaluating his literary contribution than to bringing out his personality. As the work is a warm-hearted tribute, the style tends to be flowery. Kanaiyalal Munshi (Kanaiyalāl Munṣi, 1887–1971) has written two biographies, *Narasaiyo: Bhakta Harino* (Narasaiyo, the Devotee of God, 1933) and *Narmad* (1939), describing the lives and literary contributions of his heroes. The biographer has tried to give a creative touch to these biographies by adopting a romantic style and a dramatic treatment. His lucidity of expression and powerful imagination pervade both works.

Nanalal Dalpatram Kavi (Nānālāl Dalpatrām Kavi, 1877–1946), the great Gujarati poet, has written the life story of his father Dalpatram in four volumes. In his *Kaviśvar Dalpatrām* (1933–40), the biographer has resorted to all sources, personal as well as public, to make the work authentic. Though a son's devotion to his father rather dominates the volumes, there is nevertheless great importance in them, for a study of the Gujarat of the latter half of the 19th century and its literature.

Śukṛatārak (The Morning Star, 1945) is an important biography about Navalram Lakshmiram Pandya. Written in western style by the well-known critic Vijayrai Vaidya (Vijayrāi Vaidya, 1897–1973), this has been based on information from all the previous works on Navalram and thus presents a complete picture of the hero, his times and his activities. The biographer employs dialogue and makes use of the hero's diary and letters to make the biography live and appear authentic.

Minor Works

There are several minor biographical works that should be noted. Dhumketu (Dhūmkētu, real name Gaurīśaṅkar Gōvaṛdhanrām Jōśi, 1892–1965) has written a biography of Hemchandra, the Jain Suri and writer of medieval Gujarati literature, and called it *Hēmcandṛācārya* (1942). The biographer uses ancient and modern history to place the life story of the hero in the proper perspective. *Kalāpi* (1944), a brief biography of the lyric poet of the latter half of the 19th century, is the work of Navalram Trivedi (Navalrām Tṛivēdi, 1895–1944) who narrates the life-history of his hero in simple language. Durgasanker Sastri (1882–1952) has written a brief biography, *Paṇḍit Bhagavanlāl Indṛajinuṅ Saṅkṣipta Caritṛa* (1946), which describes the life of the first researcher, archaeologist and historian of Gujarat.

Calo Delhi (March to Delhi, 1946) is a warm biography of Subhas Chandra Bose written by Mohanlal Mehta-Sopan (b. 1911). It describes the life of the hero and his struggle to achieve freedom for India, especially when he was abroad. Babalbhai Mehta (b. 1910) has written two biographies, *Mahārāj Thayāṅ Pahelān* (Before he became Maharaj, 1943) and *Raviśanker Maharāj* (1944), both of which describe in a simple and inspiring manner the life of Ravishanker Maharaj, the great Gandhian.

Narhari Parikh (1891–1957) has written several biographies about the political leaders of his time. One of his noteworthy biographies, *Mahādēvbhainuṅ Pūrvacaritṛa* (The Early Life of Mahadevbhai) deals with the early life of the great Gandhian, Mahadev Desai. Another biography by him is *Ṣṛēyāṛthini Sādhana* (The Efforts of the Persons Seeking the Ultimate God, 1953), which is about the great Gandhian worker, Kishorlal Masharuwala. The biographer in this work is more like an editor than an author as he has quoted at length from Masharuwala's *Nasik Jail memoir*, his books, articles, letters and lectures. Ambalal Purani's (1894–1965) two biographies, *Maṇilāl Nabhubhāi Dvivēdīnuṅ Jīvancaritṛa* (1951) and *Śṛī Aṛvind Jīvan* are about that great Gujarati scholar of the Panditiyuga, Manilal and the modern Indian thinker and yogi, Sri Arvind Ghosh, respectively. Sundaram (b. 1908), the noted Gujarati poet, has also written a biography of Sri Arvind Ghosh, calling it *Mahāyōgi Arvind*.

Jaybhikhkhu's (1908–69) lucid biography of Bhagwan Mahavir called *Niṛgranth Bhagvān Mahāvīr* (The Emancipated Lord Mahavir, 1956), stresses the thoughts and preachings of Mahavir more than his life story. An important work is Manilal Nabhubhai Dvivedi's biography by Dhirubhai Thaker (b. 1918). It is titled *Maṇilāl Nabhūbhāi:*

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Jīvanraṅg (The Life-Drama of Manilal Nabhubhai, 1957). The authentic picture of the hero's complex life that is revealed clearly shows the biographer's objective outlook and painstaking care. Ishver Petliker (Is'var Pētlīker, b. 1916) is another noteworthy biographer. His biography of Bhailalbhai Dyabhai Patel, the founder of Vallabhvidyanagar in the Kaira district of Gujarat, is titled *Vidyānagarnā Viśvakarma* (The Architect of Vidyanagar, 1964) and reveals all Bhailalbhai's endeavours to build the township of his dreams, Vallabhvidyanagar.

The *Śrī Sayāji Sāhityamāla series* has contributed much to the biography in Gujarati. A variety of great persons from different walks of life are the heroes of these biographies. Among these are: *Dalapatrām* by Kasiram Mulsanker Dave, *Mahīpatram* by Bhanusukram Nirgunram Mehta (1867–1948), *Śrīmat Sayājirāo Gaikwād* by Chimanlal Doctor (1884–?), *Śrīman Nṛsiṅhācāryajī* by Mahendrakumar M. Desai, *Śrī Vallabhācārya Mahāprabhujī* by Kesavram Sastri (b. 1905) and *Śrī Haribhadrasuri* by Hiralal Kapadia (1894).

Other biographies of this period are *Śrīmadnī Jīvanyātrā* (The Life Journey of Srimad) by Gopaldas Jivabhai Patel, *Gautam Buddh* by Ramanarayan Nagardas Pathak, *Guru Gōvindsiṅh* by Thakker Narayan Vasanji, *Bhāratsēvak Gōkhale* by Jugatram Dave, *Akho* by Narmadashanker Mehta, *Narsiṅh Mēhtā* by Gajendra Lalsankar Pandya, *Padhiārnī Jīvankathā* by Jivanlal Karsandas Thakore and *Mustufā Kamāl* by Ramaniklal Dalal. Some other important biographers of the period are Purushottam Chaganlal Sah, Pandurang Deshpande, Bhogilal Gandhi, Kantilal Shah, and Chunilal P. Barot.

The biographical writings of this period demonstrate progress made both in quality and quantity. The biographers chose their heroes mainly from political and sociocultural fields and attempted to present the lives and deeds of their heroes in an artistic style so as to inspire the reader. The biographies reveal that the authors have taken pains to collect the data and present them in such a manner as to make them works of literature.

Post-Independence Period

The biographers since Independence have written with a view to inspiring the younger generation to develop national character as well as their individuality. The biographer's main interest has been more academic than aesthetic. Hence an artistic biography is a rarity, with biographers caring more for content than for literary form. These biographers have chosen their heroes mostly from political, social, spiritual and cultural fields at home and abroad.

Among such biographies are *Pañjābkēsari Lālā Lajpatrāi* (Lala Lajpatrai, the Lion of Punjab, 1965) by Isverbhai Patel, *Raṇchoḍbhāi Giṛdharbhāi* (a biography of the father of modern education in Gujarat) by Narottam Valand, *Bhaginī Nivēdita* by Malatiben Dalal, *Morarbhāi Patēl*, the freedom-fighter of Bardoli by Kalyanji Vitthal Mehta, *Rāma Manōhar Lōhiya* (1968) by B. J. Kapadi, *Apaṇā Jugatṛāmkaka* (Our Jugatramkaka), a great name in the field of child education in Gujarat, by Manubhai Pandit, *Mahātma Mēkaṇdādā*, a biography of a saint from Kach by Mohandas Kapadi, *Bhikṣu Akhaṇḍānand* by J. O. Kanuga, *Narsaiṅ Mēhtā* (1973), the poet, by Jethala Trivedi, and *Be Karmavīr Bhāio*, a biography of two brothers named Kunvarjibhai and Kalyanjibhai Mehta, freedom-fighters from Surat district, by Ishverbhai Desai and Ramanarayan Nagardas Pathak. Some other biographers are Usha Joshi, Mukul Kalarthi, Ashok Harsh, Mohanbhai Patel and Yashwant Mehta.

Further contributions to the field of biographical writings have come from the research theses in Gujarati literature. In these studies of authors, researchers, have incorporated their life-stories as well. Thus, in theses like *Dalapatrām* by Hasit Buch, *Gōvardhanram ek Adhyayan* by Ramanlal Joshi, *Nākar: ek Adhyayan* by Chimanlal Trivedi and *Kalapi: ek Adhyayan* by Indravadan Dave, biographical sketches with full and authentic details are found.

Autobiographies

Autobiographical literature in Gujarati is quite rich. Narmad is the pioneer in this genre too, his autobiography *Māri Hakikat* (The Facts About me, 1934) being written with complete consciousness of the requirements of the form. With this work he opened up new avenues for Gujarati literature. *Māri Hakikat*, however, is well written only in the beginning; it becomes less satisfactory later on. It is written in a passionate style but it lays more emphasis on facts than on personality. Chronologically speaking, however, it is Durgaram Mahetaji (1809–76), the school teacher and social reformer, who is first associated with an autobiographical type of writing. But this record of his public activities, in the form of a diary of the Manavdharmasabha, the institution of social reform, can hardly be called an autobiography in the strict sense.

The next important autobiography after Narmad's effort is Manilal Nabhubhai Dvivedi's (1858–98) *Ātmavṛuttānt*, which records the story of the first 27 years of his life. Extracts from it were published in the monthly *Vasant* during 1930–32 and attracted the attention of readers. But more recently it has been published in complete form, edited by Dhirubhai Thaker, and has aroused much controversy among Gujarati readers and critics. This new publication is called *Maṇilālnuṅ Jīvanvṛuttānt* (The Life story of Mani Bhai, 1979). The autobiography, which presents Manilal as a tragic hero, is a good graph of the scholar-poet's development, but at the same time records the conflicts in his life and frankly depicts his lapses.

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Unfortunately, it lacks discrimination in narration and decency of language at certain points.

Ṣīrīn Madam (1890) is the first autobiography in Gujarati by a Parsi woman. It gives an account of the struggles in her life in a fearless and frank manner and describes her participation in philanthropic activities. *Jīvansambhāraṇāṅ* (The Reminiscences of Life, 1938) is another autobiography by a woman. Sharadaben Sumant Mehta (Śāradāben Sumant Mēhtā, b. 1882), describes in it her life as well as her activities in the sphere of women's education. The book also presents a picture of contemporary society, the political atmosphere and the movement to improve women's status. Another important autobiography of this period is by Kanubahen Dave. The two parts of her autobiography, *Māri Jīvansmṛuti tathā Noṅdhpothī* (My Reminiscence and Notebook, 1938) sketch her life and give her views on religion, morality, love, marriage, family, life, education, philosophy, art, science, the nation, politics, etc.

Huṅ Potē (I Myself, 1900) is the autobiography of Narayan Hemchandra (Nārāyaṅ Hemcandra, 1855–1911). It is an account of his ancestors and parents, his childhood and youth, his education and travels. He narrates the strange experiences of his life in a direct and vivid manner. The book reads more like a travelogue than an autobiography.

The most outstanding autobiography, however, is Mahatma Gandhi's *Satyanā Pṛayogo* (My Experiments with Truth, 1927). It describes his life from early childhood to about 1927 when he was in the heyday of his public career. His major concern is not aesthetic but spiritual in the sense that he sought the realization of truth. The book throws more light on his metaphysical development than on his worldly career. He looks at his deeds dispassionately and assesses them objectively, courageously confessing his flaws. Gandhiji has given short but sweet pen-pictures of certain individuals and beautiful descriptions of certain incidents in this autobiography, which is written in a language that is simple and a style that is direct. Without being conscious of creating a literary form, Gandhiji has achieved such success that his autobiography has become a landmark in the history of the genre in Gujarati.

Writers' Autobiographies

In *Aṛdhśatābdinā Anubhavbol* (The Words of Experience of Half a Century, 1927) Kavi Nanalal Dalpatram describes the experiences of 35 years of his early life. The book is more or less a collection of seven lectures delivered by him at various places during the golden jubilee year of his life. His style is rhetorical and treatment romantic. *Smaraṇyātṛa* (The Journey Through Memories, 1934) is another landmark in Gujarati literature. The book is mainly Kaka Kalelker's (Kākā Kālēlker, b. 1885) reminiscences of his childhood and boyhood. Without being hypocritical he has described in a gay and light style many humorous episodes in his life, especially in the context of his family. His love of Nature and his reflectiveness are clearly perceived in this lucid work.

Another autobiographical milestone is the triology by the great novelist K. M. Munshi. The triology consists of *Aḍathē Rāstē* (At the Halfway, 1942), *Sīdhāṅ Cadhāṇ* (The Straight Ascents, 1943) and *Svapnasiddhinī Ṣodhamāṇ* (In the Discovery of the Attainment of a Dream, 1953). The first book tells the story of his life till 1906, the year he graduated. The second book describes his career as an advocate and vividly narrates his experiences in the High Court. It also gives an account of his literary career and achievements. The third book deals with his dreams about life and literature and his endeavours to fulfil them. It describes the most successful period of his life as a creative artist and speaks of his achievements. These three volumes are a model of aesthetic creation rather than a mere record of facts. The books show the autobiographer's ability to sketch character, create humour and describe episodes vividly. His style is forceful, his self-righteousness and ego apparent.

In *Āthamtē Ajavālē* (At the Setting Light, 1944) Dhansukhlal Mehta (Dhansukhlāl Mēhtā, 1890–1974) reminisces in a fine style. *Pancotermē* (At the Age of Seventy Five, 1946), by Balvantrai Thakore, the leading poet of Gujarat, however, consists of seven reflective lectures delivered by the author at celebrations to mark the 75th year of his life. The style is restrained and appealing because of the underlying note of truth.

Jīvannuṅ Paroḍh (The Dawn of Life, 1948) is the autobiography of Prabhudas Gandhi, the nephew of Mahatma Gandhi. He describes his life in South Africa, where he spent his boyhood and youth with Mahatma Gandhi. He objectively examines every incident in his early life, and narrates the history of the forebears of Mahatma Gandhi, a story that is not found in the Mahatma's autobiography. *Nānā Hatā Tyārē* (When We Were Young, 1946) is the autobiography of Hariprasad Vrajlal Desai (Haripṛasād Vṛajlāl Dēsāi, 1880–1950). Tracing his life-story from childhood to the age of 24, he gives a good picture of contemporary society in a light and interesting style. *Mēṅ Pāṅkho Fafadāvī* (I Began to Fly, 1946) is an autobiographical work by Tansukh Bhatt writing as Sukhendra Bhattacharya. Here too the author describes episodes of his childhood and youth in a humorous manner.

Dhumketu, the well-known short-story writer, Ramanlal Vasantlal Desai (1892–1954), the noted novelist, and Chandravadan Chimanlal Mehta (b. 1901) the reputed playwright have also written autobiographies. *Jīvanpanth* (The Path of Life, 1949) and *Jīvanraṅg* (1956) are two volumes by Dhumketu that tell his life story in a very lucid manner. *Gai Kāl* (Yesterday, 1950) and *Madhyāhnanāṅ Mṛugjaḷ* (The Mid-day Mirage, 1956) are books by Raman-

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lal Desai that tell the story of his life and throw light on the development of his career. Chandravadan Mehta's frankness and romantic style make his autobiographical works as interesting as novels. *Bāṅdh Gathariyān* (Having tied Up the Bag, 1954) Parts I and II tell of his school and College days. *Choḍ Gathariyāṅ* (Having Untied the Bag, 1955) describes his professional career, *Safar Gathariyāṅ* (The Bag of Journey, 1956) depicts his travels through Europe, while *Raṅg Gathariyāṅ* (The Bag of Drama, 1965) describes his acquaintance with European actors, theatres and drama schools.

Other Autobiographies

Ghaḍatar anē Caṇatar (Shaping and Building, 1959) is the autobiography of Nanabhai Bhatt (Nānābhai Bhaṭṭ, 1882–1961), the leading educationist. It gives chronologically and in a simple, colloquial style the history of his family and the story of his incident-packed life.

Other autobiographies that should be mentioned include: *Ātmakathā*, the 5 volume autobiography of Indulal Yajnik (1892–1972), the freedom fighter from Gujarat, which reflects the political atmosphere of Gujarat upto 1960; *Ātmakathānak* (1967) the life story of Ravishanker Rawal (Raviśaṅkar Rāval, 1892–1977), the great artist of Gujarat, which also narrates the history of *Kumār*, the famous Gujarati monthly; *Smṛtisamvēdan* (Feeling through Memory, 1954), the autobiography of Champashi Udeshi (Campaṣī Udēṣi, 1892–1974), the devoted editor of *Navcētan*, one of the oldest Gujarati magazines; *Saṅsmaraṇo* (1954) in which Ganesh Vasudeo Mavalankar (Ganēṣ Vāsudēv Māvalaṅkār, 1888–1956) narrates some of his experiences with Mahatma Gandhi; and *Jīvannāṅ Jharanāṅ* (Part I. 1941 and II. 1960), which describes the life and times of the Gandhian, Ravajibhai Manibhai Patel.

Other Biographical Types

There are also some other kinds of biographical writings to be found in Gujarati. They include pen-pictures, diaries and letters.

Rēkhacitro (1925) by Lilawati Munshi (Līlāvati Munṣi, 1898–1979) and *Smaraṇmukur* (The Mirror of Memory, 1926) by Narsinhrao Divatia (Narasiṁharāo Divaṭiā, 1859–1937) are collections that provide some fine pen-pictures. Yashavant Pandya (Yaśvant Pāṇḍya, 1906–55) sketches beautiful pen-pictures of some writers in *Kalam Citro* (Pen Pictures). Kanaiyalal Munshi has drawn some imaginative sketches of the great men of Gujarat in a book called *Gujaratna Jyōtirdharo* (The Torchbearers of Gujarat). *Tējcitro* (1942) by Ramanlal Desai, *Āpaṇā Sākṣar Ratno* (Our Learned Gems, vol. I 1934 and vol. II 1935) by Nanalal Kavi, *Dhūpsalī* (Incense Stick, 1943) and *Ghar Divaḍā* (Lamps in the house, 1956) by Ishver Petliker, *Foram* (Fragrance, 1955) by Vidyaben Nilkanth (Vidyāben Nīlkaṇṭh, 1876–1958) and *Trivēṇitīrth* by Darshak (Daṛśak, b. 1914) are other noteworthy collections of pen-pictures.

In diary writing, there is little of note in Gujarati, only three works being memorable. The sixteen volumes of the *Mahādēvbhāinī Diary*, published in different years by Mahadev Desai, gives an account of his long stay with Mahatma Gandhi and throws light on various political incidents. Another such diary is *Narsiṅhrāonī Rojnīṣī* (1953) by Narsinhrao Divatia, which covers his life span from 1892 to 1935. The third important diary is Balavantrai Thakore's, which is titled *Dinkī* (1969).

Kāntmāla (1924) is a collection of letters by the poet Kant (1867–1923) while *Kalāpīnā 144 Patro* (1925) is a collection of the letters of the poet Kalapi edited by Munikumar Bhatt (Munikumār Bhaṭṭ, b. 1898). *Kalāpīni Patradhāra* (1931) is the biggest collection of the letters of Kalapi. The letters written to his friends, relations, wives, etc., reveal Kalapi's mental state and stature and the conflicts in his heart and mind. The letters have been edited by Joravarsinh Sursinh Gohil. *Kētlāk Aṅgat Patro* (Some Personal Letters, 1969) is a collection of letters by the poet Balavantrai Thakore to his grandson Gajendra Thakore, wherein he makes useful suggestions and reveals important thoughts. The letters reveal his soft inner personality as well as his firm nature and love of truth. The letters have been compiled by Rama Gajendra Thakore.

Translations

Among the important translations of biographies and autobiographies from other languages are: *Saṅsmaraṇo* (1918), Ambalal Purani's translation of Rabindranath Tagore's memoirs; Booker T. Washington's autobiography translated from the English in 1914 under the same title by Govardhandas Kahandas Amin (Gōvardhandās Kahandās Amin, b. 1891). Mahadev Desai's translation of Jawaharlal Nehru's autobiography under the title *Māri Jīvankatha* (The Story of My Life, 1937), Maganbhai Prabhubhai Desai's (Maganbhāi Prabhubhāi Dēsāi, 1899-1968) translation of the autobiography of Helen Keller under the title *Apaṅgnī Pratibhā* (Genius of the Invalid, 1938); *Mānavī Khaṅḍiyēro* (Human Ruins, 1946), the translation by Kaka Kalelkar and Kishorlal Masharuwala of the autobiography called *Who Walks Alone* by Parry Burges; Devavrat Pathak's translation of the biography of Woodrow Wilson under the original title (1963); and Saudamini Mehta's translation of the autobiograpy of Eleanor Roosevelt under the original title (1967). Most of the translations are from English, but there are a few from Bengali and Hindi.

Conclusion

Surveying the Gujarati literature of this form it appears that biographers are many but most of the biographies

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are brief. Full-length biographies are few. Most of the biographies aim only at featuring the good qualities of the heroes and wink at their flaws. Barring a few, most of the biographers indulge in providing factual details rather than bringing out the personality of their heroes. But amongst the autobiographies there is more satisfactory literary grace. The autobiographers in Gujarati literature have aimed at a more artistic form than the biographers. The reason for this may be that most of the autobiographers are themselves men of letters. But whatever the reason, the quality of Gujarati autobigoraphy is brighter than that of the biography.

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Hindi

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Biographical literature is quite old in the West. It dates back to the biographies of Plutarch written in the 1st century B.C. In Hindi it is a comparatively new branch and in its true sense it appeared only in the 20th century after the impact of western literature. Hints of biographical literature have been traced back mainly to the works called *Caritakāvyas* in Sanskrit, Prākṛt, Pāli and Apabhramsa. But they are closer to fiction and poetry than to biography. For example the *Buddha Carita* of Aśvaghoṣa (1st century) is a book of poetry. The *Harṣa Carita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa begins with an autobiography of the author himself and then narrates the life and deeds of King Harṣa. In Hindi the *rāso kāvyas* do give a glimpse of the character, personality and heroic deeds of the hero; but as they were written by court poets, they are not true records of their lives. Moreover, their authenticity also is doubtful.

Early Biographical Writings in Hindi

Pṛthvīcandra Carita (1421) by Mānikyasundara Sūrī gives a colourful description of the king's regal grandeur, his court, army, his adventurous journeys and his love. The *Vamśāvalīs*, written in Mārvāḍī in the 16th century, give historical information about births, deaths and heroic deeds of the kings of Rajasthan. However, these works also are not biographies in the true sense.

It is only in the 17th century that some attempt was made in this direction. Mention has been made of the two biographies of Tulasīdāsa in verse—*Gosāīṁ Carita* (The Story of Goswami) and *Tulasī Carita* (The Story of Tulasi); but they are not authentic. *Janmasākhī Kabīr Bhagatjī kī* (The Life Story of Kabir, the Saint) and *Janmasākhi Guru Nānakji dī* (The Life Story of Nanak, the Preceptor) are other attempts in verse. The autobiography, *Ardha Kathānaka* (Half Story), of the Jain poet Banārasīdāsa, a contemporary of Akbar, is also written in verse; but it is a better work, and meets all the requirements of a successful biography. The author has frankly exposed his shortcomings and foibles.

The *Vacanāmṛta* (Nectar of Words) collected and written by the followers of Ācārya Viṭṭhala Nātha and Gokula Nātha form the basis for *Vārtā Sāhitya*, works which narrate

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the miraculous lives and deeds of Vaishnava saints. Though mention has been made of more than a hundred books under *Vārtā Sāhitya* only two of them are very famous—*Caurāsī Vaiṣṇavan kī Vārtā* (The Story of 84 Vaishnavites) and *Do Sau Bāvan Vaiṣṇavan kī Vārtā* (The Story of 252 Vaishnavites). These works give information about the lives of the disciples of Vallabhācārya and Viṭṭhala Nātha. The importance of the *Vārtā Sāhitya* as historical documents is, however, limited as they were written mainly for propagating the ideology of a particular sect. Their literary value too is not very significant because they have been written in a simple and sometimes insipid style. *Bhaktamāla* (A Wreath of Devotees, 1605) and its commentary *Bhakti Rasabodhinī* by Priyadāsa are two other biographical works of this period. They are not full biographies but present brief accounts of certain events and miracles of the saints. They are rather panegyrics of the saints based on hearsay. The *Paricaya Sāhitya* (1585–88) by Ananta Dāsa, Raghunātha Dāsa and Rūpadāsa also describes the religious activities of the *nirguṇa* saints like Kabir, Nāmdev, Dhannā, Pipā, Raidāsa, etc. They too were written to propagate a particular ideology. They are obviously not biographies in the true sense, yet their contribution to the development of biographical literature in Hindi cannot be entirely ignored.

It is clear from this short survey that the biographical sketches of kings and saints given in the poems, *Vārtā-Sāhitya*, etc. neither describe the full life story of the person concerned nor present a scientific and disinterested analysis of his personality. Moreover, their authenticity itself has not remained unchallenged.

Modern Period

The 19th century witnessed a slow but steady impact of western culture and literature on Hindi writers. Biographical literature in the true sense came into being only during this period. Bharatendu Harishchandra (Bhāratendu Hariścandra, 1850–85) himself wrote short biographical sketches of Vikrama, Kālidāsa, Rāmānuja, Jayadeva, Sūradāsa, Saṅkarācārya, so also of some Moghul emperors, of British administrators like Lord Mayo and Ripon and public men like Judge Dvārikā Nātha Miśra and Rājā Rāma Śāstrī. These are collected in books called *Caritāvalī* (stories); *Bādśah Darpaṇa* (A Mirror of Badshahs), *Udayapurodaya* (The Rise of Udaipur) and *Būndī kā Rājavamśa* (The Royal Family of Bundi). Bharatendu's *Āp Bītī*; *Kuch Jagbītī* (On Self; Some On Non-Self) is an attempt at autobiography. The associates of Bharatendu who did some exercise in this field are Kārtikā Prasāda Khatrī, Kāśīnātha Khatrī, Rāma Śaṅkara Vyāsa and Devī Prasāda Munsif. These authors wrote biographical sketches of kings and queens like Sivaji, Akbar, Jasawanta Singh, Bappa Rawal, Ahalyabai etc. If Kāśīnātha Khatrī wrote on Indian women, Radhakrishna Dasa (Rādhākṛṣṇa Dāsa) chose poets like Bihārī and Sūradāsa for his biographies. Mahārāja Raghurāja Singh's *Rāmarasikāvalī* (Devotees of Rama) and Rādhācaraṇa Gosvāmī's *Nava Bhaktamāla* (The New Wreath of Devotees) are in the old tradition of Nābhādāsa's *Bhaktamāla*. Pratāpa Nārāyaṇa Miśra, Bālamukunda Gupta, and Ambikā Datta Vyāsa are three other prominent biographers of this period. Their biographies are concerned with Dayānanda Sarasvatī, Svāmī Haridāsa and Svāmī Bhāskarānanda. Pratāpa Nārāyaṇa Miśra had started his autobiography but it could not be completed. Rādhā Caraṇa Gosvāmī's attempt was more successful. Foreigners also attracted the attention of Hindi writers. Rāma Śaṅkara Vyāsa wrote on Napoleon—*Nepolian Boṇapārt kā Jīvana Caritra* (The Life Story of Napoleon Bonaparte, 1883). The role of Christian missionaries in the development of biographical literature in Hindi should be appreciated. *Vikṭoriā Mahārāṇī kā Vṛttānta* (The Story of Queen Victoria, 1896) and *Sikandar Mahān kā Vṛttānta* (The Story of Alexander, the Great, 1899) deserve mention in this connection. A few translations like *Ācāryacaritāmṛta* (The Nectar of Preceptors' Stories, 1884) and *Paramahamsa Sivanārāyaṇa Svāmījī kā Jīvana Caritra* from Bengali (1895) and *Śri Svāmī Virajānanda Sarasvatī Dandījī kā Jīvana Carita* from Urdu (1899) also appeared in this period. Thus a number of biographical works were written in the 19th century, but from the point of view of content as also from that of language and style, these works are not very commendable. Most of them are short biographical sketches and not biographies, and besides, they are not dispassionate and disinterested accounts. However, the biography in this period was not subservient to kings and saints only. It can be called the 'infancy' of Hindi biography.

Dwivedi Era (1901–30)

Mahavira Prasad Dwivedi's (Mahāvīra Prasād Dvivedī, 1864–1938) mission in life was to enrich Hindi literature in every field. Naturally, his attention was drawn to the poor biographical works and in his attempt to improve this branch of Hindi literature he wrote a number of short biographical sketches collected in *Prācīna Paṇḍita aur Kavi* (Scholars and Poets of the Past), *Sukavi Saṅkīrtana* (Eulogy of Poets) and *Carita Carcā* (A Critique of Stories, 1929). Following him other Hindi writers also wrote biographical sketches. The subjects of the biographies written in this period are religious and national leaders, historical figures, foreign dignitaries and great women. The largest number of biographies were written on Swami Dayananda Saraswati, the founder of Ārya Samāj. Different writers from different angles threw light on his achievements and various phases of his personality. *Āryadharmendu Jīvana Maharṣī* (1901), *Dayānanda Caritāmṛta* (1904), *Svāmī Dayānanda*

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(1907), and *Dayānanda Digvijaya* (1910) are prominent works. The only thing that strikes the readers is that they have been written not as pieces of creative literature but with a motive to propagate the principles of Ārya Samāja.

This period was an age of national upsurge. People had taken a pledge to oust the British rulers. It was natural, therefore, to write the biographies of those who were leading the nation along the path of freedom. Lala Lajpat Rai, Mahatma Gandhi, Aurobindo Ghosh, Gopala Krishna Gokhale, Dada Bhai Nawroji, Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lokamanya Tilak were the heroes of the time and a number of biographical sketches were written on them in order to inspire the people to emulate their ideals of sacrifice, patriotism and love for freedom.

Great historical figures who sacrificed their all for the sake of the mother-land were a great source of inspiration to the nation in her struggle for freedom—and Hindi writers wrote biographical sketches of Śivājī, Chatraśāla, Pṛthvī Rāja Cauhān, Mahārāṇā Pratāpa and the Sikh Gurus. The writers of this age were not narrow-minded. They chose for their biographies the lives of those foreigners too who had served mankind in one way or the other. Garibaldi, Napoleon, Abraham Lincoln, John Stuart Mill, Max Muller, Mazzini, Nelson, Bismarck, Socrates and Colonel Tadd were the heroes of the biographical sketches written by Siddhesvara Varmā, Umāpati Datta Śarmā, Nāthū Rāma Premī, Brahmānanda, Lakṣmīdhara Vājapeyī, Kṛṣṇa Prasād Simha Akhorī, Indra Vidyālaṅkāra and Candra Śekhar Pāṭhak.

A number of biographies were written on great women leaders both of India and abroad. Gaṅgāprasād Gupta, Paramānanda, Hanumanta Simha, Yaśodā Devī, Dvarakā Prasād Caturvedī, Devendra Prasād Jain, Lalitā Prasād Śarmā, Rāmjī Lāl Varmā, Sūrya Nārāyaṇ Tripāṭhi and Rāmānanda Dvivedī, besides writing specific biographies of Samyogitā, Durgāvatī, Nurjehāṁ and Lakṣmībāī of Jhansi wrote biographical sketches of many other women in the books like *Pativratā Striyoṁke Jīvanacarita* (1904), *Ramaṇi Ratnamālā* (1907), *Ādarśa Mahilāyeṁ* (1912), *Aitihāsika Striyāṁ* (1912), *Viduṣī Striyāṁ* (1912) and *Bhāratvarṣa kī Vīra Mātāyeṁ* (1913). Thus biographical literature written in this era is rich both in quantity and in quality.

Post-Dwivedi Period (1930–47)

The trend of writing biographies of national leaders and historical figures continued unabated because the struggle for freedom of the country had become all the more intense. Biographies of saints and sages are few and far between. *Vallabhācārya Digvijaya* and *Bhakta Caritāvalī* are the only two works. Bhadanta Ānanda Kausalyāyan's *Bhagavān Buddha* (1940), Sundar Lal's *Hazarat Mohammad* (1940) and Dīn Dayāl Upādhyāya's *Śrī Śaṅkarācārya* (1947) are good biographies. Among the foreigners Stalin, Mussolini, Hitler and Churchill were the favourite subjects. A few translations from foreign languages also contributed to the enrichment of Hindi biography. *Prins Kropāṭkin* (1939), *Mahātmā Kaunṭ Lio Tolstoy* (1943) and *Śrīmatī Kyūrī* (Madamme Curie, 1947) are notable examples.

Some of the biographies written in this period specially attract our attention. Biographies of Bankim Chandra Chatterji by Rūpanārāyaṇa Pāṇḍeya, of Keshaba Chandra Sen by Ek Bhāratīya Hṛdaya based on an English book *Life of Keshab Chandra Sen* and of Satyanarayana Kaviratna by Banārasīdās Caturvedī are landmarks in this field. A few biographies specially meant for children were also written. Rāmacandra Ṭaṇḍon's *Sarojinī Nāiḍū* (1925) is an interesting book. Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Mahadev Govind Ranade along with certain other historical characters figure in the *Caritāvalī Granthamālā* edited by Dulāre Lāl Bhārgav and Rūp Nārāyaṇ Pāṇḍeya.

Post-Independence Period

After Independence, biographical literature in Hindi has developed so much both qualitatively and quantitatively that now it has established itself as an independent and autonomous branch of literature. Even if we leave aside biographies written for children and biographies of political leaders which are full of eulogy, written for selfish ends, and those which depict the heroic deeds of the revolutionaries, there is a vast treasure of biographical literature produced during this period.

No doubt, in the first ten years after Independence the emphasis was on political leaders and revolutionaries. There was a halo of self-sacrifice, fearlessness, adventure and patriotism around these figures. Placing an ideal before the readers and arousing their patriotic feelings was another object behind writing such biographies. There was a spate of biographies of Gandhi, Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose, Vallabhbhai Patel, Bhagat Singh, Chandra Shekhar Azad, and others. But in most of them the writers have narrated wellknown facts, incidents and events of their subjects' lives. They have rarely attempted to investigate unknown or little known facts. Another feature that is common to these biographies is that while dealing with the incidents unknown to history the writers have employed unbridled imagination and have tried to depict their heroes in romantic colours. These biographies of political leaders have their own importance and utility; but they lack literary merit and genuine creativity. Most of the writers were ignorant of the art of writing biography. Rāmavṛkṣa Benīpurī, Devarāja Miśra, Chavināth Pāṇḍeya, Manmatha Nāth Gupta, and others are some prominent biographers of the age and they have written on Jayaprakash Narayan, Rajarsi Tandon, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, Nehru, Patel, and others. Rahul Sankrityayan also wrote biographies of Lenin, Marx, Mao Tse-tung,

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Akbar, Sardar Prithvi Singh and Vir Chandrasingh Garhwali (1953–57). Rahul was a Marxist, and there is naturally a deep influence of his Marxist philosophy on his biographies. Baladev Upādhyāya's (b. 1899) biography *Śaṅkarācārya* is remarkable for its research value. He has also written on the lives of Sāyaṇa and Mādhava—the famous commentators on Vedic Literature.

Biographies in the true sense were written on litterateurs like Premchand, Ācārya Śukla, Nirālā, Pant and Sarat Chandra Chatterjee. Three biographies on Premchand, one by his wife, another by his son and the third *Kalam kā Mazdūr* (A Worker with Pen, 1965) by Madan Gopāl are known for their authenticity and literary quality. *Premcand Ghar meṁ* (Premchand at Home, 1956) by his wife Śivarāni Devī gives a glimpse of Premchand's inner family life. *Kalam kā Sipāhī* (A Soldier with a Pen, 1968) by his son Amrit Rai (Amṛt Rāy) is the most authentic and objective biography written with great industry. The writer has tried to explain how the environment and circumstances influenced Premchand, how he reacted to them and how all this was reflected in his works. This may rightly be called the pen-portrait of the man and the document of his age combined in one. *Ācārya Rāma Candra Śukla: Jīvana aur Kṛtitva* (Professor Ramachandra Shukla: Life and Works, 1963) by his nephew Candraśekhar is a biography written after the style of Boswell's *Life of Johnson*. Written with emotion in parts, it gives a true picture of a man whose life was a long and arduous literary penance. Rāma Bilāsa Śarmā in his *Nirālā kī Sāhitya Sādhanā* (The Literary Accomplishment of Nirala) Part I has laboured hard to find out true facts and events of the Chāyāvāda poet Nirala's life, which was full of controversies and contradictions. It presents Nirala with all his strength and weakness. It not only helps the reader understand Nirala's literature and personality but is in itself a work of art. Śāntī Jośī has in the first part of her work on Sumitra Nandan Pant (1970) sketched the life of the poet and traced the development of his poetry from 1900 to 1940. Viṣṇu Prabhākar's biography of Śarat Chandra, *Āvārā Masīhā* (The Wandering Messiah) is another major work in the history of biographical literature in Hindi. After visiting places inside and outside the country, corresponding with and personally interviewing people, the writer has collected a lot of material hitherto unknown and presented it objectively and dispassionately with a view to giving a correct picture of the great Bengali fiction-writer. *Manīṣī kī Lokayātrā* (The Worldly March of the Wise, 1969) by Bhagavatī Prasād Singh gives in its first hundred pages detailed descriptions of the birth, family environment, education and literary efforts of Gopīnātha Kavirāja and later on describes his achievements in the field of mysticism.

A few commemoration volumes on Malaviya, Gandhi and Nehru, and monthlies, pocket-books and translations have also promoted the development of biographical literature in Hindi. Though all of them cannot be called pure literary biographies, they have contributed to the growth of the genre in their own limited ways.

Autobiography

In the domain of autobiography, the *Hamsa* played an important role. For its special number *Ātma Kathā Viśeṣāṅka* (Special Number on Autobiography) a number of Hindi writers like Vinod Śaṅkar Vyās, Dhanī Rāma, Lakṣmīdhar Vājapeyī, Gayā Prasād Śāstrī and Premchand wrote autobiographical sketches. These pieces may not be very artistic but they did help in the development of the art of autobiography. Slowly but surely Hindi autobiography came into its own and the autobiographies by Swami Śraddhānanda (*Kalyāṇa Mārga kā Pathika*, Traveller of the Path of Welfare), Lajpat Rai, Swami Satyananda (*Svatantratā kī Khoj*, In Search of Freedom) and Bhai Paramananda (*Āp Bītī*, It Happened to Me, 1921) are good autobiographies. Among those written by Hindi litterateurs, Śyām Sundar Dās's *Merī Ātma Kahānī* (My Autobiography, 1941), Gulaba Rai's *Merī Asaphalataeṁ* (My Failings), Rāhul Sāṅkṛtyāyan's *Merī Jīvanayātrā* (The March of My Life, 1946) need special mention. They help us not only in knowing these authors more intimately but also in understanding the age in which they lived and wrote.

A number of autobiographies in the post-Independence period were written by social and political workers. As they had detached themselves from family life, their autobiographies tell more about the country and society than about their personal and private lives. Viyogī Hari's *Merā Jīvana Pravāha* (My Life's Stream, 1948) tells more about the literary activities of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and his services to Harijans than about his own self. Similarly Śāntipriya Dvivedī's *Parivrājaka kī Prajā* (1952) is more a story of a litterateur than of the man in flesh and blood. *Candā Sūraj ke Bīran* (3 parts) by Devendra Satyārthī is a bit different. In the first two parts the writer gives a glimpse of his childhood and school-days. The third part deals with his colourful college life. The book is no doubt written in an interesting style; but there is so much subjectivity in his writing that facts are lost. Seṭh Govinda Dāsa's *Ātma Nirīkṣaṇa* (Self-observations, three parts, 1950) is a complete history of the freedom movement. Sant Rām's *Mere Jīvan ke Anubhava* (My Life's Experience) tells more about the events relating to narrow casteism and sectarianism than about the author's personal life. Its style is closer to memoirs than to autobiography. *Zyādā Apnī, Kam Parāyī* (More on Self, Less on Others) by Upendra Nāth Aśka throws light on the writer's literary personality and his views on literature. Similarly *Merī Apnī Kathā* (My Own Story, 1950) by Padumlāl Punnā Lāl Bakṣi says more about contemporary litterateurs than about his own self. Thus, most of the autobiographies written in this period are more

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concerned about the society and country than about the person himself. The only exceptions are *Uljhī Smṛtiyāṁ* (Tangled Memories) by Vinoda Śankar Vyās, *Apnī Khabar* by Ugra, *Bacpan ke Do Din* (Two Days of Childhood) by Devarāja Upādhyāya, *Kyā Bhūlūṁ Kyā Yād Karūṁ* (What to Forget and What to Remember) and *Nīḍa kā Nirmāṇa* (Making of the Nest) by Baccan. They deal more with the personal life of the authors than with the outside world. Among the autobiographies written by the revolutionaries, *Simhāvalokana* (Looking Back, three parts) by Yaśapāl deserves special mention. Yaśapāl's book not only gives an exhaustive history of the armed revolution in India but also reveals the character and personality of the author. Though Banārasī Dāsa Caturvedī considers Bismil's autobiography the best work of its kind in Hindi, the tendency of the writer to exhort and instruct the reader has marred his writing.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad (*Ātma Kathā*, Autobiography, 1947), Ajit Prasāda Jain (*Ajñāta Jīvana*, Unknown Life), Bhavānī Dayāl Sanyāsī (*Pravāsī kī Ātma Kathā*, Autobiography of a Non-native, 1947), Gaṅgā Prasāda Upādhyāya (*Jīvana Cakra*, Life Cycle) and Jānakī Devī Bajāj (*Merī Jīvana Yātrā*, My Life's Journey) are notable autobiographers among those who belong to political and social fields. Naturally their autobiographies tell more about the political and social activities than about their personal lives. *Pravāsī kī Ātmkathā* and *Jīvana Cakra* are different; the former tells about the hardships of the Indians in South Africa and their efforts to get human rights, and the latter gives detailed accounts of the missionary work done in spreading Vedic religion in foreign countries.

Research works on the lives of poets like Sūr, Kabīr, Tulasī and others besides dictionaries compiling life-sketches of illustrious persons have also made their own contribution to this field. A new experiment was made by Mahādeva Desāī, the private secretary of Mahatma Gandhi, in the form of *Mahādeva Bhāī kī Ḍayarī* (The Diary of Mahādeva Bhāī). Keeping Boswell as his ideal, the author has tried to write a biography of Mahatma Gandhi based on what he had been writing about Gandhi's daily life in his diary.

Translations. The autobiographies translated from other languages have also enriched Hindi biographical literature. Among the translated autobiographies *Koī Sikāyat Nahīṁ* by Kṛṣṇā Haṭhī Singh translated by Mohammad Morris, K. M. Munshi's autobiography (three parts) from Gujarati, Ved Mehtā's *Merā Jīvana Saṅgharṣa* by Śiva Kumāra Śarmā, *Śrīmatī Kyūrī* (Madamme Curie) by Lal Bahadur Sastri, *Mere Saṅgharṣa* a translation of Hitler's autobiography by Ganeśa Prasād Dvivedī, Maulana Azad's *Āzādī kī Kahānī* (1965) by Mahendra Caturvedī, and Abdul Gaffar Khan's autobiography translated from Pasto by Jagannātha Prabhākar are significant works. If Hamsa Wādekar's *Suno Sunātī Hūm*, a Hindi translation from Marathi by Vijay Bapat deals with the life of a film actress, Joś Malīhābādī's *Yādoṁ kī Bārāt* translated by Hamsrāja Rahbar exposes the official life and administration in Pakistan. These two works are novel because of their theme and will find a lasting place in the history of biographical writing in Hindi.

Memoirs

Memoirs are a newly developed but quite popular literary genre of modern Hindi literature. It is a branch of biographical or, strictly speaking, of autobiographical literature. Memoirs in Hindi have been written mostly by poets, novelists and critics. Mahadevi Verma's *Path ke Sāthī* (Fellow-Travellers, 1956), Makhan Lāl Caturvedī's *Samay ke Pāṁv* (Times' Feet, 1962), Harivamśa Rāi Baccan's *Naye Purāṇe Jharokhe* (Windows New and Old, 1962), and Sumitra Nandan Pant's *Samsmaraṇa aur Śraddhāñjaliyāṁ* (Memoirs and Tributes, 1965) deal not only with fellow Hindi poets but other contemporary figures both literatures and politicians such as Gandhi, Nehru, Radhakrishnan, Rajendra Prasad and Lal Bahadur Sastri. Among fiction-writers who have written memoirs, the names of Vinod Śaṅkar Vyās, Jainendra, and Upendra Nath Aśka are notable. *Ye aur Ve* (These and Those, 1954) by Jainendra consists of twelve memoirs including those relating to Premchand, Maithilī Śaraṇa and Mahatma Gandhi. Nirālā, the Punjabi writer Rajendra Singh Bedi, Navina, Rajendra Yadav and Yaśapal figure in the memoirs written by Aśka. Ajñeya in his *Ātmanepada* (For Oneself) and *Likhi Kāgad Kore* (Wrote on Papers Blank) has analyzed his own personality and achievements from the angle of others as well as his own.

The ten memoirs compiled in Nagendra's *Cetanā ke Bimba* (1967) are tributes to the persons who have left an indelible impression upon his consciousness. Padum Lāl Punnā Lāl Bakṣī's *Jinheṁ Nahīṁ Bhūlūṁgā* (Whom I Won't Forget, 1964) is a book of memoirs written in the style of essays.

Other writers who have contributed to this genre are Prakāśa Candra Gupta, Rājā Rādhikāramaṇa Prasād Singh, Banārasī Dās Caturvedī, Ramavṛkṣa Benīpurī, Kanhaiyā Lāl Miśra Prabhākar and Jagadīś Candra Māthur. Prakāś Candra Gupta in his *Purānī Smṛtiyāṁ aur Naye Skec* (Old Memories and New Sketches, 1947) has recalled his childhood, school-and college-days while Banārasī Dās Caturvedī's *Hamāre Ārādhya* (Our Revered Ones) is significant because the persons depicted in it are foreigners like Gidis, Kagav and Romain Rolland. Benīpurī's *Mīl ke Patthar* (Milestones, 1961) recalls his association with literary figures like Premchand and Makhan Lāl Caturvedī. Jagadīś Candra Māthur's *Das Tasvīreṁ* (Ten Pictures) presents the portraits of educationists, administrators,

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musicians, social workers etc. with whom he came in contact as a civil servant and who by their uncommon brilliance or devotion to duty left an indelible impression upon him.

The collections of memoirs edited by Kṣema Candra Suman (*Jaisā Hamne Dekhā*, As We Have Seen, 1950), Śrī Nārāyaṇa Caturvedī (*Manorañjaka Saṁsmaraṇa*, Interesting Memoirs, 1965) and Mohan Rākeś (*Āīne ke Sāmne*, Before the Mirror, 1965) have their own literary merits. These works not only draw pen-pictures of literary figures and recall interesting incidents of their lives but also provide authentic information about the literary trends and movements of the age.

Most of the memoirs written before and after Independence relate to political leaders and freedom fighters. The aim of these writers was to infuse the feeling of nationalism, and the spirit of sacrifice among the readers. Therefore, they present in a simple and interesting style the socio-political climate of the country, rising consciousness of the people and the agonies undergone by the patriots during the freedom struggle. They generally lack literary ornamentation and are charged with eulogies of the leaders. Kākā Kālelkar and Rajendra Prasad wrote on Mahatma Gandhi and Ghanaśyām Dās Birla on Jamnā Lāl Bajāj. A few memoirs were written about the revolutionaries by their co-workers. Manmohan Gupta's *Ek Krāntikārī ke Samsmaraṇa* (Memoirs of a Revolutionary, 1960) can be cited as an example. A few monthlies like *Viśāla Bhārata* and *Pāñcajanya* brought out special numbers. The *Śahīd Aṅka* (The Martyrs' Number, 1959) of the former and *Krānti Samsmaraṇa Aṅka* (Revolution Commemoration Number, January 1962 & April 1968) of the latter were appreciated widely. Rāhul Sāṅkṛtyāyan in his *Mere Asahayoga ke Sāthī* (Comrades of Non-Cooperation, 1959) has paid tributes to those thirty-eight unknown revolutionaries with whom he had been associated and who died, unknown and unremembered, for the sake of their motherland.

A number of social workers and religious reformers too deserve our appreciation and respect for what they did for the people. Hindi writers like Sant Rām and Indra Vidyāvācaspati paid tributes to leaders like Svāmī Śraddhānanda, Rām Deva Chokhānī, Gopīkṛṣṇa Aggarvāl and Rāja Gopāla Mehtā.

Some common and unidentified persons too have been the subjects of Hindi memoirs. The only thing that attracted writers to write about them is their love for mankind, simplicity and unreserved affection for all. Mahadevi Verma (*Smārikā*, Memoirs), Rājā Rādhikāramaṇa Singh, Rāmavṛkṣa Benīpurī (*Māṭī kī Mūrateṁ*, Icons of Earth), Kanhaiyā Lāl Miśra 'Prabhakar' (*Dīpa Jale Śaṅkha Baje*, Let the Lamp be Lit and the Conch Blown), Rāhul Sāṅkṛtyāyan and Tansukha Rām Gupta (*Jīvana ke Kuch Kṣaṇoṁ Meṁ*, In some Moments of Life) are notable among such writers.

Besides, there is a vast material scattered in the magazines and periodicals like *Jñānodaya*, *Naī Dhārā*, *Nayā Samāja*, *Ājkal*, *Dharmayuga* and *Sāptāhik Hindustān*. Dailies like *Āj*, *Dainika Hindustān* and *Nava Bhārata Times* are also making their contribution in this direction.

This brief survey of the biographical literature in Hindi leaves us with a feeling of satisfaction. It is fairly rich not only in quantity but in quality too. All these writings not only provide us with close and intimate pictures of the personages about whom they are written but also help us gather authentic information about the social, political, cultural and literary life of the age. Rising above the dry historical documents and panegyrics these biographical writings have established themselves as a branch of creative literature which is in no way a mean achievement.

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Kannada

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Prefatory Observations

The Kannada equivalent of the term biography is *Jīvana Carite*, a Sanskrit word. *Caritam* or *Caritram* by itself means a life-story or biography. In the compound word *Jīvanacarite*, the latter component, i.e. *carite*, should be understood to mean events, acts, doings, or an account of all those things, in the life of an individual. *Caritram* also means the behaviour, habit or conduct of an individual. *Caritre* also means 'history' in both Sanskrit and Kannada. Hence the expression *Jīvana Caritre* adopted by modern Kannada writers in the sense of a biography is quite apt, signifying that it is based on facts which constitute the hallmark of a true biography in contradistinction to the novel, which is pure fiction. In spite of the marked difference between these two genres of literature, there is one characteristic common to both, viz. the imaginative element. A well-written biography reads almost like a novel. Lawrence Binyon's *Akbar*, very ably translated by D. Javare Gowda (Javarē Gauḍa, b. 1918) is an instance in point. Both the novel and the biography are human documents. The life-story of even an ordinary person would read like a novel if well-narrated.

For example the autobiography of an illiterate coolie, entitled *Cengūli Celuva* (1953), by N. Kasturi (Kastūri, b. 1897), may be cited. Kasturi engaged one Cheluva as a night watchman for his house under construction in Bangalore. In a reminiscent mood Cheluva would sometimes relate his adventures in Bombay, where he had settled as a fortune-seeker, deserting his hearth and home. Kasturi coaxed his coolie into narrating the incidents of his life in Bombay, and took down verbatim his uninhibited Kannada narration in a colloquial style all his own, punctuated with native wit and humour. It should however be admitted that Kasturi gave a coherent and sequential literary form to a rough-hewn narration, so much so that most of the readers have mistaken this work for a novel. The bulk of biographical writing in Kannada, with a good number of exceptions, of course, has been done by authors who were not literary artists, but others with little or no conception of the genre and generally with considerations other than literary. Most of them were content to base their works on available works—biographies in English and other Indian languages.

Ancient and Medieval Periods

Ancient Period. It is hard to find in any language an ordinary man like Cheluva being chosen as the subject of a biography even though impressionistic vignettes of common folk representing a cross-section of society fleet across in the pages of autobiographical reminiscences like *Kelavu Nenapugaḷu* by Navaratna Rama Rao. In Kannada literature, whether ancient or modern, it is only great men like kings and warriors, poets and philosophers, founders of religions and religious sects, savants and social reformers, who have generally engaged the attention of biographers. It would be pertinent to ask if the accounts of the lives of historical figures, like Mahavira, Parswanatha, Gautama Buddha, Sankaracharya, Ramanuja, Basaveswara and Purandara Dasa, which invariably contain miraculous happenings, could be deemed to be biographies. The ancient writers entertained no doubts about the historicity of epic and puranic characters and they saw no inconsistency in calling their works *Purāṇas*. The word *Purāṇa* itself means 'that which happened in the past'. We see ancient as well as modern writers of the early decades of this century writing *Purāṇas* (e.g. *Basava Purāṇa*, 1369, by Bhīma Kavi, 14th century) and *Charitas* (e.g. *Bhīṣma Carite* by C. Vāsudēvaiah (1852–1943) of great men and women of the hoary past. Since the early rulers of Karnataka patronized Jainism and Jaina scholars and poets, Jainism achieved a firm foothold. So the earliest Kannada literary works with the verisimilitude of a biography were written by Jain poets.

Vastuka, a Jaina Purana. The author of *Kavirājamārga*, incorrectly ascribed to Nripatunga (Nṛpatuṅga, 814–877), the earliest work (c. A.D. 850) extant in Kannada, classifies the main literary forms of his day into three categories, viz. prose, verse, and a mixed variety with prose and verse called *Gadya Katha*, because of a preponderance of prose in it. He enjoins in particular that the writer who would like to compose a *Gadya Katha* should be 'well-versed in and capable of describing in detail all the aspects of a famous factual theme, *Vastu*, the facts being related to all the (sixty-four) arts, worldly affairs and religious tenets pertaining to the theme'. The author of *Kavirājamārga*, Shri Vijaya (Śrī Vijaya, 9th century), being a Jain, obviously intends that the Vastu should be the life-story of a Tīrthaṅkara[1]. We have enough evidence to state that Sri Vijaya himself wrote a puranic work on the life of Chandraprabha, the eighth Tīrthaṅkara, which unfortunately is not available. A *Gadya-Katha* containing a *Vastu* or a factual theme came to be known as *Vastuka* (that which has a Vastu).

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The *Vastuka* came to be known as *Champu Kāvya* since the time of Nagavarma II (11th century). The credit for developing *Champu* as a major genre in Kannada must go to the Jaina poets. The first available *Vastuka* is *Ādi Purāṇa* (A.D. 941), a puranic biography by Pampa of the first Tirthankara, Vṛshabha; the poet calls his work a *Vastukṛti*. Nagavarma II has written *Vardhamāna Purāṇa* (1042), the life-story of Vardhamana, the twenty-fourth and last in the line of Tirthankaras, who was a historical figure. We have a work on Parsvanatha, the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara, who was also a historical person. The Kannada Jaina Puranas cannot be considered biographies in the modern sense of the term. But we see the genesis of a biography in these puranas in that they relate life stories of human beings and not of gods.

Medieval Period. The Vīraśaiva Puranas depict the lives of some hundred odd Śaiva saints. Of these, 63 are the Puratanas, the ancients; all of them belonged to Tamil Nadu and were living embodiments of Sivabhakti. The Śaiva saints inspired successive generations of Kannada poets up to the 17th century to write legendary accounts about them. These works are usually called *Vīraśaiva Purāṇas*.

Vīraśaiva Purāṇas in general narrate (i) stories from the Śiva Purāṇas in Sanskrit, (ii) stories describing the devotional fervour and spiritual achievements of the 63 Purātana saints, (iii) stories of the Nūtana-Purātanas or neo-ancients, such as Basavesvara and his contemporaries, and (iv) stories of Nūtanas or comparatively modern saints.

The biographical writings on Virasaiva saints by Virasaiva poets who were proximate to them in point of time blazed a new trail; they were quite different from the classical *campu* style of the Jaina poets, and were in keeping with the revolutionary spirit of the Virasaiva religious movement spearheaded by Basavesvara (Basavēśvara, 12th century). The pioneer of this new trend was Harihara Deva (Harihara Dēva, 13th century) who developed a new narrative style in the native *Ragaḷe* metre (resembling the heroic couplet in English verse), a few varieties of which had been, though rarely, used by the early Jaina poets in their *Campu Kāvyas*. Harihara was the first poet to use *Ragaḷe* metre for the entire work. Another innovation of his was the use of the *Ragaḷe* metre and prose in alternate chapters in a couple of works like *Basava Rāja Dēvara Ragaḷe* and *Nambiaṇṇana Ragaḷe*. Though Harihara is indebted to the Tamil classic *Periya Purāṇam* by Śekkirar (11th century) for themes relating to the 63 Purātanas like Bēdara Kaṇṇappa, Tirunīlakaṇṭhar, Manu Cōla and Nambiaṇṇa (Sundara Nāyanār), the dramatic way in which he develops the stories, the realism of picturesque descriptions of men and matters, the delicate touches of wit and humour in the delineation of characters, the spicy dialogues, the social setting, all these beautifully subserving the climactic triumph of the single-minded devotion of the bhakta, which is put to severe tests by adversaries and some times by Lord Siva himself, are the product of his genius.

Raghavanka (Rāghavāṅka, 13th century), nephew of Harihara, was innovative like his uncle, and he brought into vogue *śaṭpadi*, a six-lined stanza in varying rhythms, in which he wrote a biography of Siddharama, *Siddharāma Carita* (c. 1250). Siddharama was an ardent devotee of Lord Mallikarjuna of Śrī Śaila Hills. The encounter between Siddharama and Allama (who sets him on the path of spiritual sādhana) and other episodes in the life of Siddharama are vividly narrated by the poet and are remarkable for their dramatic quality. Both Harihara and Raghavanka left worthy models of biographical writing to subsequent Virasaiva writers.

Palkuriki Somanatha (13th century), a prolific writer in Telugu, Sanskrit and Kannada, has exerted considerable influence on Kannada literature, including biographical writing. The Kannada *Basava Purāṇa* by Bhima Kavi is by and large a literal translation of the Telugu original of the same name by Palkuriki Somanatha; this is the second biography on Basava, and contains, besides the life of Basava, a detailed account of the miracles performed by him and stories of other devotees of Siva, and being more of a purana than a biography, sets the pace for the puranic type of biography on Basava. The later Basava Puranas written by Lakkanna Dandesa, Singiraja and others perfected the puranic approach to the life of Basava, and are not dependable sources for modern authors in their endeavour to reconstruct the life of Basava.

On the whole the Virasaiva poets had a better sense of biographical writing than their Jaina counterparts.

Vaishnava devotional literature flourished from the 13th century onwards till almost the end of the 18th century. It is strange that Madhvacarya, originator of the Dvaita school of philosophy, and important Haridasas like Purandara Dasa and Kanaka Dasa found no biographers till recent times.

During the long stretch of three and a half centuries from the fall of the Vijayanagara Empire in 1565, despite a gradual decline in literary standards, we come across some biographical writings of a quasi-historical character, along with the old puranic type of biography. As examples of the latter type, *Cannabasava Purāṇa* (1584) in *Ṣaṭpadi* metre by Virupaksha Pandita and *Rāghavāṅka Carite* and *Gururāja Caritra*, both by Siddhananjesa (17th century), deserve mention. *Cannabasava Purāṇa* presents for the first time an appealing and imaginative treatment of the life and work of Cannabasava, nephew of Basavesvara, who is here surrounded by a legendary halo and elevated to the status of an *Avatār* in the Virasaiva puranic tradition. This biography and *Gururāja Caritra* have been very useful to the historian of Kannada literature in determining the approximate dates of early Virasaiva saints and poets.

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Keḷadinṛpa Vijaya by Linganna Kavi (Lingaṇṇa Kavi, 15th century), court poet of Keladi ruler Basavappanayaka II; *Cikkadēvarāja Vijaya* and *Cikkadēvarāja Vaṁśāvali* by Tirumalarya (1646–1706); *Kaṇṭhīrava Narasarāja Vijaya* (1648) by Bharati Nanja; *Bijjaḷarāya Carita* by Dharani Pandita (17th century)—these broke new ground in biographical writing in that they dealt with actual happenings such as the heroic deeds, military exploits and victories won, and the chivalrous qualities of the heroes of the works, and they are also independent works with realistic descriptions of the social milieu. Their historical character adds to the realism of the biographical writing. Their defect is that they are not based on any documentary evidence. All the same, they have turned out to be primary sources for the historian.

On the whole, there has been an unbroken tradition of semi-biographical writing in the ancient and medieval periods of the history of Kannada literature though in the post-Chikkadevaraja period works of a biographical nature are few and far between.

The Modern Period

Modern biography as a prose form of literature in Kannada came into being in the last quarter of the 19th century and in the early decades of the present century, the pre-Independence era, as a direct result of the upsurge of nationalistic fervour. Our contact with English literature brought about the Renaissance in Indian literature, which gave a fillip to prose-writing in general; and modern literary forms based on the English models appeared. Writers of prose, not necessarily literary artists but imbued with the spirit of the times, wanted to present the noble ideals and sentiments reflected in the lives of the great men of the past and the present. Lives of great men of other climes were also chosen for portrayal, as they represented certain universal and eternal values.

A few examples of early essays in biographical writing under different heads produced during the pre-Independence era would broadly indicate the trends and attitudes of authors:

Prophets, Saints and Religious Leaders. *Yēsu Krista* (Jesus Christ, F. Kittel, 1832–1903); *Swāmi Rāma Tīrtha* (Harḍēkar Manjappa, 1886–1947); *Śaṅkarācārya* (1850, Doḍḍabele Nārāyaṇa Śāstri); *Amaraganādhīśvarara Caritregaḷu*, *Śiva Śaraṇara Caritregaḷu* (P. G. Haḷakaṭṭi, 1880–1963); *Madhvācāryara Caritre*, *Yājñavalkyara Caritre* (Nā. Śrī. Rājapurōhita, 1887–1953); *Allama Prabhu* (Buddhaiya Purāṇika); *Mahamad Paigaṁbar* (1939 M. P. Pūjāra, 1884–1962).

Social Reformers. *Iśvaracandrā Vidyā Sāgarara Caritre*, *Rājārāma Mōhanarāyara Caritre* (Kōmaṇḍūru Rāmaswāmi Ayyaṅgār, 1860–1925); *Kēśavacandra Sēna* (1939, D. Rēṇukācārya).

Famous Historical Personages. *Rajiyā Bēgum* (Huraḷi Bhīmarāyaru, 1885–1970); *Victōriā Mahārāṇi* (Kristānuja Vatsa, 1840–1920; Sa. Ra. Veṅkappayya, 1843–1915; B. Sūryanārāyaṇa Rāo, 1856–1937); *Ēḷaneya Edward* (1909), *Eṇṭaneya Edward* (1936), *Pañcama Jārjaru* (George V, 1911, Kallō Gaṇēśa Bijāpurakara, b. 1883); *Booker T. Washington* (M. Veṅkaṭakṛṣṇayya, 1844–1934); *Abraham Lincoln* (1930, B. Candraśēkharayya; also by C. K. Veṅkaṭarāmayya and Honnāpuramatha); *James Abraham Garfield* (1917, Y. K. Rāmacandra Rāo, 1884–1956); *Aśōka* (M. P. Pujara, b. 1884); *Akbar Cakravartiya Jīvana Caritre*, *Chatrapati Śivāji Mahārāja*, *Ṭippū Sultānana Caritre*, *Nānā Faḍnavīsa*, *Raṇajita Simhana Caritre* (Rāmacandra Hanamantha Dēśapaṇḍe, 1861–1930); *Śri Cāmarājēndra Oḍeyaravaru* (M. Singrayya); *Mysūrina Rājya Lakshmiyaru* (Subodha M. Rāma Rāo, 1895–1970); *Napolean Bonaparte* (1903, Ānavaṭṭi Rāma Rāo, 1860–?)

Poets. *Shakespeare* (Ānavaṭṭi Rāma Rāo); *Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāya Caritre* (Śivrāma Dāsa, b. 1893); *Nāḍōja Paṁpa* (1938), *Pārti Subba* (1946, Muḷiya Timmappayya, 1888–1950).

Most biographies were either abridged translations or adaptations of the originals in English or other Indian languages like Bengali and Marathi. A few with some semblance of originality depended on existing biographies in English. But exceptionally good works like *Āḷida Mahāswāmi Yavaru*, *Nāḍōja Paṁpa* and *Pārti Subba* were entirely original. Mention must be made of the sustained and devoted labour of love on the part of Subodha Rama Rao who brought out a series of a hundred and forty low-priced small biographies on mythological characters, religious leaders, great sons and daughters of India and also on great men of other lands with a view to placing high ideals before the younger generation.

We find the true modern biography in Kannada coming into its own in the pre-Independence era with pioneers like M. S. Puttanna, D. V. Gundappa, Ca. Vasudevayya, C. K. Venkataramayya and K. V. Puttappa producing original full-length biographies. *Kuṇigal Rāma Śāstri* (1910) and *Mahammad Gavān* (1922) by Puttanna; *Gōpāla Kṛṣṇa Gōkhale* (1915) and *Diwān C. Raṅgācārlu* (1911) by Gundappa; *Harṣavardhana* (1936), *Mahamad Paigaṁbar* (1934) and *Aḷida Mahāswāmiyavaru* (1941) by Venkataramayya; *Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahamsa* (1934) and *Swāmi Vivēkānanda* (1931) by Puttappa; *Ravīndranātha Ṭhākūraru* (1935) by Masti Venkatesa Aiyangar—in such works the objective outlook expected of a true biographer is generally discernible for the first time in Kannada biographical literature.

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A Unique Biography. A couple of works mentioned above deserve special notice. M. S. Puttanna's *Kuṇigal Rāma Śāstrigaḷa Caritre* is the first biography in modern Kannada literature; it is also unique in that it is based entirely on the anecdotes and reminiscences related by the disciples of Rama Sastri, in the absence of any written record like a diary. The result is an imaginative treatment of the theme, and the biography written in a homely style of the period reads like a historical novel. While highlighting the unchallenged supremacy of Rama Sastri, a past-master in *Nyāya* and *Tarka*, and in scholastic disputations to which he was dragged by jealous scholars and which brought him to the benevolent notice of the ruling monarch of Mysore, Krishnaraja Wodeyar III (1794–1868), the author has skilfully introduced vivid pictures of the Royal Court and memorable sketches of a number of scholars—Rama Sastri's teachers, students and his arrogant opponents in disputations. The sterling qualities of both the patron and the scholar are depicted in bold relief, the one serving as a foil to the other. The entire age comes to life in these pages. We also get an idea of the Gurukula system of Vedic education in those times. As the author himself says, 'The entire story of this great scholar is about his scholarship'. (Rama Sastri was a Sādhaka in Yōga and died in Yōga Samādhi, and was the father of the 32nd pontiff of the Śṛṅgēri Maṭha founded by Adi Sankara.)

Diwān Raṅgācārlu. *Diwān Raṅgācārlu* by D. V. Gundappa (Guṇḍappa, 1888–1975), author of three other biographies, viz. *Gōpālakṛṣṇa Gōkhale*, *Vidyāraṇyara Vṛttānta* and *Vidyāraṇyara Samakālīnaru*, is a model in the methodology of biographical writing. The objective study of the Dewanship of Rangacarlu, who was the very first Dewan of the erstwhile state of Mysore during a crucial period, is based mostly on official records and the personal correspondence and speeches of Rangacarlu. D. V. G. has related all the singular achievements of the Dewan (the most important of which was the establishment of the Representative Assembly, a pioneering move in the direction of the democratic form of government in India) in such a manner as to bring out the progressive and modern outlook of the Dewan. The first three chapters giving the details of Rangacarlu's life provide the necessary background to the subsequent study of his administrative career. The last chapter is devoted to an analysis of his personal traits, the qualities of his head and heart.

Biographical works of Ca. Vāsudēvayya, *Āryakīrti* and *Bhīṣma Carite*, are remembered and held in high esteem even now as much for their edifying quality as for their dignified and impeccable prose.

The multifaceted personality of Rajarshi Krishnaraja Wodeyar IV (1884–1940) has been colourfully portrayed by C. K. Venkataramayya (1897–1973) in his magnum opus, *Āḷida Mahāswāmiyavaru* (1941), running to nearly 600 pages and profusely illustrated with photoprints, a rare feature. It is possible to have two opinions regarding certain lengthy digressions (interesting in themselves, for example, like the description of the *Kheḍḍa* operations, that is, the operations to trap wild elephants) which, in my opinion, mar the continuity of the life-story of the monarch. The author had consulted nearly sixty persons who had occasion to know and understand the monarch personally for material relating to the day-to-day life of the illustrious prince. The wealth of authentic anecdotes constituting most of that material remarkably illustrates what was often said of the ruler that he was 'a prince among men and a man among princes'. In addition to the anecdotes, what imparts real authenticity to the work is the personal knowledge of the author about his subject and his painstaking labour in consulting hundreds of official records and a number of books on his theme.

On a rough estimate, about 500 biographies of all sorts—good, bad and indifferent—appear to have been produced during the five decades before Independence; of these, few come up to the level of competent writing as noticed above. And a near thorough investigation carried out a decade ago by the present writer in regard to biographical writing after 1947 revealed that, during the period of about 25 years, 612 biographies had been published. The break-up of figures according to categories is as follows: (1) men of religion and religious leaders, 163 (27.5%); (2) national personalities, 156 (25.7%); (3) scientists, 28 (4.6%); (4) men of letters and artists, 85 (13.9%); (5) autobiographies, 55 (9%); (6) collections of biographical sketches, 88 (14%); (7) felicitation volumes and commemoration volumes containing biographical articles, 37 (5.6%).

It is revealing that religion has claimed the maximum attention from the biographers, followed by a deep interest in national personalities. Only a brief survey of biographical writing during the post-Independence period up to about 1970 is possible here.

Men of Religion. We see in India a confluence of religious thoughts, cults and philosophies. Karnataka, in particular, has had the privilege of welcoming and nurturing almost all the religions and their offshoots, the different schools of philosophy such as Advaita, Dvaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita and Vīraśaiva schools. *Śaraṇa Caritāmṛta* (1965) by Siddhaiya Puranika (b. 1918), a big volume of about 900 pp. is a modern version, liberal in outlook, of the life-stories of the ancient Siva-bhaktas, including the 63 Purātanas. A comparative study of the devotional lives of Āṇḍāḷ, Mahādēviyakka and Mīra and their lyrical outpourings by a woman writer, Vinoda Bai, prepared as a doctoral thesis, is a significant contribution.

Śaṅkarācārya. We have in all about eight books on the life and works of Adi Sankara, the first commentator on the

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Brahma Sutras of Vyasa, the Upanishads and the Bhagvad-Gita. Of these, the only work that can be considered a biography in the modern sense is the one in Hindi by Baladeva Upadhyaya, translated into Kannada by S. Ramachandra Sastri. This book accepts the miracles in the Acharya's life as facts.

Basavēśvara. We have some good biographies of moderate length, based on original study and research, of Basavesvara, e.g. *Bhakti Bhāndāri Basavaṇṇanavaru* (1931) by M. R. Srinivasa Murti (1890–1953). Dr M. Chidananda Murti's (b. 1931) study, *Basavaṇṇa* (1969), is a modest but significant attempt, free from superlatives in appraising Basavanna and his work in the historical perspective. The originality of Dr M. M. Kalaburgi's small book on the subject consists in that he has some new findings to offer on the basis of epigraphic evidence. But even this evidence is to be taken with a pinch of salt when he supports the traditional view that Basava was an *avatār* of Nandi. Srinivasa Murthy's pioneering work remains unsurpassed in its psychological approach and in the study of the growth of the inner personality of Basava, based on his sayings, the immortal Vacanas. But he has not completely discarded the Puranas. The agonizing mental conflict Basavanna had to suffer in compromising with various interests—his loyalty to king Bijjala as his minister, the burden of administration, the fierce opposition he had to face from orthodox Brahmins in whose view he was a renegade, the great responsibility of guiding the reformist movement he had launched—all this has been objectively analyzed and the inner complex personality of Basava laid bare before us. But the most authentic and representative work is the one published by the Government of Karnataka on the occasion of the 8th centenary of Basava. In this volume the scholarship and talent of eight eminent scholars hailing from all parts of Karnataka have been pooled together to present a comprehensive account of the life of Basavesvara as a loyal minister of King Bijjala, a Bhakti Sādhaka, a social revolutionary and reformer, and a composer of Vacanas of a high literary standard.

Patriots and National Leaders

Mahatma Gandhi. Since Independence there has been a continuous flow of biographical literature relating to almost all the freedom-fighters and statesmen of national and international importance. Foremost among them is, of course, Mahatma Gandhi.

One of the earliest and most significant works is *Parṇakuṭi* (1941), a collection of ten sketches by Siddavanahalli Krishna Sarma (Siddavanahaḷḷi Kṛṣṇa Śarma, 1904–73). In this Sarma has presented the integrated personality of Gandhiji, viewing him from different angles. Prayer as Gandhiji's spiritual food; his dharmic ideal; his views on art; Gandhiji as a man of letters and as a humorist; his love of children; Kasturi Bai, his life-partner; his conception of the entire human race as one family; his ideal and practice of detachment in life—these are the topics dealt with by the author. Krishna Sarma was a brilliant master of prose. His sentences are short and incisive. He can create an atmosphere in half-dozen sentences. He can go straight to what is essential dispensing with the needless verb and inflections. In fact, he created a new style, which has considerably influenced modern Kannada prose. The author's association with Gandhiji and his activities, and his study of Gandhiji's writings, have imparted to this memorable work the stamp of authenticity.

On the occasion of the Gandhi centenary (1970), *Prabuddha Karṇāṭaka*, the learned quarterly being published by the University of Mysore, brought forth a commemorative volume. Leading Kannada writers, some of them ardent Gandhians associated with the production of Gandhian literature in Kannada, contributed articles. One important item in this volume is a comprehensive bibliography of Gandhian literature in Kannada which gives us a glimpse of the wealth of such writing, though much of it is not truly biographical. There was a great need for a full-length authentic biography of Gandhiji. This want has now been met by the publication of the translation of the monumental biography in English *Mahātma* by D. G. Tendulkar. The publication was undertaken by the Gandhi Bhavan, a wing of the University of Mysore, and the translation was done by a group of noted writers in Kannada.

Sri Aurobindo, a patriot and a revolutionary in the Freedom Movement, became a world-figure after he renounced politics and attained *Siddhi* as a Yogi. North Karnataka has a band of writers who are ardent followers of the school of philosophical thought, *Pūrṇa Yōga*, expounded by Sri Aurobindo. Some of them like R. R. Diwakar, Simpi Linganna and K. Chennabasappa, have given us good biographies of the saint-philosopher. Prahlada Naregal and Narayana Sangama have jointly translated R. R. Diwakar's English biography. The Kannada version is a noteworthy contribution to this section of biographies.

The biography of Dr Zakir Hussain, *Ḍā. Jākir Husēn*, by Mattur Krishna Murthy, may be considered representative of a few good biographies deserving special notice in this section. There is evidence of hasty writing. In spite of this, the multifaceted, dignified and lovable personality of Dr Zakir Hussain emerges from the pages of the book in recognizable outline. Dr Zakir Hussain's well-known views on national economy, education, secularism, religion and culture are summarized in some chapters of the book, where we lose sight of the person and hear only his voice. Only in the last few chapters of the book do we get an intimate feeling of the living presence of the scholarly gentleman that was Dr Zakir Hussain.

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Scientists. Many who can write biographies of scientists have unfortunately not attempted to do so. All the same, we have about a dozen readable biographies worth mentioning: N. K. Narasimhamurthy (b. 1903), a noted teacher of mathematics with a good command of Kannada language and a sound knowledge of science subjects, has given us a collection of articles on the achievements of about 15 western scientists from Copernicus to Marie Curie, with some bare facts about their lives. N. S. Veerappa, a student of biology, has written fairly good biographies of Charles Darwin, and of Sir Issac Newton. Several biographies like those of Madame Curie, Thomas Alva Edison and Einstein have been translated from English. Among good biographies written by Kannada writers are those of Einstein and P. C. Ray (by Subramanyam) and of J. C. Bose (by B. V. Subbarayappa).

Men of Letters and Arts. Unfortunately we have no Boswells among Kannada biographers. We have not paid sufficient attention to the task of collecting and preserving written records relating to contemporary authors; a majority of our authors are not diarists, and have not cultivated the habit of writing letters. However, now a beginning has been made in this direction with the publication of the letters of Govinda Pai and T. N. Sreekantaiya by G. P. Rajaratnam and A. N. Murthy Rao respectively. In spite of this woeful lack of basic material, we have some biographies worth considering, and a few worthy of our admiration.

A. N. Krishna Rao (1907–70), well-known Kannada novelist, and a close associate of T. P. Kailasam (1884–1946), one of the makers of modern Kannada, wrote a biography of the playwright. In this he is all admiration for Kailasam the man, but quite critical of Kailasam the playwright.

We have in A. R. Krishna Sastri (1890–1968) and D. Javare Gowda (b. 1918), genuine biographers who, perhaps for the first time, have demonstrated by their works the methodology of original writing in this genre, especially on authors. Krishna Sastri, known for his pithy and piquant style and critical acumen, has produced *Baṅkima Candra*, an authentic and full-length biography of Bankim Chandra, father of the Bengali novel, after an extensive study of all relevant literature in Bengali and English about Bankim and his novels. Bankim's influence on the growth of the novel in other Indian languages including Kannada has been considerable, and the biographer has taken note of this in the assessment of his works. This book running to nearly 500 pages, consists of thirty chapters. In the first two chapters, a brief account of the history of Bengali literature and of the life of Bankim is given. The remaining chapters are devoted to a detailed, informative and critical assessment of all the works of Bankim. Krishna Sastri first gives a summary of a novel, and then proceeds to examine it. Wherever Bankim is indebted to an English author, the author gives a comparative estimate of both. On the whole, Sastri's critical analyses and evaluation of the novels are a marvel of brevity and balanced judgement. Bengali scholars are reported to have said that even Bengali could not boast of such an outstanding work on Bankim. This work won the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1961.

D. Javare Gowda has published five major biographies, viz. *Kumārarāma*, a legendary hero; *Māgaḍi Kempē Gauḍa* (1958), the famous chieftain who founded Bangalore; *Nañjuṇḍa Kavi* (1964) author of a heroic poem on Kumara Rama and the biographies of Kuvempu and Ti-Naṁ. Śri (Śrīkaṇṭaiya, 1906–66), both of whom occupied the Kannada Chair in the University of Mysore, besides nine biographical sketches for children. Javare Gowda was a devoted desciple of both the dons, and it is but natural that he should wax eloquent in his praise of his heroes—especially Kuvempu whom he justifiably adores with a Boswellian touch for so many of his virtues—as a young idealist and a budding poet in his student days, as a child and lover of nature, as an inmate of the Ramakrishna Ashram at Mysore on the verge of becoming a Sanyasin, as a poet and aesthete, as an inspiring teacher, as the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Mysore, and as a fearless fighter in the cause of Kannada.

Mention may be made of a few good works in the categories of the character-sketch and the autobiography. 'HSK' (H. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar, b. 1920) has given us hundreds of interesting profiles of eminent persons in all walks of life in the featured series. 'Man of the Week' being published in the popular weekly magazine *Sudha* for so many years, and they have since been collected and published in book-form. Occasionally the writing of H. S. K. lapses into journalese. *Sudha* started some years ago another featured series in which appeared autobiographical accounts of professional stage-artistes under the common title *Baṇṇada Baḍuku*. The one by Gubbi Viranna (1889–1972), aptly called *Kaleyē Kāyaka*, deserves special mention. This work is noteworthy in that the author is not a writer by profession, and yet has been able to produce a work of considerable merit. The book abounds in a variety of anecdotes reflecting the rich experience gained by the artiste during his theatrical career spread over half a century (1917–67). The series of autobiographies of writers and artistes, of which this work is a representative, furnishes invaluable material to the student of the history of the culture and arts of Karnataka.

K. S. Karanth (Kōta Śivarāma Kārant, b. 1902), G. P. Rajaratnam (1909–79), Channappa Uttangi (1881–1962), D. Javare Gowda, and a couple of other well-known authors have drawn their own portraits with candour and conviction. Navaratna Rama Rao's (1877–1960) *Kelavu Nenapugaḷu* (Some Reminiscences, 1954) is a panoramic presentation of a host of characters who came under his close observation during his official tours. It is a vivid presentation of the life and society of the first half of this

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century, and is the work of a sensitive, well-read, refined and mature man with a fine sense of humour.

Among the stimulating autobiographies in the language is Sivaram Karanth's *Huccumanassina Hattu Mukhagaḷu* (The Ten Faces of an Insane Mind, 1948). It offers a fascinating account of the experiences and reflections of a spirit singularly adventurous both in practical life and in the world of ideas. There is a rare honesty and a refusal to solicit either the sympathy or the appreciation of the reader. The work includes lovely and vivid portraits of a number of persons from all walks and strata of life. The style is bare, unadorned and energetic. In recent years Karanth has been bringing out a series of volumes under the title *Smṛti Paṭaladinda* containing his reminiscences; description, narration and reflection are blended inextricably in these glimpses of a rich and splendid life. But the best of the bunch by any standard is *Bhāva* (3 vols., 1968–69) by Masti Venkatesa Iyengar (Māsti Veṅkaṭēśa Iyengār, b. 1891), the doyen of Kannada literature.

Bhava. Among the very few autobiographies that have appeared in Kannada, *Bhāva* stands out prominently by virtue of not only its size (nearly 1400 pages) but also its intrinsic worth as an autobiography. *Bhāva*'s distinction is to be seen both in its limpid simplicity of language and its expansiveness. It is a story of the author's life and times, interspersed with innumerable interesting anecdotes, most of which reveal the author's conviction that his destiny is being shaped by the unseen hand of God whose living presence he feels in his very breath; this imparts a spiritual value to the work. It is a document of men and matters of the world in which he lived and moved. The justification of the title is that an undercurrent of thoughts and feelings (Bhāva) communicating the author's abiding faith in God and His dispensation, runs through the work, transforming it into a testament of devotion and divine grace. The major shortcoming of the work is that the literary career of the author is conspicuous by its absence. That has since been removed to some extent by his subsequent work entitled *Sāhityada Prēraṇegaḷu* (1972) in which he explains how he came to write his works. This by itself cannot be called an autobiography. It is only a postscript to *Bhāva*.

Jñāpakacitraśāle. The series of books in eight volumes brought out under the title *Jñāpakacitraśāle* (The Portrait Gallery of the Memory, 1969–74) are a rare achievement. The author, D. V. Gundappa, was in his seventies when he began the series. It contains vivid and lively accounts of the cultural and intellectual life of old Mysore in the last decades of the 19th century and the first half of this century. There are innumerable portraits of men and women from all walks of life—mighty ministers, wealthy and influential merchants, judges of the high court, important officers, musicians, scholars, artistes, poor artisans and teachers. Gundappa had an unflagging and lively interest in human nature and a rare sympathy for the other man's point of view. In these pages he chooses some very obscure and otherwise insignificant men for praise for their innate goodness, loyalty or integrity in their own small spheres. He is generous in judging and sympathetic to human frailty and has a keen eye for all that is beautiful, good or noble. Tenderness, maturity, generosity and charity in judgement, a quiet sense of humour and a blending of the recognition of the suffering and injustice in life with a gratitude for its beauty and richness make this a remarkable work.

A special development of recent years merits attention. In 1941 the disciples and admirers of Professor B. M. Srikantia (Śrīkaṇṭhayya, 1884–1946) presented a felicitation volume, *Sambhāvane*. Since then such volumes have been brought out to honour a number of distinguished servants of society, most of them writers. Some of these contain very interesting and discriminating biographical material.

Conclusion

To sum up, the record of progress in the growth of modern biographical writing in Kannada, especially since Independence, is quite satisfactory from the quantitative point of view, taking into consideration the limited readership in the Kannada country and the limited appeal inherent in this genre as compared with fictional writing. As regards quality, a good number of biographies produced before Independence were definitely textbook-oriented and, barring a few well-written biographies, they are now useful only for statistical purposes. There has not been much variety in the works. Great biographies attempting a penetrating study of a complex and creative genius like 'Lust for Life', challenging psychological studies like the biographical writings of Lytton Strachey or even debunking biographies like Winston Churchill's study of Lenin have not appeared. Biographers have been interested in offering admirable examples for readers to follow rather than psychological studies for readers to reflect upon. It is needless to say that the present survey has taken note of a fairly good number of samples representing a considerable portion of biographical writing which could stand comparison with the best of its kind in other Indian Languages.

NOTES

1. K. B. Pathak, who edited and published *Kavirājamārga* for the first time (1898), had argued that Nṛpatuṅga was the author of that work. R. Narasimhachar (1860–1936), while accepting the argument of Pathak, had suggested in vol. I (1907) of his monumental work *'Karṇāṭa 'Kavicarite*, that it was quite likely that Sri Vijaya was the author. There was prolonged controversy on this issue. Recent researches have conclusively established that Sri Vijaya was the real author of the work.

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Kashmiri

SHAFI SHAUQ

The genre of biography including autobiography has not so far attained a separate and respectable identity in the Kashmiri language, perhaps because Kashmiri prose has not yet been given its due right to become the medium of expression for all types of transactions. In fact, the Kashmiri language has always been dominated by other languages. Persian replaced Sanskrit as the official language in 1420 and continued to be used for official purposes till 1846 when Urdu took its place. Urdu continues as the state language even after Independence though Kashmiri was recognized as one of the national languages by the Indian Constitution. Though neglected for centuries, Kashmiri has a rich poetic tradition.

It was 500 years ago, during the reign of Sultan Zainul Aabdin Badshah (1420–70), that the Kashmiri language found access to the court though it was not given the status of an official language. Kashmiri poets and writers availed themselves of the opportunity to display their creative proficiency in various fields over and above poetry, and naturally the genre of biographical writing also developed. A chronicler of Badshah's time, Shrivara mentions in his *Zaina Rājatarnagaṇi* two poets, Soma Pandita and Yodha Bhatta, who wrote the biography of the Badshah (the great king) in Kashmiri. Soma Pandita's outstanding work in Kashmiri is said to have been a versified biography of the king entitled *Zanu Tsaret* about which Shrivara comments:

> Pandita Atha Soma (also Soma Pandita) composed poetry in Sanskrit and the vernacular. He had rendered the life of Badshash into verse in the vernacular. The book was presented to the King.
>
> (J. C. Datt, *Kings of Kashmir*)

Yodha Bhatta, equally proficient in Kashmiri and Sanskrit, had rendered the life of the King into a Kashmiri drama, *Zanu Prakāś*. Shrivara says that it was as clear as a mirror. Neither of these early works has however come down to us.

The actual history of Kashmiri biographical writing, however, begins with certain long poems which commemorate the life of Prophet Mohammad and his relatives. The earliest of these narrative poems is *Vafat Nama Anhazarat* (A Beautiful Elegy on the Prophet's Death) written by Baba Kamal, a 17th century poet. Mahmood Gami (1765–1855) has written another elegiac poem entitled *Vafat Nama Hazrati Fatima*. *Khadij Nama* by Mahmood's contemporary Sayed Ali Khan of Chowdar village, is written in an overwhelmingly devotional tone and simple mellifluous diction. Sidiqullah Hajni (1832–1900) has also written two *masnavis*, *Maghazi-ul-Nabi* and *Ṣakalu-Ṣumayili Anhazrat*, in which the life of Prophet Muhammad has been depicted.

It was in 1959 that the J & K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages initiated publication of a series of Urdu booklets introducing Kashmiri poets to non-Kashmiri speaking people. The series includes booklets on Lal Ded (Kaul and Talib), Habbu Khastoon (Kamil), Rosul Mir

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(Teng), Maqbool Shah Krāluvāri (Hamidi), Wahab Parrey (Hajini), Parmanand (Toshakhanni), Shamas Faqir (Shams-ud-Din), Haqāni (Fitrat), Nadim (Nazki), Mahjur (P. N. Pushp) and Azad (P. N. Pushp). Besides short biographies of the poets, the booklets contain selections from poets. The series worked as a catalyst in accelerating the work of research on the history of Kashmiri literature.

Meanwhile, biographical writing in Kashmiri prose had also begun to appear. In 1949, Amin Kamil published the translation of J. E. Eslemant's book on Baha Ullah under the title *Baha Ullah tu Nov Zamān* (Baha Ullah and the New Ages). Kamil has used his lucid style to make Baha Ulla's life and teachings appealing. Maḥjoor wrote a short biographical sketch of his contemporary poet Asi, who died young in 1950. The sketch was published in the monthly *Kong Poṣ* (The Flower of Saffron), the only literary magazine then. In the same monthly a few more sketches were published including Kamil's life sketch of Mahjoor (1887–1952) entitled *Mahjūr*. In the late fifties, P. N. Pushp wrote a brief biography of Vinobaji, entitled *Vinoba tu Sarvoday* (Vinobaji's Sarvodaya). Its importance rests on lucidity, clarity and succinctness of expression. P. N. Pushp in his *Tanu Manu Nagmā Hyuv* (Lyric Incarnate, 1961) presented a pen-portrait of Rabindranath Tagore, depicting the poet as the 'lyric incarnate'.

Mohi-ud-Din Hajini also devoted his energy to the production of biographical literature, especially essays on Assad Paray and Wahab Paray Molvi Sidiq-ullah. Other researchers like Moti Lal Saqi, Naji Munawar, G. M. Shad, G. N. Khayal, Mohammad Yousuf Taing, Amin Kamil, Ghulam Nabi Nazir, Rashid Nazki and Autar Krishin Rahbar also took to this genre. Motilal Saqi's *Gāṣiry* (Flashes, 1974) serves as a useful reference book on his contemporaries but his approach is very traditional and his prose extremely ornate. The following two excerpts will suffice to show how emotions overwhelmed the biographer:

> Azim is my friend. I am extremely happy to write about my dearest and affectionate friend.
>
> Naji is an exemplary specimen of modesty and nobility. It seems that some deity has placed his hand on his head owing to which he remains always lost in meditation. (tr.)

In Saqi's second collection of essays *Ankvān* (Evaluation, 1975) we find five profiles: Karam Buland, Shah Oalander, Bulbul Nagami, Ghulam Mohammad Zagh and Lichhi Kaak. He has also edited the collected works of Samad Mir and written his detailed biography.

While doing his research on Mahmood Gami, one of the chief makers of the Kashmiri language and literature, Naji Munawar, has discovered several hidden recesses of the literary history of Kashmiri. He also brought to light several important poets who, despite their considerable contribution, had remained neglected for centuries. Among these Maqbool Amritsary is the most important. In his simple, dispassionate and lucid style, Naji presents profiles without indulging in legend and myth, indicating a sound tradition of biographical writing, particularly in his *Kuliyati Mahud Gami* (Collected Works of Mahmood Gami).

Ghulam Nabi Khayal's *Gāṣiry Munaur* (Light Houses, 1972) comprises biographies of eleven great men of letters of the world, namely, Homer, Virgil, Kalidas, Umra-ul Oais, Dante, Hafez, Shakespeare, Goethe, Pushkin, Iqbal and Tagore. This very valuable book won him the Sahitya Akademi Award.

Autar Krishin Rahbar had, much earlier, in the first volume of his *Kasir Abdudeh Tārīkh* (History of Kashmiri Literature, 1965) included biographies of the poets of the early period of Kashmiri poetry.

Amin Kamil's introductions to his three volumes of *Sofi Ṣayir* (Mystic Poets, 1964) also carry short bio-notes on the poets he evaluates in the books.

In fact all the collected works of various Kashmiri poets which have been edited so far are worth mentioning in this brief survey of biographical writings because each of these books contains a short biography of the poet. The first attempt in this connection was by Amin Kamil in his edition of an anthology of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din's *Ṣruks* (*Ślokas*) in 1969. Kamil has relied mostly on *Tārīkhi Kabir* of Haji Mohi-ud-Din Miskeen for the biographical sketch of the saint-poet in the introduction. Moti Lal Saqi's biographical sketch of the Sheikh in *Kuliyati Ṣeikhul Ālam* (Collected works of Shiekul Aalam, 1979), however, is based on more relevant facts of history though not entirely free from myth and fantasy.

Mohd Yousuf Taing has similarly presented biographical sketches of two famous poets, Maqool Shah Kraaluvari and Wali Ullah Mattoo, in the introductions to their works which he has edited. His approach is inductive and systematic, and his insight into the cultural history of Kashmir is revealed everywhere in these introductions.

Short biographical sketches are also found in works like: *Kulyati Nādim* (Nazki, 1972), *Kulyati Vahāb Parey* (Hajini, 1970), *Kulyati Amīr Sāh Kreri* (Manzūr Hashmi, 1974), *Kulyati Nazim* (Shad and Ash, 1978), *Guli Bakāvali* (Ahsan, 1977), Bulbul's *Sām nāma* (Khayal, 1962) and *Kulyati Ariz* (Gh. Nabi Gowhar, 1975).

Translations

There are some important translations also which have enriched the genre of biographical writings, the most important being Shamas-ud-Din Ahmad's translation of *Payamber*, the liveliest Persian biography of Prophet Muhammad written by Zain-ul-Abdin Rahnuma. Shamas's Kashmiri translation has managed to reflect, to a large extent, the force and sweetness of the original. Akhtar Mohi-ud-Din has rendered Mahatma Gandhi's autobio-

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graphy in simple, clear and lucid prose. Two more translations are Rahman Rahi's *Farid-ud-Din Gañjśekar* (1969) and Bansi Nirdosh's *Soen Qomi Şayir* (1968), a short biography of Tagore.

New Enthusiasm

In recent years the genre of biographical writing has received special attention. The postgraduate department of Kashmiri of the University of Kashmir has published two books of a biographical nature, viz. *Reşut tu Sany Reşy* (1979) and *Avhal Nāma* (1979). The former, written by Rasheed Nazki, is a collection of short profiles of the famous saints of Kashmir and the latter, written by Chaman Lal Chaman and Bashir Akhtar, is in fact a dictionary of the men of letters in Kashmiri. The book *Avhal Nama* will serve as a very useful reference book for those interested in research. Besides a few revealing reminiscences published in the various issues of the *Śīrāza* and *Sone Adab*, a special number of the *Śīrāza* has been devoted to biographical sketches of eminent Kashmiris. Mention must also be made of those travelogues in which our writers have occasionally written about their experiences in foreign countries. Such travelogues include *Salva mīr* (Akhtar Mohi-ud-Din's travels in Russia, 1976) and *Cinuk Safar* (Mirza Gh. Hassan Beg's travels in China, 1978), both important for their stylistic excellence.

This short excursus into the biographical writings in Kashmiri will remain incomplete if the contribution of certain cultural societies is not taken into consideration. Halqa Adab Sonuwaar has published some five biographical booklets, *Lalu Tantrey* by Ahsan (1973), *Lasu Dar* by Hajini (1972), *Ramzan Phoph* by Taskeen (1977), *Lal Mohamad Khan Zakhmi* by Taskeen (1975) and *Nabir Mīr* by Ahsan. Adbee Markaz Kamraz has similarly published two volumes of *Maşahīri Kamraz* (1976) containing short biographical sketches of the eminent people of the Kamraz area of Kashmir. Cultural Forum Shopian has also brought out the first volume of *Nīry Poeś* (Meadow Flowers, 1969), a collection of biographies of the writers of the Maraz area. 'Dayirai Adab' of Delina, Baramullah has also published a collection of autobiographical writings by its members.

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Malayalam

K. N. EZHUTHACHAN

Biographical writing in Malayalam is a modern development like other literary forms such as the novel, the short story and the drama. Of course, there were popular legends about great persons like saints, warriors and princes, but they were not properly or truthfully recorded and circulated for general reading. People liked myths more than reality and no Indian attempt appears to have been made, prior to the influence of the West, to write reliable life stories of individuals in a systematic way. It was with the spread of western education that the attention of the elite was drawn to the new ways of writing, and biography too became an important branch of literature, combining in itself a fine artistic sense, powers of observation and loyalty to objective truth.

The Beginnings

Most of the biographies in Malayalam appeared for the first time only in the present century, though a few Christian missionaries had started some work in this field long before that. It is recorded that a priest from Hungary, John Ernestus Hanxeleden, popularly known as Arnos Pādiri, who was in Kerala at the beginning of the 18th century (1669–1732), wrote a life history of Jesus Christ called

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Miśihācaritram in Maṇipravāḷa verses (a popular old style of writing *ślōkās*, wherein Sanskrit, even with inflected forms, was freely used with Malayalam words). He also related the story of the Virgin Mary in his *Umma Parvam*. The famous German missionary Hermann Gundert published the life of Christ or *Suviśēṣa Samgraham Enna Yēśu Miśihāyuṭe Kathā Samkṣēpam* in 1840. It is a long prose work divided into seven *kāṇḍās* (chapters), with a map of Palestine at the beginning. Gundert, it is also believed, wrote a history of Muhammed, but almost nothing is known of it now.

By the end of the 19th century, the first organized attempts were made to write biographies. Viśākham Tirunāḷ, an enlightened prince of Travancore, translated some short biographies of Aristotle, Alexander, Bacon, and others from Mander's *Treasury of Great Men* and requested the great scholar Kēraḷa Varma Valiya Kōil Thampurān (1845–1914) in 1880 to add other biographies to it for the benefit of students. This work, consisting of 107 brief life-sketches of eminent men, appeared in 1895. Later, admirers of kings and dewans wrote biographies of their patrons. A short biography of Sir T. Mādhva Rāyar, a respected dewan of Travancore, was written by Sakha Rāma Rāyar Lakṣmaṇa Rāyar and published in 1893. Mention must also be made of an important biography of a businessman, Devji Bhimji, a native of Cutch who migrated to Cochin, established a press and published a journal called *Kēraḷamitram* for a long time. Its editor, M. T. Kunhunni (Kuññuṇṇi), wrote a biography of Bhimji. There were also three or four early biographies written in verse about eminent Keralites, e.g. *Kēśavadāsa Caritam* by Koṭṭārattil Śaṅkuṇṇi (1855–1937). However, all this is of only historical interest; the main works appear only with the beginning of the 20th century.

Organized Attempts

The first organized attempts to develop this branch of literature were made when Thomas Paul, a well-known publisher, conceived the idea of publishing the biographies of eminent Malayalam writers as a series he planned to call *Sāhitya Praṇayikaḷ* (Lovers of Literature). But only five parts, containing 22 short biographies of Malayalam poets and writers, were published, most of them written by A. D. Hari Sarma (1896–1972). Paul planned another biographical series, *Kēraḷa Bhāṣā Praṇayikaḷ* (Lovers of Kerala Language), but this time he succeeded in getting only eight individual biographies of Malayalam poets written by eminent scholars of the day. The works were planned on the model of the *English Men of Letters* series and throw light on the development of the personalities of the poets. Another attempt to bring out a biographical series was made by the Chitra Publishing House of Trivandrum, but out of the 60 volumes planned in the *Jīvacaritra Sañcika* series, only three appeared, though the plan was patronized by eminent scholars.

Types of Biographies

The Directory of Malayalam Writing published recently contains about 1,700 entries in the 'Biographies' section, but many of them are not important, being second-hand or third-hand reproductions or translations from English books. There may be some independent biographies, but even in such books the material is inevitably taken from foreign sources.

Biographical literature can be divided into the following categories:

(1) biographies of foreign writers, scientists, social and political leaders, saints, etc.
(2) biographies of Indian writers, scientists, leaders, etc.
(3) works on eminent persons belonging to Kerala.
(4) autobiographical writings, pen-pictures, etc. of non-Keralites.
(5) autobiographical writings, pen-pictures, etc. of Keralites, belonging to various sections of society.

Most of the work dealing with non-Keralites is either translation or adaptation from English, Hindi, etc. There are of course a few independent works on great world figures like Lenin, Marx, Goethe, Lincoln, and others but their sources are foreign. As English education began to spread and periodicals grew in number, a need was felt for biographical writing, both for knowledge (textbook writing) and for entertainment. These books cannot claim to be scientific biographies which give an inkling of the mental make-up of the personalities. These books merely give the bare facts, and, hence, do not qualify to be works of literature. Dr K. M. George (b. 1914), who wrote *Jīvacaritrasāhityam* (1964), the first book on biographical literature in Malayalam, is of the view that there are only 300–350 biographies in Malayalam, most of which are unimportant as they only tell the stories of various personalities in different forms. Many of them are meant only for students and laymen. Though the number of publications has increased since then, good biographies are still rare in Malayalam, yet the future is promising—at least, in the field of autobiographies, memoirs, etc.

Some Eminent Biographers

Among the important authors who have contributed much to this branch of writing in Malayalam, K. P. Kesava Menon's (Kēśava Menon, 1886–1978) name comes first. He has written short life histories of eighty eminent men of India in his *Navabhārata Śilpikaḷ* (Parts I, II & III, 1963, 1966 and 1971). In his *Samakālīnarāya Cila Kēraḷīyar* (Some

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Contemporary Keralites, I & II, 1974, 1976) he has written life-sketches of fifty eminent persons of Kerala. Kesava Menon has also written short biographies of Lajpat Rai, Gokhale, Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi and Abraham Lincoln (1962) as well as long biographies of Jawaharlal Nehru (1966), the Father of the Nation (*Rāṣṭra Pitāvu*, i.e. Gandhiji, 2 vols. 1968,) and *Yēśu Dēvan* (Jesus Christ, 1971). He has written in all about 140 biographies of various personalities, which show his predilection for this sort of writing. He stands first among the modern ethical writers of Kerala who wrote for the moral uplift of the common man. Biography-writing was part of his mission. Kesava Menon's *Kaḷiñña Kālam* (The Past Days, 1957) is a full-fledged autobiography, and *Bhūtavum Bhāviyum* (The Past and the Future, 1948) and *Bandhanattil Ninnu* (From the Prison, 1924) are reminiscences of his life in jail. Kesava Menon's prose is lucid and simple, and his lively biographies have great educative value, as he lived a long life during which he was closely connected with the social, political and cultural life of the country.

Mention has already been made of the biographical series published by Thomas Paul. One of the prominent writers in this series was A. D. Hari Sarma (Hari Śarma, 1893–1972), who has written a number of biographies of non-Keralites, like Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Raja Rammohan Roy. Hari Sarma's first attempt in this field appears to have been a short biography of Kumaran Asan (Kumāran Āśān, 1873–1924), the famous poet of Kerala, written in 1930. He later wrote biographies of Malayalam writers like Oduvil Kunhikrishna Menon (Oṭuvil Kuññikṛṣṇa Mēnon, 1869–1916), Panthalam Kerala Varma (1879–1919) and K. C. Kesava Pillai (1868–1913), and in his *Raṇṭu Sāhitya Nāyakanmār* (Two Leading Writers, 1937) he wrote of Kerala Varma (1845–1914) and A. R. Rajaraja Varma (1863–1918), two of the immortal names in Malayalam literature. He has also written, jointly with M. O. Jospeh (1911–76), a biography of the poet Ulloor. Sarma tapped first-hand sources to describe the events in the lives of his heroes and assessed the contributions they made to the language and literature. He painstaking collected material from various journals and presented it well. Though he had great respect for his elders, he did not praise them blindly, his criticism showing a fine sense of proportion. He, however, paid more attention to detailing their lives than to discussing their psychological or inner development. This is quite understandable, for modern literary concepts were unknown to him. He had very little poetic imagination, but this defect is compensated for by his devotion to truth.

Another notable name amongst biographers in Malayalam is that of P. K. Parameswaran Nair (Paramēśvaran Nāyar, b. 1903). He wrote three biographies of westerners: *Napoleon and Josephine* (1932); *Prēma Gautaman* (the story of Edward VIII who renounced the British throne for love); and *Voltaire*. He has also written a biography of Mahatma Gandhi, but his fame chiefly rests on two great works, viz. *Sāhitya Pañcānanan* and *C. V. Rāman Piḷḷai*. The first is a biography of a well-known scholar and critic of the last generation, P. K. Narayana Pilla, who was called Sāhitya Pañcānanan (the Lion of Literature) by the scholars of the day. The second is the biography of one of the greatest writers of historical fiction in Malayalam, C. V. Raman Pillai, who is usually compared to Sir Walter Scott. Raman Pillai wrote three historical novels about the princes of the Travancore dynasty and in them demonstrated powers of characterization and imagination which are still unsurpassed.

P. K. Parameswaran Nair set new standards for biographical writing. He collected historical and biographical material from diaries and other documents, from personal conversations and other sources, and used them according to modern methods. The work on Narayana Pillai (i.e. Sahitya Pancananan) is mainly narrative and critical, as he was predominantly a scholar, but the work on C. V. Raman Pillai (1947) is a great achievement. Here the psychological growth of the hero is depicted based on the different periods of his life, and his works are criticized and evaluated taking into account the whole social milieu of the novelist. The biographer shows himself to be an artist, critic and historian. His style is elegant and forceful, his criticism penetrative, not pedantic.

Another important writer in this field is N. Balakrishnan Nair (Bālakṛṣṇan Nāyar, b. 1914) who has written a biography of V. Krishnan Thampi, a noted educationist who was his teacher. But Balakrishnan Nair's *Sākṣāl C. V.* (The True C. V., 1951), which deals with the life and works of C. V. Raman Pillai, is more important as he brings out the hero's full personality. Relying on an English work and after making fresh investigations, Balakrishnan Nair wrote a very readable biography of Raja Ravi Varma, the great artist of Kerala who left his imprint on Indian painting.

Other biographies written by Balakrishnan Nair include *Svarājyābhimāni* (The Patriot, 1955), which is a biography of the 18th-century patriot and martyr of Travancore, viz. Velu Thampi Deḷava and *Maharṣi Caṭṭampiswāmi Tiruvaṭikaḷ* (1959), a famous religious teacher of Kerala. He also wrote a biography of *Śrī Svāti Tirunāḷ* (1962), the famous Travancore prince who was a reputed musician and composer of South India as well as a great administrator. The biographer has done ample justice to him, having gathered all relevant material through investigation and interrogation.

Another well-known biographer is Moorkoth Kumaran (1874–1941), who belongs to the old generation and was one of the originators of modern Malayalam prose. He wrote biographies in the earlier mentioned *Kēraḷabhāṣāpraṇayikaḷ* series, viz. *O. Chandu Menon* and Vengayil Kunhirāman Nayanar (Vēṅṅayil Kuññirāman Nāyanār).

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The first is about the well-known writer of the early Malayalam novels *Indulēkha* and *Sārada*. Kunhiraman Nayanar was known as Kesari, and was one of the greatest Malayalam humorists. Both biographies are written in an enchanting style. Kumaran's magnum opus, however, is his biography of Sri Narayana Guru (1857–1928), the famous religious and social reformer of Kerala. The only defect of this work is that it displays blind adoration of his subject. Kumaran's biographies give only general information and are wanting in deep insight.

Kunnathu Janardana Menon (Kunnattu Janārdana Mēnon, 1885–1955) is a well-known biographer and prose writer of the older generation. He wrote a biography of V. C. Balakrishna Panikkar (Bālakṛṣṇa Paṇikkar, 1889–1913), who is considered the first Malayalam romantic poet. This biography was published in 1932 and contains some useful information. Menon has also written a biography of Kumaran Asan (1933). His works are not of a high order, more attention being paid to the works of writers than to the writers themselves. T. K. Raman Menon (b. 1899) is another author who has given some biographical material on Kerala writers, but he is neither deep nor exhaustive and allows his imagination to run away with him at times.

Mention must be made of Pallippat Kunhikrishnan (Paḷḷippāṭ Kuṇṇikṛṣṇan, b. 1905) who has published 14 volumes, which contain brief biographies of 63 Malayalam poets, scholars and writers. The author has given only a bird's-eye view of the writers and their works. He is adoring in his treatment, though the books contain important biographical details and several significant examples from various writers.

Vakkam Abdul Khadar (Abduḷ Khādar, 1912–76) is another author who has written a number of books of biographical interest. His *Tējasvikaḷ* (Luminaries, 1964) and *Pṛatibhāśālikaḷ* (Intellectuals, 1st ed., 1955; 2nd ed., 1957) contain short biographies of a number of western thinkers and writers. The pen-pictures in his *Citṛadarśini*, *Citṛamaṇḍapam*, etc. are also noteworthy.

Some Important Biographies

From the considerable number of biographies written in Malayalam, it is almost impossible to make a satisfactory selection of works of significance. There are, as mentioned earlier, various types of biographies, pertaining to literary figures, religious, social and political leaders, artists, scientists and thinkers belonging to Kerala and the outside world. Of them, only a few outstanding books of considerable originality and possessing intrinsic worth, are noted in this study. Special attention is paid to biographies of Keralites written by other Keralites, because such works will be more reliable and have greater literary value.

Works on spiritual leaders figure prominently in this selection. In 1929 there appeared K. Damodaran's (Dāmōdaran, 1901–64) *Śṛī Nārāyaṇa Guruswāmi*, which is an important biography of the saint that highlights his social reforms. *Nīlakaṇṭha Tīrthapāda Swāmicaritra Samuccayam* (1920) by P. Nanu Pilla (Nāṇu Piḷḷa, 1885–1942) and N. Krishna Pilla (Kṛṣṇa Piḷḷa, b. 1916) is another religious biography of importance. C. Madhavan Pilla's (Mādhavan Piḷḷa, b. 1906) *Yugāvatāram* (1973) deals with Ramakrishna Paramahamsa and Kesava Menon's *Yēśudēvan* (1971) deals with Jesus Christ in 51 chapters and 7 parts.

After 1930 we see the growth of biographies of literary merit. M. R. Balakrishna Variyar's (Bālakṛṣṇa Vāriyar, 1896–1960) *Kēraḷavarma Dēvan* (1939) is a notable work written on the model of the *English Men of Letters* series. His material is well-arranged and his treatment is exhaustive. Kerala Varma is considered the father of modern Malayalam and this biography faithfully records his manifold activities.

P. Anantan Pillai's (Anantan Piḷḷa, 1886–1966) *Kēraḷa Pāṇini* (1934) is an important work on Rajaraja Varma, who is known as Kerala Panini on account of his famous Malayalam grammar *Kēraḷa Pāṇinīyam*. The writer was his student and subjective elements tend to dominate, but the work is nevertheless noted for its authenticity and clarity. The author has not concerned himself with Rajaraja Varma's literary productions or their evaluation. He introduces the Bosewellian system of writing saying that a biography should not be a photographic portrayal, but a work of artistic value, providing beautiful realistic pictures.

The life and works of Kerala Panini are exhaustively treated later by his son and daughter. *A. R. Rājarāja Varma*, in three parts (1953, 1961 and 1963), is the combined work of M. Raghava Varma Raja and M. Bhagirathi Amma Thampuran (Bhāgīrathi Amma Tampurān, 1894–1964), and is a masterpiece that has not been surpassed by any other literary biography.

It is authentic as well as exhaustive and has been prepared on scientific lines. Diaries kept by all the three parties involved form a firm basis for his biography. Both the private and public life of Rajaraja Varma have been described with as much objectivity as possible in its 1,200 pages.

Rev. George Mathan and Seshagiri Prabhu were important Malayalam grammarians. Mathan wrote a grammar called *Malayāḷmayuṭe Vyākaraṇam* (1863) that even surpassed Gundert's work (1851) in some respects. His biographer K. M. Mathan Tarakan (Māttan Tarakan, b. 1903) has done ample justice to him. Similarly, Sahityakusalan Seshagiri Prabhu, the famous author of *Vyākaraṇa Mitṛam*, has had an able biographer in Turavur Madhava Pai (Turavūr Mādhava Pai, 1905–71), whose work was published in 1949. Both biographies bring out the outstanding qualities of the two famous scholars.

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Among the modern poets, Kumaran Asan has been studied in detail by more than one biographer. In 1958, C. O. Kesavan published a work devoting one-third of it to Asan's social and other activities. K. Surendran's (Surēndran, b. 1921) *Kumāran Āśān* (1963) is more complete and authoritative as he has been able to use all reliable sources. The work is noteworthy for its psychological approach which was new in the study of authors in Malayalam. Asan was an introvert as well as an extrovert and it is therefore not easy to portray his complex personality. Surendran studies the poet in his environment and correlates it with his personality so as to get a true picture of the poet's internal struggle and growth. Surendran also has to his credit some other biographies, e.g. *Tōlstōyiyuṭe Katha* (Tolstoy's Story, 1954).

Biographies of other Malayalam poets of modern times, viz., Uḷḷūr (Parameswaran Iyer) and Vaḷḷathōḷ (Narayana Menon) are also noteworthy. Vatakkumkur Rajaraja Varma's (Vaṭakkumkūr Rājarāja Varma, 1891–1970) *Uḷḷūr Mahākavi* (1955) is a big work, but only one-tenth of it is devoted to biography, the rest being a study of the poet's works. Vatakkumkur was an intimate friend as well as an admirer of the poet. V. Unnikrishnan Nair (Uṇṇikṛṣṇan Nāyar, b. 1893), an eminent poet and prose writer of the older generation, has written a biography of Vallathol (1962). More than one-third of the work is devoted to biographical detail, the rest dealing with the works of the poet. Though these two works are valuable, their approach is not quite satisfactory. K. Kittunni Nair's *Mahākavi Vaḷḷattōḷ* (1953), however, is more useful.

P. Damodaran Nair's (Dāmōdaran Nayar, b. 1913) biographies of P. Govinda Pillai, the first historian of Malayalam literature, and of Sreekantheswaram G. Padmanabhan Pillai, the eminent Malayalam lexicographer, both published in 1971, deserve notice. And P. V. Krishna Variyar's (Kṛṣṇa Vāriyar, 1877–1959) *Maṇ Maraññ a Sāhityakāranmār* (Writers Who Are No More, 1963) gives reliable information about ten writers of the last generation.

Rājā Ravi Varma (1954) by G. Krishna Pillai is a small but interesting biography of the great artist. The artist's developing personality is well brought out in the book. Puthezhath Rama Menon's (Puttēḻattu Rāma Mēnon, 1891–1973) *Śaktan Tampurān* (1941) is an outstanding work about the life and times of the Cochin prince of the 18th century whose achievements made him an epic personality. No other Kerala ruler has been fortunate enough to get such an able biographer, who has used official records to document his work. It is at the same time a biography, history, mythology and literary work, all combined. The style of the author is somewhat artificial, but the bulky book (55 chapters: 755 pages) gives a complete picture of feudal Kerala of monarchic times.

Svadēśābhimāni (1954) by K. Bhaskara Pillai (Bhāskara Piḷḷa, b. 1913) is a worthy addition to the biographical literature in Malayalam. It is an impartial and authentic study of the life and times of K. Ramakrishna Pilla (Rāmakṛṣṇa Piḷḷa, 1878–1916) who was known as Dēśābhimāni (patriot). He was the first freedom-fighter of Kerala and a staunch patriot, social reformer, freelance journalist, literary critic, all rolled into one. He was banished from Travancore in 1910 for attacking the administration and led a tragic life (for his autobiography and those of his wife and daughter, see below). Ramakrishna Pilla himself has written the biographies of Socrates, Gandhi, Benjamin Franklin and Christopher Columbus. He also wrote for the first time in Malayalam, about Karl Marx. Bhaskara Pilla's biography of this genius is a commendable achievement.

There are some political biographies worth mentioning. *Cāṅṅanāśśēri* (1942) by C. Narayana Pilla (Nārāyaṇa Piḷḷa, 1902–82) deals with the life and political activities of Changanassery Parameswaran Pilla, the famous political leader of Travancore. However, in this book, politics gets the upperhand, eclipsing personality. Mention has already been made of K. P. Kesava Menon's work on Gandhiji called *Rāṣṭra Pitāvu* (2 parts, 1968) and *Jawaharlal Nehru* (1966). Both bear the impress of wide investigation and are eminently readable, with anecdotes intermingling with ennobling thoughts. Another political biography is that of E. M. Sankaran Namboodiripad, the famous Communist leader of Kerala, called *Sakhāvu E. M. S.* (Comrade E. M. S., 1958). It was written by M. A. George (b. 1915). *Kēraḷattinṭe Vīraputran* by V. S. Keraliyan (Kēraḷīyan, b. 1913), published in 1959 is a biography of the late Muhamed Abdul Rehman, the well-known national leader of Kerala; a new and larger biography of this leader has recently appeared. *Sakhāvu* (Comrade, 2nd edn. 1975) recounts the life and activities of the late C. P. Krishna Pilla, a leading Communist worker in Kerala.

There are also many biographies in Malayalam of persons coming from different walks of life. For example, there is a book on Vaidyaratnam P. S. Variyar (1953) by K. Vasudevan Nair (Vāsudēvan Nāyar, b. 1909) describing and evaluating the great work done by P. S. Variyar, the founder of the famous Ayurvedic institution at Kottakkal, Kerala. He was a philanthrophist and humanist with high ideals and the book, written in an attractive style, brings this out. Vasudevan Kartha's *K. C. Māmman Māppiḷa* (1955) recounts the life story of the famous publisher and Christian social reformer. Kattakkayathil Cheriyan Mappila, the author of *Yēśuvijayam Mahākāvyam*, has his story told by M. D. Kuruvila (Kuruviḷa, 1889–1969) whose book came out in 1955. M. O. Joseph's (Jōsep, b. 1911) *Taccil Māttan Tarakan* (1947) recounts the story of a big businessman of 18th century Travancore. He was the first local person to understand the importance of cash crops like pepper, which could be exported. He also exported teak and other timber, amassed much wealth and rose in social eminence. He wielded great political influence and was highly respected

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by the Christian community in particular. There are also several good biographies of eminent Christian priests and teachers in Kerala, e.g. C. Kuriyan's *Ipe Thōmā Kattanār* (1931), I. C. Chacko's (Cākko, 1876–1966) *Louis Paḷēparambil*, K. M. George's *Sādhu Koccūṇṇu* (1947), K. N. Daniel's *Dr. Ebrahām Mārttōmma Metṛāpōlīta* (1948) etc, *Ceṅṅannūr Rāman Piḷḷa* (1968) by K. P. S. Menon (1896–82) and *Cila Kathakaḷi Naṭanmār* by Anantasubrahmaniam deal with Kathakali actors.

From all these works it will be evident that biography in Malayalam literature has attained considerable stature and is represented by a good number of works, some of which are really of a high standard.

Autobiographies

Autobiography, an offshoot of biographical writing, emerged by the end of the 18th century in Europe; in India it appeared with the spread of English education. To know the secrets of another's mind is a matter of universal interest. In an autobiography, the writer unfolds his own life and reveals the inner working of his mind to others enabling them to discern and appreciate both his weak and strong points. The reader is given an insight into the writer's secrets. However, autobiography has its defects; if egocentric it may become revolting to others. Sincerity is the keystone of successful autobiography-writing and therefore good autobiographies are few.

Though Malayalam is not very rich in autobiographies, there are, nevertheless, a few good books. The earliest ones appeared in the second decade of this century, but dealt with only certain parts of the author's lives. Complete autobiographies appeared later.

Mention has already been made of Swadesabhimani K. Ramakrishna Pilla, who was banished from Travancore in 1910 on a charge of sedition. He published in 1911 the story connected with it, titling it *Ente Nāṭukaṭattal* (My Banishment). Ramakrishna Pilla later moved to Malabar and after many vicissitudes in life settled in Cannanore where he died of tuberculosis in 1916. His wife, B. Kalyani Amma (Kalyāṇiamma, 1883–1959), published in 1917 a small volume called *Vyāḷavaṭṭa Smaraṇakaḷ* (Memories of 12 Years) which depicts faithfully, and, as far as possible, objectively, their brief conjugal life. The first part of the book gives a brief life-sketch of her husband, but the main interest in the book lies in the second part, which is autobiographical. It was written, as the author herself has explained, to redeem a conjugal pledge made during the lifetime of her husband that the surviving member would write the biography of the other partner. Kalyani Amma's work has gone into many editions, yet is still read avidly because of its candour and emotional appeal. Her other work, *Ōrmayil Ninnu* (From Memory, 1964), which was published posthumously, gives further details of her life story. Kalyani Amma's only daughter, K. Gomati Amma, has recently (1979) brought out an interesting book called *Dhanyayāy Ñān* (I am Contented), which contains a lot of autobiographical materials of absorbing interest. Ramakrishna Pilla, it is certain, will remain in the minds of Keralites for long through these autobiographical writings and memoirs.

Takazhi Sivasankara Pilla's (Takaḻi Śivaśaṅkara Piḷḷa, b. 1912) *Ente Vakkīl Jīvitam* (My Life as a Pleader, 1961), Ponkunnam Varkey's (Ponkunnam Varki, b. 1910) *Eṅṭe Vaḻittirivu* (My Turning Point in Life, 1961), Toppil Bhasi's (Tōppil Bhāsi, b. 1914), *Oḷivile Ōrmakaḷ* (Memories of the Underground, 1960), Changampuzha's (Caṅṅampuḷa Kṛṣṇa Piḷḷa, 1911–48) *Tuṭikkunna Tāḷukaḷ* (Throbbing Pages, 1961), V. A. Kesavan Nair's (Kēśavan Nāyar, b. 1908) *Irumpaḻikkuḷḷil* (Behind Iron Bars, 1947) and K. P. Kesava Menon's *Bandhanattil Ninnu* (From Prison, 1924) deal with partial experiences of the respective writers and are not complete autobiographies.

Smaraṇa Maṇḍalam (Sphere of Memories, 1938) by P. K. Narayana Pilla (Nārāyaṇa Piḷḷa, 1878–1938), the well-known literary critic and Sanskrit scholar, is a worthy addition to this branch of Malayalam literature. This book, which covers the first 30 years of the author's life, was written as a pastime and was first published, in parts, with no proper planning, in various journals. The work is noted for its ease and informality. It contains several anecdotes about the author's friends and acquaintances and sheds welcome light on contemporary society. The author's intention in writing the book was merely to entertain. His usual bombastic and artificial prose style gives way to natural and simple descriptions in the book.

Another notable contribution to autobiographical writing is E. V. Krishna Pilla's (Kṛṣṇa Piḷḷa, 1894–1938) *Jīvita Smaraṇakaḷ* (Memories of Life, 1941). E. V. was a gifted humorist, but his philosophic outlook, gained through his deep knowledge of men and matters, is clearly shown in this book. He ridicules all sham and does not spare himself when attacking deficiencies and blemishes. His prose is chaste, elegant and entertaining throughout. The autobiography is divided into two parts; the second speaks more of other persons. At times Krishna Pilla creates imaginary scenes which are extremely appealing. The entire work is a worthy addition to the autobiographical literature in Malayalam.

P. Kesava Dev (Kēśava Dēv, 1905–83) is a great novelist of the older generation who had revolutionary ideas. *Etirppu* (Protest, parts I; II; III; 1959, 1960, 1965) is his autobiography and the title is indicative of his independent views which were against everything in the world—family, people, beliefs, superstitions, tradition, injustice, etc.—that barred human progress. The defect in this autobiography is that fact and fiction intermingle in this predominantly egocentric, and at times eccentric, work. Two other interest

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ing books of this author are *Tiriññu Nōṭṭam* (Looking Back, 1957), in which he narrates some stray reminiscences, and *Ōrmakaḷuṭe Lōkattil* (In the World of Memories, 1972), in which Kesava Dev declares that he writes with the purpose of spreading ideas of humanism and enabling the victory of man over beast.

Joseph Mundassery's (Muṇṭaśśēri, 1903–77) *Koḻiñña Ilakaḷ* (Fallen Leaves, three parts, published later in one volume, 1978) is also worth noting. The author, who has written 45 books, was one of the great critics of his day and had wide experience as an educationist, journalist, politician and public speaker. He was once the Education Minister of Kerala. The title of his autobiography has a symbolic meaning. He mentions only experiences which have some intrinsic worth and which may be of use to future generations in developing new ideas, just as fallen leaves become fertile manure for trees. The book's 82 chapters are a mixture of autobiography, opinions and attacks. There is no chronological order or method in the presentation, but the work is interesting as it gives a true picture of an eminent person. It gives some perceptive pen-portraits of contemporary scholars and writers. Mundassery's style is forceful and at times sarcastic.

P. Kunhiraman Nair (Kuññirāman Nāyar, 1900–78), one of the greatest romantic poets of modern times, has given some autobiographical details in his *Kaviyuṭe Kālpāṭukaḷ* (Footsteps of the Poet, 1975) as well as in other works. Poetic imagination reigns supreme in these, but the prose is jerky and his stylistic peculiarities become insipid through repetition. Still, we see in this work the real personality of the poet in whose life order or stability had no conceivable meaning.

Mention should also be made of *Veṭivaṭṭam* (Gossip), and *Kaṇṇīrum Kināvum* (Tears and Dreams, 1970) by V. T. Bhattatirippad (Bhaṭṭatirippāḍ, 1897–82), who, in the thirties, caused a virtual revolution among the Namboodiri Brahmins of Kerala with his famous social drama, *Aṭukkaḷayil ninnu Araṅṅattēkku* (From the Kitchen to the Stage, 1930). In the above-mentioned books, Bhattitirippad unfolds the story of the tragic life of his people, discloses their conservatism and backwardness, and describes his pitiable childhood.

Dr S. K. Nāyar's (Nāyar, 1917–84) *Maṛakkātta Kathakaḷ* (Unforgettable Stories, I, II, 1972, 1976) is an interesting autobiography, written in a humorous style and spiced with interesting anecdotes. C. B. Kumar (Kumār, 1910–72), a noted writer, has written six works of an autobiographical nature, giving more importance to feelings and thoughts than to events. He tries to create an emotional atmosphere in his work. I. C. Chacko's *Jīvita Smaraṇakaḷ* (Reminiscences of Life, 1957) deals with the early life of that eminent Sanskrit scholar. He is both witty and thoughtful in his observations about men and matters.

The autobiography (*Ātmakatha*, 1966) of K. Vasudevan Moosad (Vāsudēvan Mūsad, 1888–1965), popularly known as K. V. M., merits special notice as it gives an insight into the pitiable state of Malayalam writers of the older generation. The author, one of the outstanding writers of the day and a person equally fluent in Sanskrit and Malayalam, had to eke out his livelihood with his pen. The story of how private publishers exploited him is vividly described. Even the government exploited him by paying him a monthly salary of only Rs 30 when it asked him to prepare a translation of Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* into Malayalam. It is also distressing to find that such exploitation was rampant even among scholars who made the poor pandits work for them but took all the credit for themselves.

Among other notable autobiographies in Malayalam are, K. P. Kesava Menon's *Kaḻiñña Kālam* (The Days Gone By, 1957), a book of great cultural and educative value, whose last part deals with his sufferings in the Singapore jail, and Cherukat Govinda Pisharody's (Cerukāṭ Gōvinda Piṣāraṭi, 1915–76) *Jīvitappāta* (Footsteps of Life, 1974). The author of the latter work, popularly known as Cherukad, started life as an elementary school teacher, entered college and by incessant effort became an eminent man of letters whose name is connected with progressive literature in Malayalam. His novels and dramas are noted for their stark realism and revolutionary content. He was a Marxist all through his life and his autobiography is also the story of the working class awakening in Malabar. His prose is fluent and unadorned, having a remarkable originality.

P. J. Cheriyan (Ceriyān, 1891–1981), a pioneer in drawing, painting, acting, etc. has recorded his varied and interesting experiences and activities in his *Eṅṭe Kalājīvitam* (My Artistic Life, 1964). *Eṅṭe Vaḻiyampalam* (My Inn, 1975) by S. K. Pottekkat and *Ōrmayuṭe Aṛakaḷ* (Rooms of Memories, 1973) by Vaikkam Muhammad Basheer (Vaikkam Muhammad Baṣīr, b. 1910) are also worthy contributions to the autobiographic literature in Malayalam. Both authors are famous novelists.

There have also been a few reminiscences written by widows about their late husbands who were leading literary figures. The works of Mrs. M. P. Paul, and Rosy Thomas are noteworthy; M. P. Paul and C. J. Thomas were eminent critics and writers of the modern period.

Among the autobiographies of political and social workers in Malayalam, C. Kesavan's (Kēśavan, 1891–1969) *Jīvita Samaram* (The Struggle of Life, vols. I & II, 1953, 1955) is noteworthy. It tells the interesting story of a man who fought against various obstacles for fifty years. Kesavan, who was also a social worker, became Chief Minister of Travancore-Cochin. His work strikes a note of sincerity and truthfulness.

The well-known historian Sardar K. M. Panikkar (Paṇikkar, 1894–1963), a many-sided personality, was a diplomat, journalist and politician. He was also a well-known writer in Malayalam. His autobiography, *Ātma-*

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katha (vols. I, II, 1953, 1964), is a long work, mainly about his political experiences. E. M. S. Namboodiripad (Nambūtirippāṭ, b. 1909), the noted Marxist leader, has also written his *Ātmakatha* (Autobiography, 1969), but the 36-chapter story is only up to the end of 1936. It describes the revolutionary changes that occurred in society and the part played by him, in various capacities, in these changes. Namboodiripad narrates how the rash young Namboodiris once made a bonfire of their sacred threads, but had to find new threads to wear in order to get free food.

The Marxist leader A. K. Gopalan (Gōpālan, 1904–78) wrote his autobiography in English which has been translated into Malayalam (1975). It is called *Eṅṭe Jīvitakatha* (My Autobiography, 1957) and is a big work, containing several vivid descriptions of the various activities of the writer. He does not attach much importance to his Parliamentary life, as he was a born revolutionary, nor does domestic life attract him much. P. Narayanan Nair's *Ara Nūttāṇṭilūṭe* (Through Half a Century, 1973) is another notable work in this field, giving prominence to social and political changes.

Mannath Padmanabhan (Mannattu Padmanābhan, 1878–1970), the famous social worker and founder of the Nair Service Society in Kerala, has written his autobiography *Eṅṭe Jīvitasmaraṇakaḷ* (Reminiscences of My Life, 1957). It gives a vivid picture of an undaunted individual who fought his way to success. The author is not particular about details, but his stubborn personality emerges well from this book.

The main defect of the autobiographies of political and social leaders is that they give greater prominence to their outside activities and do not reveal much of their inner personalities. Nevertheless, all these authors describe their backgrounds faithfully and many of them are good story-tellers.

There are also some translations in Malayalam of famous autobiographies of eminent Indians. The autobiographies of Gandhiji, Nehru, Kaka Kalelkar, Rajendra Prasad, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, K. P. S. Menon and others have all been translated. S. Aiyar's *Unto Him A Witness* (1968), an autobiography of one who was a close associate of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, has come into Malayalam literature under the title *Nētājiyuṭe Kūṭe* (parts I & II).

Pen-Pictures

Pen-pictures, a small but interesting branch of biographical writing, clearly bring out the personality of the subjects with the aid of just a few chosen words. In Malayalam literature, Vakkam Abdulkhadar was the pioneer in this field. His *Tūlikācitraṅṅaḷ* (Pen-Pictures, 1945), *Citradarśini* (Picture Displayed, 1946) and *Citramaṇḍapam* (Picture Pavilion, 1954) provide some good pen-sketches, of Malayalam writers and poets. Ponkunnam Varkey's *Tūlikā Citraṅṅaḷ* (Pen-Pictures, 1948) is also of the same kind.

There have been above thirty works of note in this branch of Malayalam writing. Of exceptional merit are the pen-pictures drawn by the late V. V. (Vāsudēva Menon, 1916–68) whose *Mārārum Kūṭṭarum* (Marar and His Friends, 1957) and *Raṅgamaṇḍapam* (The Stage, 1949) contain some outstanding examples. V. V.'s pictures of persons once read cannot be forgotten as they are so vivid, realistic and enchanting. He is a keen observer who writes with brilliant wit. There are pen-pictures of poets, short-story writers, political workers, cinema stars, etc. in Malayalam and this seems to be a developing branch of the literature. C. A. Kittunni's (Kiṭṭuṇṇi, 1907–64) *Kattunna Tirikaḷ* (Burning Wicks, 1955) and his *Kālacakragatiyil* (In the Rotation of Time, 1958) merit notice.

From what has been said it will be evident that though biographical writing has not developed fully in Malayalam, some of the published works are nevertheless of a good standard. Biographies and autobiographies of artistes, musicians, sportsmen, etc. are not many and they need better representation in this field as do businessmen and professionals. However, as our society progresses in all walks of life, we may expect more biographical writing in one form or another and a better representation of all fields of human endeavours.

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Marathi

VASANT SHIRWADKAR

The Medieval Period

Biographical writing in Marathi had its beginnings around the 13th century and has continued to the present day. Remarkably enough, the first biographies in Marathi were in prose, not in verse as is generally the case with all literary beginnings. Another striking feature about early biographical writing in Marathi is that during the first 400 years —that is, till the rise of Shivaji in the 17th century—the biographers, without exception, chose saints for their subjects, never kings or statesmen. The reason for this appears to be that, after the fall of the Yadava rulers of Devagiri in 1312, there was no single unifying political power in Maharashtra to which the people could look for inspiration and guidance, both in their spiritual as well as temporal life.

Mahānubhāva Biographies. The first biographies to appear in Marathi were what have been called the *Mahānubhāva* biographies. *Mahānubhāva* is a minor religious sect which survives even today. Its founder was Cakradhara Swami (13th century), who was from Gujarat and who subsequently migrated to Maharashtra. These biographies by his disciples have a place of honour in Marathi literature, not only because they are the first writing in prose but also because of their vividness and unaffected elegance.

Līḷā Caritra is the first of the *Mahānubhāva* biographies. Its hero is Cakradhara and its author Mahimbhatta was his disciple. Ridhapur, in Vidarbha, was the centre of the sect's religious activities. Cakradhara, however, rarely stayed in one place. For eight years, he roamed all over Maharashtra propagating his creed. Before Mahimbhatta undertook his ambitious project, some eight years after the death of Cakradhara, he visited all the places Cakradhara had visited and interviewed the people whom his guru had met to get first-hand information, thus leaving no scope for any hearsay accounts. The result is a biography in three parts, describing Cakradhara's *līḷās* or feats—virtually, miracles. Each *līḷā* is a self-sufficient piece, yet the *līḷās* are strung together to make a unified whole. The total number of *līḷās* is about 950, each one averaging ten or twelve printed lines of normal length. Mahimbhatta writes short, pithy sentences and his language has a simplicity which brings out the finer nuances of the emotions and the varying moods of his characters.

Judged even by modern standards, which lay great emphasis on authenticity, objectivity and vivid characterization, *Līḷā Caritra* is unquestionably a work of art. By serving as a model it encouraged biographical writing. There followed several biographical accounts written by other disciples of Cakradhara, each describing different aspects of his life, as well as biographies of Nagadevacarya, Govind Prabhu and Cangdeo Raul, the co-founders with Cakradhara of the Mahānubhāva sect. All these biographies follow the pattern set by *Līḷā Caritra* in regard to form as well as content.

Biographies of Saints. Contemporaneously with the Mahānubhāva biographies there appeared another set of biographies, but of a quite different format and still more different outlook. Unlike the Mahānubhāva biographies, these are in verse. They became, as they were intended to be, a powerful instrument for the spread of the *bhakti* ideology of the Vaishnavite saints. The *Kirtankars* sang these verses and explained them to the people.

Namadeva (Nāmadeva, 1270–1350) is the first and foremost of these biographers. His principal work in this genre is the biography of the great saint and philosopher Jnaneswara (Jñāneśvara, 1275–96), the author of *Jñāneśvari*, an erudite commentary on the Bhagvad Gita. Jnaneswar and Namadeva were close friends and associates in the *bhakti* movement. In keeping with traditional Hindu thinking, Namadeva follows the puranic ideal to unfold the story of his hero, whom he depicts as an *avatar* of Vishnu and whom he credits with performing several miracles. Objectivity was not Namadeva's concern, nor was it considered a literary virtue in the age he was writing in. Namadeva's poetry has, however, a rich emotional quality and his style is lucid and evocative.

The puranic or mythological pattern set by Namadeva was religiously followed by biographers in the following centuries. The more notable among them are Bhamdeva, Ekanatha and Saraswati Gangadhara. The last in this long line is Mahipati, the greatest of the traditional biographers of Maharashtra.

With Mahipati (Mahīpati, 1715–90), biographical writing was an article of faith—even an obsession. His biographical works are, in chronological order, *Bhaktavijaya*, *Śantalīlāmṛta*, *Bhaktalīlāmṛta* and *Santavijaya*. These contain numerous biographical sketches as well as full-fledged biographies. Besides the stories of Jnaneswara, Namadeva, Ekanatha, Tukarama, Ramdasa and other Marathi saints, Mahipati narrates the lives of saints from other parts of India. Throughout his life he not only kept writing new

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biographies, but also continued to revise and enlarge the old ones with the new material he had gathered. His style of writing is delightfully simple—so simple, in fact, that even an average reader can follow his words without the aid of annotation. But for all his untiring efforts and zeal in writing and rewriting his biographies, Mahipati remained till the end a conventional writer of the time using apocryphal sources and making his narratives more panegyrical than true-to-life portrayals of his subjects. With him, Marathi biography remained where Namadeva had left it 400 years before.

Bakhar Biography. A very significant development in the 18th century was that Marathi prose writing made a fresh start after it had virtually stopped with the Mahānubhāva writings of the 14th century. This new beginning was in the form of *bakhars*, court chronicles written by professional scribes employed by the Maratha rulers. The foremost among these *bakhar* writers was Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad (18th century) who was employed by Rajarama, the second son of Shivaji, to write the life story of his illustrious father and founder of the Maratha kingdom. The idea of a *bakhar* was evidently suggested to Rajarama by the *tavārikhnāmās* written by the great Kafi Khan and other official recorders at the Mughal court. Thereafter it became a regular practice not only with the Maratha rulers, but also among their confederates, such as the Shindes, the Holkars and the Bhosales, to get *bakhars* written about their ancestors. As a result, as many as 50 *bakhars* were written by the end of the Maratha rule. Among the *bakharkārs*, the more distinguished are Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad, Chitragupta, Malhar Ramchandra Chitnis and Khando Ballal Chitnis.

Bakhars stand midway between biography and history, but tilting towards the former. Most of the *bakharkārs* are good storytellers, adept in characterization, and show a remarkable skill in describing battles, war strategies, palace intrigues, family feuds, the lay-out of forts and palaces, and like matters. Their language is full of verve and colour. The drawback of the *bakhars* is that they are made-to-order biographies with obvious restrictions on the freedom of the writer. *Bakhar*-writing came to a stop in the first quarter of the 19th century, as it could no longer serve any purpose in the changed circumstances.

Threshold of a New Era

The rule of the Marathas was replaced by that of the British in 1818. Like the rest of India, Maharashtra generally welcomed the change, for the peace and stability ushered in with the new rule were a comfort after the feuda lanarchy that had ravaged the land. There were quite a few intellectuals who thought that the British rule in India had come by divine dispensation. They were impressed, even awed, by the superiority of the new rulers, both in the civil and in the military spheres. This English-oriented middle class threw up a band of writers who turned their eyes to the West for inspiration, firm in their belief that the solution for the ills of India lay in importing ideas from the West. Under this new influence, a number of biographies were written, between 1830 and 1860, of such eminent persons as Socrates, Julius Caesar, Christopher Columbus, Martin Luther, George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Captain Cook and Robert Clive. Most of these were adaptations.

Patriotic Biographies. With Lokamanya Tilak's appearance in the public life of Maharashtra, the propensity of the new intelligentsia to look to the West for inspiration, received a setback. A current now started flowing in the opposite direction, equating patriotism with revivalism. The period from 1890 to 1920 is described as the 'Tilak Era' in Maharashtra. Tilak's fearless and aggressive stance against the British created for the first time in Maharashtra a mass awakening against the alien rule. This development inevitably brought about a change in the outlook of biographical writing. Patriotism became the dominant motive of biographies. Maratha history came in handy for this purpose, thanks to the extensive historical researches made by D. B. Parasnis (Pārasnīs, 1870–1926), Vasudevasastri Khare (Vasudevaśāstri Kharē, 1858–1924) and V. K. Rajwade (Rājvāḍē, 1863–1926) during the last quarter of the 19th century.

This new trend is typified by the biographer 'Dhanurdhārī' (pseud. of R. V. Ṭikekar, 1862–1907) who wrote as many as 15 popular biographies of well-known figures in Maratha history. These biographies are, however, a sheer glorification of the heroes of the past and demonstrate lack of objectivity. Vasudevasastri Khare's *Nānā Fadnīs* (1892) is a more balanced work, for Khare was a man of profound erudition. A brilliant piece of biographical writing is the life story of *Rāṇī Lakṣmībāī of Jhansi* (1894) written by D. B. Parasnis, also a scholar of eminence. It remains to this day the best biography of Rani Laxmibai. K. A. Keluskar wrote a very informative biography of Shivaji (1907), which, for the first time, gave a comprehensive and well-organized account of the life and achievements of the founder of the Maratha kingdom.

The freedom struggles in western countries, particularly in Italy and Ireland, struck a sympathetic chord in the hearts of some Marathi biographers and a number of biographies of the leaders of those struggles were written by them. The most noteworthy among them are N. C. Kelkar's *Guiseppe Garibaldi* (1901), V. L. Bhave's *Chakravarti Napoleon* in three volumes (1921–22), V. D. Savarkar's *Joseph Mazzini* (1907) and N. S. Phadke's *Terrence MacSwiney* and *Edmon De Valera* (1923).

Biographies of the saints started appearing again, but now, for the first time, in prose. L. R. Pangarkar (1872–1941) and J. R. Ajgaonkar (1878–1955), both research

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scholars whose special field was old Marathi poetry, wrote biographies of the saint-poets which crystallized their research findings. These are indeed prodigious works, which provide a thorough analysis and appreciation of the poetry of the saints. But as historical biographies their worth is lowered because they present a queer mixture of facts and the miracles the saints are alleged to have performed. Their glorification of the past went well with the patriotism of the age.

Biographies of Contemporaries

A new development in this period was the choice of contemporary figures in public life as subjects for biographies. R. G. Bhandarkar, Justice M. G. Ranade, Justice K. T. Telang, V. N. Mandalik, Pandita Ramabai, G. K. Gokhale and Lokamanya B. G. Tilak, were all subjects of such biographies. But these biographies were mostly hack writing and none made a mark. Lokamanya Tilak was, of course, the hot favourite with the biographers and as many as a dozen biographies of Tilak were written during his lifetime and many more after his death in 1920.

Of the biographies of Lokamanya Tilak, N. C. Kelkar's is the most voluminous as well as the most controversial. Published in three volumes (1923–28), it spreads over 2,000 pages. Kelkar (1872–1947) was Tilak's righthand man and assistant in the weekly *Kesari* for over two decades. As a writer, Kelkar's merits are indisputable. But despite these advantages, his ponderous biography is good only in parts. In the first volume, he succeeds to some extent in capturing the spirit of Tilak's colourful personality and of the times, but the writing in the remaining volumes is loose and digressive. These later volumes are also unduly loaded with Tilak's correspondence. While justifying everything Tilak had done and said, Kelkar nowhere attempts to penetrate the deeper recesses of Tilak's mind. The basic reason for this failure is that mentally the biographer and his hero were poles apart. While Tilak was iron-willed, belligerent and uncompromising on questions of principle, Kelkar was temperamentally sceptical and moderate. At best, Kelkar's biography is a detailed record of the Tilak era in Indian politics, and if one looks at it from that point of view, it is a major achievement.

It should be clear from the foregoing account that most Marathi biographies that came after contact with western literature were standardized life-and-time stories, written to subserve some extraneous motive such as patriotism, history, spiritual devotion, social reform, etc. The subject's personal life seemed only incidental to the author's purpose. The first of three notable exceptions is Vishnusastri Chiplunkar's *Dr Johnson* (1877). Chiplunkar, acknowledged to be the founder of modern Marathi prose, attempted a new form here. Instead of narrating the life story in the usual chronological order, he has built it around the significant events in Dr Johnson's life. Chiplunkar's *Dr. Johnson* is the first creative work in Marathi biographical writing and it laid the foundation for modern biography. The other two exceptions are a biography on Vishnusastri Chiplunkar (1894) by his brother L. K. Chiplunkar and Kasibai Kanitkar's *Dr Ānandībāī Jōṣī* (1878), the first Maharashtrian woman to sail from India whose life ended in a tragedy thanks to the whims and follies of her notorious husband Gopal Rao Joshi. Each of these writers aimed at presenting objectively the story of his or her principal character against proper social background. As a result, they succeeded in writing first-rate biographies.

There was a comparative lull in biographical writing during the decade 1935–45. The reason for this would appear to be that while the old subjects had been exhausted, no new ones as yet had appeared on the horizon.

The Post-Independence Period

By the end of the Second World War, the romanticism in Marathi literature was on the decline. New trends such as realism, surrealism and expressionism took its place. The old formulae, with their tendency to oversimplify, were rejected. Instead, the emphasis was laid on psychological probing and the search for the meaning of life. These new trends in literature were more pronounced in poetry and the short story, but they influenced biographical writing as well.

Change, no matter how fundamental, does not take place overnight. Old forms die hard. The biographers who had been writing in the pre-Independence era continued to write as before. N. R. Phatak (Phāṭak, 1892–1980) is an example. Phatak had been writing biographies for over four decades. His first biography—that of Justice M. G. Ranade—appeared in 1923. Since then he had written six or seven biographies and a number of brief biographical sketches. *Ādarśa Bhārata Sēvak* (An Ideal Servant of India), a biography of G. K. Gokhale, is his best work. Phatak was a research scholar and historian; his biographies are therefore well documented and richly informative. But pugnacity is as much his weakness as his strength. A man of sharp likes and dislikes, his preferences are as strong as his prejudices. He takes delight in fighting the battles of his heroes. But in such battles truth is likely to be the first casualty. Despite this controversial aspect, Phatak's biographies are valuable documents which students of social and political history cannot afford to ignore.

B. M. Purandare's biography of Shivaji gained very wide popularity, for Purandare knows well how to dramatize his subject. His devotion to Shivaji might well be described as purblind. His *Shivaji* is a projection of his own ideal of the hero and not an authentic biography. Their merits and successes apart, Phatak and Purandare are biographers of the older school.

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The poet Madhava Julian (M. T. Patwardhan) held unconventional views on the man-woman relationship and his erratic love-affairs were the subject of controversy in the twenties. He also suffered social persecution on that account. Indeed an interesting subject for biographies. G. D. Khanolkar's (Khānolkar, b. 1903) biography of Madhava Julian (1951) flopped because he wrote with cold aloofness; he has also, in the manner of old biographers, encumbered his story with a lot of quotations. Another biography, *Svapnabhūmī* (Dream World, 1965), was written by S. K. Kanetkar (Kānētkar, 1893–1973), better known as the poet Girisha and a very close friend of Madhava Julian. Kanetkar, as he tells us, used Andre Maurois's *Ariel* as a model. He has tried to give a psychological treatment to his subject, but then leaves it half-way and packs his book with Madhava Julian's 'valuable' correspondence. The result is a queer mixture of story and record.

The New Concept

While the old biography is basically didactic, and even moralistic at times, the new biography establishes its claim for inclusion in creative literature by being evocative rather than instructive, interpretative rather than critical. The concern of the new biographer is not with promoting a belief, or selling an idea, but with unravelling the complexities of life. The biographies which embody this new concept are not many in number, but they certainly represent a new trend in Marathi. This new concept found adequate expression in D. N. Gokhale's (Gōkhalē, b. 1922) biography (1959) of Dr S. V. Ketkar, undoubtedly a challenging subject for any biographer. Dr Ketkar was, as Gokhale tells us, a 'multi-dimensional' personality. Scrupulous biographer that he is, Gokhale wrote his book after elaborate preparation and then kept revising it. He has succeeded in projecting a living image of Dr Ketkar with all his profound scholarship, eccentricities and aberrations. It is as 'authentic and vibrating' a biography as Gokhale had aimed to make it.

Other biographies in which the new trend is distinctly noticeable are N. M. Kelkar's biography of the novelist Hari Narayan Apte, K. B. Marathe's biography of the poet Balakavi (1962) and A. W. Joshi's twin biographies of his father W. M. Joshi and uncle N. M. Joshi, the former a noted author and thinker, the latter a well-known labour leader. All these biographers show a keen awareness of the need to explore both the inner and the outward life of their hero and the influence of the one on the other. Marathe's *Bālakavī* could be called an interpretative biography, in the sense that many events in the poet Balakavi's life are interpreted through his poetry. There is, however, some risk involved in this, because poetry, though self-expository, is not necessarily autobiographical. Nevertheless, *Bālakavī* is a beautiful piece of biographical writing.

Autobiography

Autobiographical writing in Marathi, like the novel, is of comparatively recent origin. It has reached maturity only during the last few decades.

There are sporadic autobiographical references in the poetry of the saints, notably in the works of Namadeva and Tukarama; these mostly relate to their domestic troubles. Only Bahinabai (17th century), a contemporary of Tukarama, has told her story from birth until she became his disciple. It is indeed a pathetic story, the story of her wandering life, which she and her family were forced to live, in the manner of gypsies, to escape the clutches of a moneylender, until at last she met Tukarama and settled down to a saintly life.

Nana Phadnis (Nānā Phaḍṇīs, 18th century) was the first to write an autobiography in prose. A minister of the Peshwas, he was the most astute statesman of his day. His autobiography is only a short account of certain episodes in his life, the most important of them being Nana's escape from the enemy hordes after the battle of Panipat which the Marathas lost to the Afghan invader Ahmedshah Abdali in 1761. What takes the reader by surprise is Nana's uninhibited references to his sex urge, which sound almost modernistic. But not much in this slender narrative is truly autobiographical.

The New Awareness. Contact with English literature and the minds behind it brought a new awareness to our writers. They started seeking forms of self-expression hardly attempted before. One such form was autobiography. The first autobiography that could properly be called so was by Dadoba Pandurang (Dādōbā Pāṇḍuraṅg, 1814–82). He was the first grammarian of Marathi and an ardent educationist. Simplicity and directness are the distinguishing features of Dadoba Pandurang's autobiography, as of most first things. It is a piece of candid and intimate writing. But it is incomplete for Dadoba brought the story of his life only up to 1846.

The first full-fledged autobiography was Baba Padamanji's (Bābā Padamañji, 1831–1906). He also wrote the first novel in Marathi. Padamanji was a man of deep spiritual convictions. He embraced Christianity for deliverance from 'the vile and debasing social customs and conventions of the Hindu society and its caste barriers'. He wrote his autobiography, *Aruṇōdaya* (The Dawn, 1888), to justify his action in changing his religion. It is a moving story, convincingly told, of the struggle Padamanji had to wage with his self and also with the forces that tried to thwart him.

The last quarter of the 19th century was an epoch of pioneering effort in the different fields of social life, culminating in what has been described as a cultural renaissance. Thus, in the first few decades of this century, we see an upsurge taking place in literature and other arts such as

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drama. It is also reflected in the large number of autobiographies produced then, and subsequently. These were written by persons from different walks of life. Only the more significant or representative of these autobiographies will be considered here.

Men of Letters

The autobiographies of writers naturally have a better chance of being considered creative works. But this has not always been the case, as we shall see.

S. K. Kolhatkar (Kōlhaṭkar, 1871–1934), playwright, critic, satirist and, above all, the father of modern Marathi humour, wrote his autobiography *Ātmavṛtta* (An Account of Myself, 1935) to discuss in detail the genesis and development of his plays and other literary works. The thin thread of the story of his personal life runs through these weighty discussions. But he sounds too formal when he talks about himself and his autobiography thus misses the mark completely. N. C. Kelkar—another literary colossus—wrote his autobiography after a careful study of western autobiographies. He defines autobiography thus: 'Autobiography is like adding a supplement to whatever you have done in your life, and its importance lies in ordering and co-ordinating in a pool what you might have done, said and written in a diffused and desultory manner'. But autobiography is not merely a reconstruction of life in this way, it is also self-examination and self-revelation. However, Kelkar's 1000-page autobiography *Gatgoṣṭī* (Things of the Past, 1939) does not quite conform to his own ideas. What it lacks is 'ordering and co-ordinating'; it is a sprawling mass of writing, nearly a fourth of which is occupied by quotations. These shortcomings are serious enough to degrade the qualitative worth of any literary work.

In L. R. Pangarkar we have an unusual Marathi writer. His devotion to the saints of the past was so intense that in his research and his writing on them he lost himself in their lives and times. His autobiography, rather queerly named *Caritracandra* (A Moon of Biographies, 1934), gives ample evidence of this. Like Narcissus, Pangarkar was deeply in love with himself; but his self-esteem and self-glorification seem quite natural, for there is an air of innocence about it all. The affectionate tone of writing and his lucid expression win over the reader easily.

None of the autobiographies discussed so far would give the reader total satisfaction. On the other hand, S. M. Mate's (Mātē, 1886–1957) *Citrapaṭ* (A Panorama, 1957) is an autobiography that is truly creative. Implicit as it is in its title, Mate's autobiography is a living documentary of the age of pioneers in the public life in Maharashtra. An accomplished story-teller, Mate gives faithful and finely etched portraits of these great men; and some of them are drawn from a close quarter, for young Mate had played a supporting role in this pioneering activity. While presenting his portraits, it should be said, to the credit of Mate, that he does not lose the thread of his personal life. Here the story of the author's personal life is fused with the story of his public life, the hallmark of a good autobiography.

The playwright B. V. Varerkar's (Varerkar, 1881–1964) *Māzā Nātkī Sansār* (My Life in the Theatre) is an autobiography of a different kind. Varerkar purposefully chose to restrict his narrative to his experience of the theatre during a period of 54 years. It is not a stereotyped history of the Marathi stage, but a living account of the making of the dramatist in Varerkar, his varied experiences with the men and women he met in the theatre, his successes and failures as well as those of his contemporary playwrights. The book presents an overall picture of the evolution of the Marathi theatre.

No other autobiography in Marathi has perhaps been more talked about than P. K. Atre's (1898–1969) *Karheche Pāni* (The Waters of the River Karha, 1963), a work in two volumes. The reason for this is, of course, Atre's tremendous popularity among all sections of the people. Atre defines his aim in writing his autobiography thus: 'Some may ask, why should a small man write so big an autobiography? My answer is: in this (autobiography) the "I" has the least significance. For me, autobiography is a means to narrate the historical, social, political and literary events that took place in Maharashtra during the last fifty years in all their details.... My role is largely that of a spectator and commentator!' In his definition, Atre has clearly misjudged both the aim of autobiographical writing and the role of the autobiographer. But, ironically enough, his autobiography has tended to be the very opposite of what he wanted it to be: his 'I' is not less significant in it; on the contrary, if Atre's autobiography suffers from any fault, it is that there is too much self-esteem and self-exhibition, which is far removed from self-revelation or introspection. He has loaded the second volume almost to the bursting point with excerpts from his articles, speeches, plays, scenarios, etc. This is neither good history nor good autobiography. Atre writes from memory, and he indeed reveals a phenomenal memory. In the course of his narrative he tells many anecdotes and incidents humorous enough to split your sides! There is little doubt, however, that Atre has reconstructed, enlarged and added colour to whatever his memory supplied.

Atre towered over the social scene of Maharashtra for nearly a quarter of a century. He was poet, humorist, parodist, story-writer, playwright, screenplay-writer, film director and producer, educationist, journalist, orator, political crusader etc. And in each of these roles, his success was overwhelming. In fact, Atre wrote not one but two autobiographies; the other one *Mī Kasā Zālō?* (How did I Become Myself?, 1953) is a collection of autobiographical sketches which Atre wrote ten years before his fuller autobiography. In the work, Atre narrates how he made his

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way into different positions in life; it is here that we get a glimpse of the dynamic person that he was. Amazingly, however, in so big an autobiography Atre has not devoted one single page to his married life and his wife! Perhaps this censorship stems from what Andre Maurois calls, 'a sense of shame' or 'a sense of guilt'.

Self-imposed censorship of this kind is detrimental to the credibility of an autobiography—which is its *sine qua non*. But the phenomenally popular novelist N. S. Phadke (Phaḍkē, 1894–1978) exercises such censorship even more strictly in his autobiography *Māzē Jīvan Ēka Kādambarī* (My Life, a Novel, 1969). Even on matters which once raised public controversies about him, Phadke maintains a studied silence. He makes only a casual mention of his first wife and their separation after many years of married life, yet he devotes four eloquent chapters to his love affair with the lady who became his second wife. One cannot escape the feeling that in all this he is telling only a part of the truth. Such omissions are deliberate. For Phadke was a hedonist, a man much pleased with himself and his achievements. What is unpleasant he strikes out, what is pleasant he sublimates. Notwithstanding these shortcomings, which were ingrained in Phadke's personality, his autobiography bears all the marks of the great craftmanship of his novels. That he should call his autobiography a novel is significant.

Where Atre and Phadke have failed, essayist V. D. Ghate (Ghāṭē, 1895–1978) has succeeded because he does not allow his ego to blunt his finer sensibilities. In the preface to his *Diwas Asē Hōtē* (Such Were the Days, 1961) Ghate says his aim is to expose more the internal side of his life than the external. And, paradoxical though it may seem, he could do it, because he looked at himself from some distance, which gave him a better perspective of life —a detachment that makes as much for the success of an autobiography as of a novel.

Women's Autobiographies. Several Marathi women have written their autobiographies. Remarkably enough, many of these women had done little, if any, writing before they undertook their autobiographies. Among them were the wives of several illustrious men; they were anxious that people should know something of the private side of the lives of their husbands, and the happiness and sorrows that are the lot of the wives of illustrious men.

Ramabai Ranade's (Ramābāī Rānaḍē, 1862–1924) *Āmacyā Ayuśyātīl Kāhī Āṭhāvaṇī* (Some Reminiscences of our Life, 1910) was the first major autobiography written by a woman. Ramabai's husband, Justice M. G. Ranade, was a profoundly learned man, a dedicated social and political reformer and, above all, a saintly person. Tolerance, moderation, generosity and the utmost regard for the views of others and for the comfort and well-being of persons around him, including the servants of the family, were his virtues. Ramabai brings out these characteristics of her husband from otherwise trivial incidents, without employing a word of eulogy. Ramabai's story glows with the warmth of the endearing love and the tender solicitude husband and wife bore for each other. Her language is simple and direct—in fact, the language of the home. A beautiful book on all counts.

This autobiography of Ramabai Ranade's is important in another way. It gave inspiration and courage to several women, including Laxmibai Tilak, Parvatibai Athavale, Anandibai Karve, Kamalabai Deshpande, Yashodabai Joshi, Anandibai Sirke, Leela Patwardhan, Usha Dange and Sudha Atre, some of them wives of famous men, to write their autobiographies.

No account of Marathi autobiographical writing would be complete without mention of Laxmibai Tilak's *Smṛticitre* (Portraits from Memory, 1934), an all-time classic in Marathi literature. Laxmibai's husband, the Rev. N. V. Tilak, was, to all appearances, an extremely idiosyncratic man. But under this surface was Tilak the poet—'the poet of children and flowers' as he has been called—who, under the spell of the Muse, could never adjust himself to the practical side of life, thus often creating serious tensions in the family. He was born in an orthodox Brahmin family, but his spirit rebelled against the chilling orthodoxy and the debasing class system of Hindu society, which he eventually relinquished to become a Chrisitan. For Laxmibai, it was a terrible nightmare and a hard and painful struggle with her conscience and also with the people around her. Ultimately her love for Tilak triumphed and she joined him, accepting his faith as hers. Laxmibai narrates this story with perfect candour, a delicacy of feeling and an unmistakable sense of humour which does not desert her even in the most trying circumstances. The amazing part of it all is that Laxmibai, who was an unlettered woman, learnt to write in the very process of writing; and yet her effort, a 600-page autobiography, is a gem of Marathi literature.

While the spirit and general tone of writing of Anandibai Karve's autobiography *Māzē Purāṇ* (My Story, 1944) are akin to those of the two autobiographies mentioned above, Anandibai is more frank and outspoken on women's problems. Anandibai's husband Dhondo Keshava Karve, a dedicated worker in the cause of women's education, particularly of widow's education, was the founder of the first women's university in the country. Anandibai gives us a fascinating pen-picture of her husband, under whose unassuming and stoical exterior burnt a fiery determination to achieve women's emancipation. The tragic tales she narrates of the widows and abandoned women (whom Karve lodged in the ashram he opened for them) are a sad reminder of the miserable plight of Indian women down the centuries.

In recent years there is a marked boldness in the writings of women. The old inhibitions have been cast away. The film actress Hansa Wadkar's autobiography *Saṅgtye Aika*

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(Listen, I am Telling You, 1970) is an instance in point. The book, revealing what goes on inside the world of the cinema beneath all the surface glitter and glamour, came as a profound shock to the social conscience. It is a grim story of the degradation and ruin Hansa was led to as a consequence of her becoming a helpless victim of man's lust. Hansa is brutally frank in confessing her sins and does not blame anyone for her fall but herself. By virtue of its frank confessional and underlying ethical tone, this autobiography ranks high among the modern Marathi autobiographies.

Thinkers, Social Reformers. Interestingly enough, the best autobiographical works in Marathi—or, at least, most of them—are by non-literary persons. The reason for this may be that non-literary persons are not conscious of the need to achieve artistic effect in their work—at least, not to the extent literary persons are. They can therefore be more faithful and objective in what they want to tell. Dharmanand Kosambi (Dharmānand Kosambi, 1876–1947), the Buddhist scholar, nearly reaches the ideal in autobiographical writing in his *Nivedan* (Statement, 1924), although there was nothing literary about him. The account of the journeys he made in search of Buddhist gurus to faraway lands such as Nepal, Sri Lanka, Burma and Sikkim —without any money, walking long distances on foot through dense forests and crossing wild rivers—makes thrilling reading. Kosambi narrates the story of his bizarre travels and his elevation to high places in the world of learning with 'magnificent detachment'. Kosambi's autobiography is great, not just because his achievements or his personal qualities were great, but because of his impeccable sincerity in presenting the facts and because of his ability to reveal his mind. Equally revealing are V. R. Shinde's (Śindē, 1873–1944) memoirs, *Māzyā Āṭhāvaṇī āṇi Anubhava* (My Recollections and Experiences, 1958). With an objective approach and light humour, Shinde unfolds, through a multitude of events, the story of his spiritual development from a naughty village lad to an ardent theosophist of the Brahmo Samaj School and, later, a relentless campaigner against untouchability. But the reports of the meetings of the Prarthana Samaj and the Depressed Class Mission League, of which Shinde was an office-bearer, and the numerous tours he made in that capacity are tiresome to read as they impede the flow of his narrative.

D. K. Karve's (Karve, 1858–1962) autobiography *Ātmavṛtta* (My Account, 1915) runs to a great length, which is perhaps natural because the work he had undertaken for the emancipation of women was immense. Karve cannot be credited with a good literary style, nor does he ever attempt to force his argument by resort to rhetoric. But his sincerity and devotion to his cause are amply reflected in the simplicity of his writing and his autobiography is, therefore, a mirror to his personality.

Political Leaders. In the autobiographies of politicians, politics naturally is the central theme. These autobiographies, therefore, often tend to be social or political histories rather than personal stories. N. V. Gadgil's (Gāḍgīḷ, 1896–1966) autobiography *Pathika* (The Pilgrim, 1964) in three volumes and Gangadharrao Despande's (Gaṅgādharrāv Dēśpāṇḍe, 1870–1960) *Māzī Jīvan Kahāni* (The Story of My Life, 1960) are such political histories and are good reference books on the history of India's freedom struggle. The sparkling wit, sharp sarcasm and lively personal touches in Gadgil's autobiography offset the usual tedium of political recording. Even so, *Pathika* belongs more on a shelf of history books than of autobiographies.

V. D. Savarkar's (Sāvarkar, 1883–1966) *Māzī Janmaṭhep* (My Life Sentence, 1927) stands out as a unique autobiography not only in this particular group but in the entire range of Marathi autobiographical writing. Savarkar was sentenced to life imprisonment on charges of sedition in the famous Nasik conspiracy case, and incarcerated in the Andamans. His autobiography is a harrowing tale of the atrocities he and his fellow prisoners were subjected to in the Andamans and other Indian jails. The epic of their heroism, patriotism and unbending spirit in the face of the most cruel and humiliating treatment meted out to them, finds poignant expression in Savarkar's powerful rhetoric and satire.

Stage Artistes. The Marathi theatre has a tradition extending well over a century and a quarter during which it has passed through many vicissitudes. The stage artistes who have written their autobiographies all belong to the older generation of actors. They were in the theatrical profession when the 'company' system was in vogue. This system, after almost 50 prosperous years, was in shambles by the mid-thirties. As a consequence, many actors were thrown on the streets, but they could never forget their glorious days on the stage. This feeling of nostalgia pervades the autobiographies of the stage actors, but it finds its best expression in S. N. Chapekar's (Cāpekar, 1896–1969) *Smṛtidhana* (The Treasure of Memories, 1966). On the other hand, Ganpatarao Bodas's (Gaṇpatrāv Boḍasa, 1880–1965) *Māzī Bhūmika* (My Role, 1940) is a thoroughly disappointing autobiography, considering that Bodas was once one of the greatest actors on the Marathi stage. What he gives us is an unsavoury account of his quarrels with his company partners, and how he always got the better of his opponents in these quarrels. If the autobiographer gives in to conceit and vanity as Bodas does, the reader will never be sure if all that he tells is true or not. Quite a contrast is Govindrao Tembe's (Gōvindrāv Tembē, 1881–1953) autobiography, *Māzā Jīvanvihāra* (A Stroll Through My Life, 1948). Tembe was a man of great charm, versatility and open mind. These qualities are adequately reflected in his writings. As an artiste, Tembe lived a varied and rich life,

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he was a stage and screen actor, playwright, singer, music composer and music director, but his greatest distinction was as a harmonium maestro. His autobiography is long, but Tembe's light humour and intimate style sustain the reader's interest. Chintamanrao Kolhatkar's (Cintāmanrāv Kōlhatkar, 1881–1959) *Bahurūpī* (The Masquerader, 1952) is a collection of articles on the 23 playwrights in whose plays Kolhatkar acted during his 50-year career. It gives a vivid and critical account of the development of the Marathi theatre, but as an autobiography it is of little value.

A Remarkable Autobiography. I would single out Bhavanrao Pant's (Bhavānrāv Pant, 1868–1951) autobiography *Ātmacaritra* (Autobiography, 1946) for special mention, not merely because the writer does not fit into any one of the groups mentioned above, but because the book very nearly reaches the ideal in some aspects of autobiographical writing. Bhavanrao Pant was the ruler of Aundh, a small state in British India. Following the practice of rulers and other wealthy families, the adolescent Bhavanrao was entrusted to the care of maidservants and male attendants, who, invariably were a depraved lot. They corruptued the boy who became a delinquent, used obscene language, told lies and indulged in sexual pranks and other such vices. Pant makes these revelations with incisive frankness. Although the lack of a sense of proportion and selectiveness has made Pant's autobiography a hulking work, which needs much trimming, the author has attempted to make a thorough analysis of his self, and all through his story he is remarkably honest in confessing his faults and failures—indeed a very difficult exercise for an autobiographer.

Other autobiographies that deserve mention, because they have some individuality, are: *Māzī Saṅsār Yātrā* (The Pilgrimage of My Life) by G. S. Sardesai, the famous historian; *Puṇḍalik* (in two volumes) by Pundalikji Katagade, a political worker; *Wāgh Siṅha Māzē Sakhēsōbatī* (Tigers and Lions, My Friends and Companions) by Damu Dhotre, a well-known circus trainer; *Māzyā Āṭhāvaṇī* (My Memoirs) by P. C. Patil, an administrator and a book with the same title by Dr. G. Y. Chitnis, a distinguished Royist. Two memoirs, each of a specific period, might also be included here: *Dōn Tapē* (Two *tapas*, meaning twenty-four years) by the famous litterateur G. T. Madkholkar and *Āmacyā Āyuśyātīl Akarā Varśē* (Eleven Years of our Life) by Leelabai Patwardhan, in which the focus is on her husband, the poet Madhava Julian.

From the overall point of view, biographical and autobiographical writing in Marathi does not show the same variety and vitality as do most other forms of Marathi literature. Perhaps biography and autobiography have been regarded as being on a lower rung of creative literature, and to that extent are less prized. Even so, certain works, such as *Līḷā Caritra* of medieval times, or the autobiographies of Ramabai Ranade, Laxmibai Tilak, Dharmanand Kosambi and Bhavanrao Pant in our times, have proved equal to or even surpassed some of the best work in other forms of Marathi literature. The new concepts and forms evolved in recent years have shown that a biography or an autobiography can very well be a work of art.

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Oriya

P. K. MOHANTY

The Tradition

Oriya literature does not have a biographical tradition. The spurt of biographies in the present century notwithstanding, biography (*Jivani* in Oriya) as a literary genre is still in its embryonic phase in Oriya literature. It is an indisputable fact that biography, as an art form, receives respectful elevation only in a comparatively prosperous society that has a clear perspective of its history and is in search of new values and ideals in life. To achieve this primary condition, Orissa has had to emerge from centuries of devastating changes in political administration and socio-economic policies (not to mention frequent wars, the consequent fear-psychosis, and the uneven social growth). Only after 1803, with British administration, did Orissa develop a fair measure of social stability, enabling the people to look forward to a cultural renaissance.

Among the many changes manifest in the second half of the 19th century, two were highly conducive to biographical writing. The first was a change in the attitude of people to life and values. Deep-rooted ideas of the unreality of this world and life, the desire for salvation, the preoccupation with cosmic issues such as the soul, God and religion, gradually gave way to a greater appreciation of life as it is in the mundane world. Moreover, the tradition of *Śṛṅgāra* or *Madhura rasa*, a poetic compensation for war-weariness, was mitigated by humanism and reality. The second was the spread of education and the consequent realization of the ideals of freedom and self-fulfilment, which inspired the society with patriotism and hero-worship. Added to this, the practical necessity of writing textbooks for schoolchildren created a new interest in short biographies of the great men and women of India and abroad. Biography, thus, caught the imagination of the people—a people increasingly aware of human ideals in the temporal frame of life.

Biography, however, was not entirely unknown in the chequered history of Oriya literature. H. K. Mahatab (Mahatāb, b. 1899), in his *Oḍissā Itihāsa* (History of Orissa, 1958), refers to *Caitanya Bhāgabata* (The Story of Chaitanya), written by Brindavan Das (16th century) about 1550. This can reasonably be taken to be the earliest biography. It deals with the life and times of Chaitanya, a saint, whose involvement with Prataprudra Deb (1497–1533) had far-reaching consequences in the socio-political scene of Orissa. *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* (The Nectar of the Story of Chaitanya), a verse-biography of Caitanya written by Krishna Das Kabiraj (17th century) in 1615, can also be regarded as a pioneering work in the art of biography. In a language that is a crude admixture of Oriya and Bengali, the biographer not only highlights the religious teachings of Chaitanya, but also analyzes his influence on society, and thus creates a broad-based, though somewhat episodic, picture of Orissa in the 16th century. Most literary historians, however, accept Dibakar Das's (17th century) *Śrī Jagannāth Caritāmṛta* (written 100 years after Chaitanya) as the first Oriya biography. Written some time in the 17th century, this work about the life of Jagannath Das, one of the most famous Oriya Baiṣṇab (Vaiṣṇava) poets of the 16th century, focuses attention on the religious integrity, character, poetic gifts and miracles of the subject. In an age in which self-assertion of any kind was considered banal, Dibākar Dās, without the help of tradition or history, created a portrait of a poet who comes alive in the work. The cult of Lord Jagannath, the poet's community life, and his personal life and works are described in this book with remarkable clarity. Later, in 1770, Ram Das (18th century), a devotional poet, wrote *Dārdhyatabhakti* (lives of great saints), which includes 55 short biographies of puranic, historical and literary figures such as Bāli, Karṇa, Hariścandra, Balarām Dās, Jagannāth Dās, Jayadēv, Mīrābāi and others. Daringly selecting his subjects on a democratic basis and relegating to the background petty considerations of caste and social status, he has included in *Dārdhyatābhakti* the lives of untouchables such as Dasiā Bāuri, and common men such as Raghu Beherā. From the point of view of historical authenticity, these lives may be inaccurate, conjectural and disappointing, but as imaginative reconstructions suggesting an integrated pattern of ethical life, they stand out as a significant achievement. The work of Ram Das is praiseworthy for being a trend-setter, if for nothing else. Mention should also be made of the *Mādalā Pāñji* (The Mridanga shaped Chronicle, a chronicle maintained in the temple of Sri Jagannath) in the tradition of biographical writing in Orissa. In spite of the controversies associated with the authenticity and historical veracity of the *Mādalā Pāñji*, the fact remains that the *Pāñji* is an inevitable source-book for the facts and legends surrounding the rulers of Orissa during the Moghul and Maratha reigns.

Jagannāth Caritāmṛita, *Dārdhyatābhakti*, and the *Mādalā Pānji* are not, strictly speaking, biographies proper. But they may be regarded as the earliest attempts in Oriya literature

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to create an interest in the lives of persons of religious and socio-political importance.

The 19th Century

Biography, in the modern sense, is a late 19th-century concept in Oriya literature. The impact of western ideas and the exposure to a larger, almost global, context of life in the second half of the 19th century gave patriotism and nationalism a new life. And through a study of the biographical details of great men and women the new awakening was sustained. The names of the journals that were started in this period are pointers to the winds of change: *Utkala Darpaṇa*, *Utkala Dīpika*, *Odiyā O' Nabasaṁbāda*, *Utkala Hitaiṣini*, and, later, *Utkala Sāhitya*, *Utkala Madhupa*, etc. This new-found patriotism and the desire for social attainment are, to a large extent, responsible for the interest shown in the lives of eminent personages. Radhanath Roy (Rādhānāth Rōy, 1848–1908), the most important poet at the turn of the century, narrated the life of Basudev Sudhala Dev, Rajasahiv of Bamanda, in *Utkala Sāhitya*, responding to the tenor of the time. Madhusudan Rao (Madhusūdan Rāo, 1853–1912), another eminent poet of the time, while preparing prose textbooks for students, included in them biographies of Queen Victoria, Devendranath Tagore, Akbar, Pyarimohan Acharya and others, with a view to exposing students to great ideals.

Mrityunjaya Rath (Mṛityuñjaya Rāth, 1878–1923), an educationist and social worker, brought out in 1907 *Prabandhapāṭha* (An Essay Reader), an assortment of biographical sketches of men and women of national and international importance. He was a conscientious biographer and aimed at instilling national pride, and a love of life in the young Orissans of his times. He was mainly responsible for creating a new zeal among them and stirring their aspirations through his biographical writings in contemporary journals and literary magazines. Later, in *Sāralā Carita* (1911), and *Karmayōgi Gourīśaṅkar* (1925), Mrityunjaya Rath consolidated his position as a modern biographer. In *Sāralā Carita*, Rāth presents the life and works of Sāralā Dās, the first great Oriya poet (15th century), emphasizing the poet's quest for a metaphysical meaning of life in spite of the stresses and strains of the negative pressures in the contemporary situation. This biography is not flawless, nor is it quite authentic. But its chief merit, as Brajasundar Das, the editor of *Mukura*, has said, is that it is the 'first, long and systematic biography in Oriya literature' (Preface to the 1911 edition of *Sāralā Carita*). Rath's next biography *Karmayōgi Gourīśaṅkar*, is a more polished work. This book re-creates with critical sincerity the dark period of Orissa during the 19th century. In the presentation of the dedicated life and work of Gourisankar Roy, one of the preservers of the flickering flame of Orissa's literature and culture, the spirit of the times is reflected. Though short, the book remains an outstanding biography, its dispassionate sympathy and impersonal assessment making it a fine piece of literature.

The New Approach

The close of the 19th century ushered in a period of rapid changes in all aspects of life. Education was fast spreading, patriotism and love of freedom were gradually becoming an obsessive passion, the blueprint for socio-economic development, however slow, was taking steady shape, and Oriya literature was coming of age. On the one hand, the crippling consciousness of political bondage, a stunning awareness of gnawing poverty, a shameful confrontation with fermenting conditions of history and culture made the discerning intellectuals in Orissa self-critical, depressed and, at times, fatalistic. On the other, a fervent desire for freedom, a hope for beneficient change, a craving for material advancement, and a longing for glory and success in the finite structure of temporal reality filled the people with new inspiration. This subconscious duality did not receive any immediate and readymade resolution, as the destiny of the country, including that of Orissa, was being shaped by foreign rulers impervious to the psychological growth of the natives. Hence, the divergent tendencies and traits had an unfortunate simultaneity of existence, surfacing concurrently both stasis and quest. But the swing was mostly towards quest—a quest for a new validity, an identity. In such an atmosphere, biographical literature held its fascination for the indifferent and the progressive alike, and especially for the generation in schools and colleges. As the 20th century advanced, biography received greater attention.

Shyamsundar Rajguru's (Śyāmsundar Rājguru, 1866–1919) *Prabandhābali* (1917) is one of the important biographies of the period. Like Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, this work is a collection of biographical essays on poets and literary figures. The chief merit of this work is that it is a critical assessment of the literary worth of writers such as Sarala Das, Balaram Das, Dinakrishna Das, Dhananjaya Bhanja, Ram Das and others. The critical canons used by Rajguru may not satisfy modern readers, but considering the time of its appearance, *Prabandhābali* must be regarded as an achievement.

In the twenties an institution called the *Oriyā Sāhitya Prachār Saṅgh* (Association for Propagating Oriya Literature) was formed, with the avowed purpose of bringing out biographies of heroes and great men. Between 1926 and 1928, it published 13 biographies: those of Mahadev Govinda Ranade, Martin Luther, George Washington, Swami Vivekananda, Fakirmohan Senapati, Dayananda, Muhammad, Maharaja Ramachandra, Robinson Crusoe, Bhaktakabi Madhusudan, Mahapurusha Peter, Bhaktamani and Birakesari Shivaji. Written by different writers

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these works are of indifferent merit, but the books refined public taste and made biography popular.

The chief biographies to appear during the thirties were those of Abraham Lincoln (1930) and Mahatma Washington (1930) by Basudev Mohapatra (Bāsudēv Mohāpātṛa, 1888–1976), Confucius (1931) and Samanta Chandrasekhar (1932) by Chandrasekhar Mishra (Candraśēkhar Miśra); *Sādhucaritamāla* (1931), a collection which included biographies of Sri Chaitanya, Sankaracharya, Guru Nanak, the Buddha and others, and which was written by Bankanidhi Patnaik (Buṅkanidhi Paṭnāik) and Kunjabihari Mohanty (Kuñjabihārī Mohānti); *Kavijībani* (The Poets' Life, 1938) written by Baikoli Mohapatra (Baikoli Mohāpātrā, 1908–77) and describing the lives of classical Sanskrit poets such as Vyasa, Valmiki, Kalidas, Bhavabhūti, Jayadēv and others. *Īśwarcandṛa Vidyāsāgar* (1932) by Brajabandu Das (Bṛajabandhu Dās, 1878–1937) and *Napoleon* (1929) by Padmacharan Patnaik (Padmācaraṇ Paṭnāik), were other important biographies that appeared in the thirties. Through these works the writers created visions of heroism, valour, sacrificial service, patriotic ideals, statesmanship and literary greatness, which the educated middle class came forward to accept as ideals. For a people struggling for independence, these works provided the necessary inspiration. But as works of art, these biographies suffered from exaggeration, deliberate hero-worship, stylistic crudity and factual errors. Despite the aesthetic inadequacies and structural blemishes, the works were valid biographies.

In the pre-Independence forties, with the entire country's attention centred on the Freedom Movement, journalism, periodical literature and pamphleteering absorbed all creative energy. No significant biography, except Durga Charan Roy's (Duṛgā Caraṇ Rōy), masterpiece *Rādhānāth Jīvani* (1940), appeared during this period. But this biography of the pioneer of modern Oriya poetry, Radhanath Roy, is one of the greatest biographies in Oriya literature. For the first time the discerning reader encounters the life and work of a genius. The biographer, with rare objectivity, re-creates the social and metaphysical conditions of life during the second half of the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th. In this work, Durga Charan Roy is the ideal narrator. He does not merely present a person, a poet, an educationist, a humanist, a traveller, a man who respects the truth; he also projects the life of a complete man, a man who could return to his cherished ideals after several faltering experiences. The biographer maintains an almost impersonal tone, authenticating his narration by references to Radhanath's unpublished autobiography and letters. The style is pleasant, language a compromise between the colloquial and the literary. Except for the biographer's conscious attempt to justify almost every action and decision of the subject, *Rādhānāth Jīvani* is a masterly work.

In the initial years of post-Independence euphoria, national and local leaders appeared to their people as larger-than-life images of holiness, truth and divinity. The eventful lives of Gandhiji, Nehru, Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Subhaschandra Bose, and nearer home, Madhusudan Das, Gopabandhu Das, Gopabandhu Choudhury and Godabarish Mishra fascinated free Indians. And so, while the nation-builders and planners were busy transforming the face of the country, biographers were busy recreating the lives of the adored leaders for their admirers. In Oriya literature, biography suddenly became a status symbol, notwithstanding the money-grabbing attitude of the enterprising publishing houses and the vainglorious pen-pushers.

Dīpam Jyōti (The Bright Lamp, 1965), the life of Gopabandhu Choudhury, a dedicated social worker, by Jnanpith-awardee Gopinath Mohanty (Gōpīnāth Mohānti, b. 1914) is a biography of considerable merit. The humanistic growth of Gopabandhu Choudhury has been traced through a series of touching events. Gopinath Mohanty displays rare objectivity in selecting the episodes in the life of his protagonist. The events, situations and encounters in the life of Choudhury have been so organized by the author that they have a great impression on the reader. The language, with the usual colloquial charm of this great novelist-biographer makes the complex issues in the spiritual progress of Gopabandhu Choudhury lovably rational and rationally lovable. The influence of Sarvodaya on Choudhury and his reactions to people's sufferings have been treated with philosophic penetration. But the biography, by emphasizing inner reality, leaves the world of facts somewhat hazy. Gopinath's *Utkalamaṇi* (The Jewel of Orissa, 1967), the life of Gopabandhu Das, is a companion-piece to his *Dīpam Jyōti*, though the freshness of the latter is not always seen in the former.

Dēśpṛāṇa Madhusūdan (Madhusudan the Patriot, 1971), by Pandit Suryanarayana Das (Sūryanārāyaṇa Dās, b. 1920), is a successful biography that dispassionately presents the life of Madhusudan Das, perhaps the greatest Oriya, whose several firsts include: first Oriya graduate, first M. A., first lawyer, first man to go abroad, first minister, first professionally rich man, and, perhaps, first Oriya businessman. Naturally, therefore, the biographer faces the challenge of not falling a prey to romantic exaggerations, and Pandit Suryanarayana Das succeeds admirably, steering clear of all extremes. Madhusudan's upbringing is carefully described, especially the events showing the child's uprightness and moral strength. There is no attempt on the part of the biographer to idealize his hero. The relationship between Madhusudan and his teacher Māguni Nāyak, much misinterpreted by other biographers, is assessed impartially here. While showing the uprightness and wit of the boy, Suryanarayana does not denigrate the teacher. Similarly, Madhusudan's love for his mother Pārbati Dei has been treated with restraint. But a major episode,

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Madhusudan repeatedly listening to the story of his great-grandmother Krushna Dei becoming a *sati*, has been somewhat romanticized. Otherwise, the biographer rationally interprets the words, actions (especially Madhusudan's conversion to Christianity), patriotism and the aristocratic bearing of the hero, who is not an easy subject to handle in view of the multifacetedness of his personality. The language, however, is uneven, and at times the historian in Suryanarayana goes into far too many uninspiring details.

The life of Madhusudan Das has also inspired Surendra Mohanty (Surēṇḍra Mohānti, b. 1922), a prominent novelist, to write a character-novel, *Śatābdīra Sūrya* (The Sun of the Century, 1970). Set in the 19th century, this fictional biography illumines the inner soul of Orissa, recounting the significant details of the socio-cultural renaissance. Besides being an imaginative spiritual biography of a great man, *Śatābdīra Sūrya* brings alive on a very large canvas the history of the disintegration and the subsequent resurgence of the Oriya nationalist movement. The people, places and events, seen as threads running through the career of Madhusudan, are bold visuals that do not get blurred or overshadowed by the radiance of the 'Sun of the Century'. Moreover, the work is well documented, and Surendra Mohanty examines his evidence with rare insight. But the author's abiding achievements are his fast-paced cinematic technique of scene fading into scene and his dialogue that brings into focus attitudes and states of mind as the hero moves from one inspiring experience to another.

Dramatic devices and the superb language of Surendra Mohanty make *Śatābdīra Sūrya* a literary achievement of the highest order. Yet, one feels like telling Surendra Mohanty, echoing the words of Keats to Shelley, 'curb your magnanimity a little...'

Nityananda Satapathy's (Nityānanda Śatapathi, b. 1941) *Hay Sāthī! Hay Sārathī* (O! Friend! O! Guide!, 1971) is a well-researched biography of Gopabandhu Das, the greatest politician-saint-teacher-poet-social worker of Orissa. The work combines fact and fiction in an imaginative manner. The author examines the interpretation of facts by other biographers and writers, and, like a researcher, probes the veracity of the evidence. This is especially noticeable in his analysis of the most important episode in the life of Gopabandhu, the occasion when Das goes out to serve the flood-stricken people even as his only son lies dying. Nityananda also assesses with sound judgement the achievements of Das as poet, patriot and politician. But the desire to idolize the subject is apparent everywhere; hero-projection seems to be the primary aim. The style at times becomes argumentative as the biographer attempts to justify his hero. This leads to many overstatements, which are jarring.

Kuntalakumāri Jīvancarita (The Life of Kuntalakumari, 1972), the life of Kuntalakumari, an important Oriya poetess, is an exercise in inadequacies by Chakradhar Mohapatra (Cakṛadhār Mohāpātṛa, b. 1908). The subject's complexities, especially her unorthodox and non-conformist behaviour in the course of a turbulent life during which she paid little heed to traditional moral patterns, have not been properly understood by the biographer. His desire to project Kuntalakumari in a conventional moral frame has left the subject half-focussed. The heroine's career, as a brilliant student and an able doctor, and the role in her life of Kailash Chandra Rao have not been assessed with the impersonality demanded of a biographer. Chakradhar Mohapatra seems to be ill-at-ease in presenting objectively the sexual frustrations, family discord and the quest for the identity of Kuntalakumari. Awed by the tragic potential in the life of Kuntalakumari, and unable to rise above his own moral inhibitions, the biographer writes less than he knows and, consequently, is true neither to himself nor to Kuntalakumari.

Sarawati Fakīrmōhan (1972) by Mayadhar Mansingh (Māyādhar Mānsiṅgh, 1906–73) is an engaging life story of Fakirmohan Senapati, perhaps the greatest novelist in Oriya literature. Mansingh critically examines the known facts about his subject, often quoting from Fakirmohan's famous autobiography to validate his conclusions. But in spite of the somewhat impersonal tone and the documented approach, there is something casual about the work. Fakirmohan's fateful role in the making of modern Orissa has also not been analysed in depth.

Sahid Lakṣmaṇ Nāyak (Martyr Lakshman Nayak, 1977) by Dasarathi Nanda (Dāśarathi Nanda, b. 1938) is the biography of an almost illiterate ādivāsi rebel who was hanged by the British Government. In spite of an imaginative treatment of the facts, the work has its own relevance.

Second-hand Biographies. Less authentic but more popular are the second-hand biographies written by professional writers, to provide information to the uninitiated. These works do not bear the impress of deep study or research; they are mainly based on books published in other languages, especially in English, and articles and sketches published in national and international periodicals. The most prolific, almost a professional, biographer of this type is Suryanarayana Das (Sūryanārāyaṇa Dās, b. 1942). He has written *Jugasṛaṣṭha Nehru* (1965), *Jugajanak Mahātma Gandhi* (1968), *Jugamānab Jākir Hussain* (1970), *Jugajyōti Lāl Bahadūr Śāstṛi* (1966), *Jugapuruṣa Gōpabandhu Dās* (1977), *Jugācārya Rājāji* (1976), *Maulāna Āzād* (1975), *Dāsa Apane* (Life of Gopabandhu Das, 1976), *Pṛithibīra Amar Maṇīṣa* (5 sets; Immortal Men of the World, 1971), and *Nāri Prativa* (5 sets; Women Talents, 1975). His biographies are mainly informative, although occasionally he rises to the literary level. *Jugajayi Jayapṛakāṣ* (1977) is his most accomplished work.

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Birakishore Das (Bīrakiśōrī Dās, b. 1936) is another biographer who has popularized the lives and works of great statesmen by writing informative biographies. Among his works are *Amar Sahid Lālā Lajpat Roy* (Immortal Martyr Lala Lajpat Ray, 1967), *Rāṣṭrapati V. V. Giri* (1973) and *Rāṣṭraguru Rādhākṛiṣṇan* (National Teacher Radhakrishnan, 1970). Bhagīrath Nepak (b. 1937) and Satyanarayana Mohapatra (Satyanārāyaṇa Mohāpātṛa,) too have written a number of short but educating biographies. Nepak's *Kavibara Rādhānāth* (The Great Poet Radhanath, 1974), *Utkal Gaurava Madhusūdan* (The Glory of Orissa, Madhusudan, 1976) and *Brajanāth Badajenā* (1973) and Mahapatra's *Sāmbadika Saśibhūṣaṇ* (Journalist Sasibhushan, 1974), *Dēśasēvak Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa* (Servant of the Nation Lakshminarayana, 1972) and *Paṇdit Gōdāvarīśa* (1971) are important contributions to Oriya biographical literature.

Binod Kanungo's (Binōd Kanuṅgo, b. 1919) *Ācārya Harihara* and *Jaya Prakāṣ* are fine examples of lives blending the aesthetic and the educative elements in delightful proportions. Damodar Das' *Upēndra Bhañja Jīvani*; Ananta Padmanav Patnaik's *Mahāvīra Dohra Bisoi*, and *Bīra Cakara*; Gopal Chandra Mishra's *Paṇdita Mṛityuñjaya Rāth*; Sarat Chandra Panigrahi's *Gautam Buddha: Jīvan O' Darśana*; Nabakishore Das's *Utkala Gaurav Madhusūdan*; Kunjabihari Das' *Jīvani O' Jīvana*; Rajendra Barma's *Saptasindhu Bijayi Mihir*; Nilamani Mishra's *Bhaktakavi Sālabeg: Jīvani O' Bhajanābali*; Chintamoni Dash's *Aitihāsika Kṛupāsindhu*; Upendra Mishra's *Baidyaratna Māguni Brahma*; Jagannath Mahapatra's *Paṇdit Gōdāvariṣṇka Jīvancarita*, Sarala Devi's *Rāya Rāmananda*, Anirudha Das's *Bīra Surēndra Sāi*; and Mahendra Patnaik's *Utkalkēsari Mahatāb* are some other notable biographies in this category.

Short Biographical Sketches. The birth and death anniversaries of leaders, poets and saints often necessitate journalistic reports, short biographical sketches, and informative essays or commemoration volumes to cater to popular needs. As part of the children's literature programme, short sketches of the lives of religious, national and international leaders are also published from time to time. The biographical content in these works is not much, but as short works providing information about the honoured dead, they are worth recognizing as biographies. Notable among such works are Nakula Rath's *Śaṅkarācārya*, Khetrabasi Nayak's *Kabi Carita*, Raghunath Mahapatra's *Kastūrī Bāi*, *Kamalā Nehru* and *Śāradāmaṇi*, Santi Mahapatra's *Nūrjahān*, Jameswar Tripathy's *Śānta Binōbā*, and Ramesh Chandra Dhal's *Bāpu O' Bā*. Besides these, Cuttack Students' Store and New Students' Store, leading publishers in Orissa, have brought out *The Nobel Prize Series*, *Indian Women Series* and *Amar Carita Series*, for high school and undergraduate students.

Autobiographies

In Oriya literature, as already stated, biography is not a very developed art-form; autobiography (ātmajīvani) is even less so. There are barely a dozen autobiographies, and some of them are called so merely out of courtesy. Yet the few good bear the stamp of genius. The first autobiography written in Oriya was that of poet Radhanath Roy. But unfortunately it has not seen the light of day yet. The first published autobiography, however, was written by Fakirmohan Senapati (Fakīrmōhan Sēnāpati, 1843–1918) whose contribution to modern Oriya literature is outstanding.

Fakirmohan's *Ātmajīvan Carita* (Autobiography) was published posthumously by the novelist's son, Mohini Senapati, in 1928. But during the lifetime of Fakirmohan, some chapters of the work were serialized in contemporary periodicals like *Sāmbalpur Hitaishini*, *Satyabādi* and *Utkala Sāhitya*. *Ātmajīvan Carita*, even over fifty years after its publication, continues to be the most valuable personal document in Oriya literature. The striking features of this autobiography are the choice of events and facts, their organization, and its unique style. Fakirmohan narrates, with the equanimity of a person seeing things from a distance, his unhappy childhood, his constant ailments, his career as a teacher, publisher and administrator, his married life and his creative pursuits. His triumphs and failures, glories and embarrassments are presented without the slightest attempt at self-glorification or justification; his weaknesses and morals, as well as other failures are confessed frankly. The soul of Fakirmohan, as well as the history of the social evolution of 19th century Orissa, emerge in a tangible form from the pages of this autobiography. His omissions and commissions, as manager and administrator of Nīlagiri, Dompadā, Dhenkānāl, Dasapallā and Keonjhar, are so described as to give a vibrant picture of the political, social and cultural ethos of northern Orissa during the early years of the British Rāj. The humility with which the self-portrait is drawn is an accomplishment worthy of great literature. The impersonal prose style of this autobiography, the unemotional simplicity of the master storyteller, and the rural diction are unique traits that reveal the genius of the author.

Godavarisha Mishra's (Gōdābarīśa Miṣra, 1886–1956) *Arḍha Śatābdīra Oḍissā O' Taṅhire Mo Sthāna* (Half a Century of Orissa and My Place in It, 1958), with its sincere self-analysis and introspective evaluation, has carved a niche for itself in Oriya literature. The avowed purpose of this revealing saga of a saintlike person is to show that life is a constant theatre of manifestations. And man, a weak and self-willed creature, renews himself to suit his own ideals when he learns of his weaknesses and failings. The author describes without bitterness the atmosphere of poverty, not only in his own famiy, but also in the society

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around. His school life at Puri is one of the most touching chapters in this autobiography wherein he shows his internal conflict with the temptations of evil and the success of his moral resistance which culminates in spiritual triumphs. The dark but beautiful landscape of Orissa, the State's poverty, its struggle for progress, and the changing social panorama are all captured with the eye of a painter. The remarkable feature of this work is the total lack of pretension and the complete effacement of the self. The author describes the spanking he got at school for being a bad student with the same detachment as he describes the new rail-line to Bālugāṅ. The launching of the co-operative societies, the reports against corruption in high places, journalistic and poetic activities, participation in the National Movements, in fact the entire history of half a century (1886–1936), passes before the reader's eyes like a kaleidoscopic collage of images with a common motif—the growing soul of Orissa. The language is deceptively simple. But in the short sentences and the unsophisticated diction, there often lurks the barbed tongue of a mild satirist, the feelings of an unconscious moralist and the impersonal laughter of the artist. But there is no hypocrisy or evil.

Kumbhāra Cakra (The Potter's Wheel, 1975) by Kalicharan Patnaik (Kāḷicaraṇ Paṭnāik, 1898–1977), the father-figure of Orissan drama, dance and music, is a significant achievement that can safely be called the history of Oriya drama and music between 1898 and 1975. The hero of this history, however, is a shy, humble but purposeful figure. He is a singer, actor, dancer, dramatist, director, editor and organizer, all rolled into one. But nowhere does he assume a self-congratulatory posture. Instead, he writes with deep humility.

Throughout the whole nerve-racking story of suffering, loss, frustration and achievement there is no rancour, no accusation or even complaint. The several royal families—Barāmbā, Puri, Mayūrbhañj, Khandaparā, Surangi—the author served, the jobs he held in different parts of Orissa, the lyrics and dances he composed, the plays he presented, the books he wrote, and the awards and titles he received have been presented as necessary parts of a varied but full life. And in the process, the beginnings and the flowering of Orissa's great tradition of drama and music take tangible shape. The language Patnaik uses has an evocative simplicity and a virginal beauty. Writing with short and pointed sentences he has produced an autobiography that reads like an evenly-paced novel. The hero is in constant focus; and naturally, the other characters in this human drama appear as part of the background and events, and people are seen only from his point of view. But this is understandable in an autobiography, especially when the hero is an assimilating consciousness creating, with persons and events, a palpable landscape of human vitality.

H. K. Mahtab's (Mahatāb, b. 1899) *Sādhanarā Pathe* (On the Road to Perseverance, 1949) is not a conventional autobiography. It is a two-part account of the political situation in pre- and post-Independence India. The author having been involved in the Freedom Movement, the political picture he draws is from his own point of view. The ambitions of an Oriya boy to be something more than an ordinary householder or family man are projected in this autobiography with remarkable candour. It is the story of an intellectual rebel who holds traditions and establishments in scant respect. It is also a living document of the polarization and identification of different political and social forces during the historic Freedom Movement. In the second part, the author's own role of presiding over the destiny of Orissa is etched with dexterity, though the details are somewhat unidirectional. Mahtab's inimitable prose style, the occasional tongue-in-cheek statements, the half-humorous observations and the sincerity of purpose make *Sādhanarā Pathe* a work of distinction.

Kalindi Charan Panigrahi's (Kāḷindīcaraṇ Pāṇigṛāhi, b. 1901) *Aṅge Jāhā Nivāichhi* (What I Have Experienced Myself, 1973) is another autobiography of note. In fictional mode, the author evaluates his own experiences and also throws light on the social and literary movements of his time. His association with the *Sabuja* (Romantic) movement in Oriya poetry is, however, not assessed impartially. The author seems to be lost in himself and, at times, loses sight of others. But, on the whole, his autobiography is a readable work. Other notable autobiographies are: *Pāni Kabinkara Ātmakahāni* (Poet Pani's Autobiography, 1955) by Baisnab Pani (Baiṣṇab Pāni, 1898–1963), *Jīvan Taraṅga* (Life's Waves, 1962) by Ramakrishna Nanda (Rāma Kṛṣṇa Nanda), *Mo Jīvan Smṛti* (My Life's Memoirs, 1958) by Ananta Prasad Panda (Ananta Pṛasād Pāṇda, b. 1906), *Mo Bārabulā Jīvan* (My Nomadic Life, 1968) by Laxminarayana Sahu (Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Sāhu, 1890–1966), *Mo Nija Kahāni* (My Own Story, 1976) by Kunjabihari Das (Kuñjabihārī Dās, b. 1914) and *Sansāra Pathe* (On the World's Path, 1949) by Udayanath Rath (Udayanāth Rāth).

This brief survey of biographical writings in Oriya literature brings into sharp focus two dominant characteristics of Oriya life: a deep moral awareness and a desire for legitimate progress. Coupled with a non-violent and pacifist approach to life, these traits, perhaps, have made the Oriya wait for things to happen, instead of forcing himself on the external scene with the volcanic impact of an unscrupulous romantic.

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Punjabi

RATTAN SINGH JAGGI

For the sake of convenience this study of biographical literature in Punjabi can be divided into two parts—the medieval period and the modern.

Medieval Period

In Punjabi language though this genre has developed under the influence of western literature, biographical writings of a sort were attempted during the Guru Nanak era. They had in them some biographical elements, but could not be termed proper biographies. Guru Nanak was a multifaceted personality of his times and it is not surprising that the earliest biographical attempts revolved around his personality. The Guru played a pioneering role in shaping the religious, social and political events of his time. Whatever the people heard and said about Guru Nanak was organized into the earliest biographical writings, which are known as *Janam Sākhīs* (Life Stories). The *Janam Sākhīs* served as the foundation for the later biographical literature in Punjabi. Internal and external evidences prove that the earliest *Janam Sākhī* was written around 1588. This *Janam Sākhī* is an amalgamation of religion, philosophy, poetry and common beliefs. The earliest *Purātan Janam Sākhī* proved a germinating seed for the next four *Janam Sākhīs*, viz. *Ad Sākhīān*, *Purātan Janam Sākhī Srī Guru Nānak Dev Jī*, *Prācīn Janam Sākhī* and *Janam Sākhī Srī Guru Nānak Dev Jī*. These writings display a common approach towards treatment of the subject. In *Purātan Janam Sākhī* an attempt has been made to present Guru Nanak not as a historical personality but as a centre of people's devotion. Its dramatic technique, terse sentences and mature style make this *Janam Sākhī* interesting reading. Undoubtedly, it is full of literary qualities, but it primarily aims at creating a myth rather than a piece of literary art.

In the *Janam Sākhī* tradition the credit of the next important attempt goes to Meharban and his sons who wrote the *Janam Sākhī* in six volumes, of which the first three are available and have since been edited and published. This *Janam Sākhī* had been written before 1651. Though the basic scheme has been on the lines of the *Purātan Janam Sākhī*, there is a clear shift in emphasis. The Guru's sayings and the incidents of his life have received greater attention than their impact on the stream of human life at large.

The third important stage in the *Janam Sākhī* tradition is popularly called *Bāle Vālī Janam Sākhī* which is traditionally believed to have been written at the behest of Guru Angad, though internal and external evidences establish the fact that it was written some time after the demise of the fifth Guru, Arjan Dev. This biography is mythological in nature and the historical and literary aspects seem to have been ignored.

The next important *Janam Sākhī* was attempted by Bhai Mani Singh (1669–1737), who based his attempt on the first *Vār* (Ode) by Bhai Gurdas pertaining to Guru Nanak. The *Janam Sākhī* writer has taken the stanzas of the *Vār* one by one and has given exhaustive commentary on the various incidents connected with the Guru's life. On the whole this *Janam Sākhī* is also on the lines of the three earlier *Janam Sākhīs*. Besides these four important attempts many a writer such as Sant Dass Chhiber and Ganesha Singh Bedi have composed *Janam Sākhīs* in verse. The difference lies only in the form and not in the content.

Apart from these *Janam Sākhīs*, many biographical writings appeared during the 17th and 18th centuries. Though they adopted the *Janam Sākhī* technique the personalities were different. Among these writings, *Goṣṭān Meharbān Jī Kīān* in which the life of Guru Arjan's nephew Sodhi Meharban is portrayed by his own son, Hari Ji, is significant. These *goṣṭs* (Discourses) are 45 in number and except for a few in the beginning and some in the end which depict Meharban's life, the remaining *goṣṭs* present an analysis of Indian philosophical thought. There is another piece of writing *Sukhmanī Sahansarnām* (Peace-hymns of Thousand Names, 1646) of which the poetic portion was written by Sodhi Meharban himself and the prose portion by his son Sodhi Hari Ji. Consisting of 30 *aṣṭpadīs* (eight-line verses), it gives information regarding the different names of Vishnu's *avatārs* of Indian mythology. This book also contains interesting biographical details of Sri Krishna, Sri Ram and medieval saints, Guru Nanak being one of them.

During this period, the followers of the Niranjani sect wrote a biography of Baba Handal, the founder of the sect, on the basis of the *Janam Sākhīs* of Guru Nanak, which are still unpublished. This proves that all the biographies written till the end of the 18th century had the *Janam Sākhīs* of Guru Nanak as the source. Wherever attempts were made to write biographies of other personalities such as Prophet Mohammad or Sant Kabir, the results were not impressive, because of poor portrayal and immature literary style.

In short, all the early attempts at biographical writing were idealist in nature and ignored the human aspect.

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Metaphysics and religion had the upper hand, which led to a free flow of mythological and puranic elements. These biographies do not care for chronology. They are all written in a devotional style, a hallmark of medieval sensibility.

In the medieval period many other writings are available which have some elements of biography. Among these writings *Sikhān Dī Bhagatmāl* (Series of Sikh Bhaktas, *c.* 1715) is significant. It is based on the eleventh *Vār* by Bhai Gurdas and attributed to Bhai Mani Singh. In this writing the life sketches of the devotees of the first six Gurus are presented in a succinct style. Many other writings such as *Parcīān Sevā Dāss*, *Parcīān Bhāī Ghanīyā*, *Sākhīān Bhāī Addan Şāh* etc. are worth mentioning. These writings are popularly known as *Sākhī* literature in which the Sikh Gurus and their devoted followers have been portrayed in the devotional style. These can aptly be called brief life-sketches.

Besides the various writings about the Gurus in prose there are many others which were composed in verse. The most famous among these is the first *Vār* by Bhai Gurdas which has the life of Guru Nanak as its subject-matter. The other important writings are *Mehmā Prakāś* (Display of Greatness, 1776) by Sarup Dass Bhalla, *Bansāvalīnāmā Dassān Pātşāhīān Kā* (Genealogy of the ten Gurus, 1769) by Kesar Singh Chhiber, *Prācīn Panth Prakāś* (Old treatise of Sikh Cult, 1841) by Rattan Singh Bhangu, *Guru Pratāp Sūraj Granth* (Book of Greatness of the Gurus, 1843) by Bhai Santokh Singh, *Siṅgh Sāgar* (Ocean of the Lion, 1827) and *Guru Kīrat Prakāś* (Display of Guru's Celebrity, 1834) by Vir Singh Bal, etc. Besides being in verse, these have many historical elements. In a way these are a sort of Sikh historiographies written in oriental style. Though categorized as biographical literature and in spite of the tepical quality of Bhai Santokh Singh's writings, these works cannot be considered successful biographies.

Modern Period

In the modern period (beginning from 1880 onwards) biographical literature in Punjabi developed at a rapid pace. The growth can be categorized in four distinct groups, viz. historical biographies, hagiographies, literary biographies and commemorative volumes/monographs.

Biographies. The famous writers of historical biographies are Karam Singh Historian, Ganda Singh, Prem Singh Hoti, Satbir Singh, etc. Karam Singh Historian (1884–1930) has written the biographies: *Bābā Ālā Singh* (1918) and *Bandā Bahādur* (1907). He writes in a simple and logical style and presents historical facts with due regard for authenticity but due to the lack of literary acumen he has not been able to depict his chief characters as examples to follow.

Ganda Singh is more analytical and authentic in his biographies of *Dīvān Kaurā Mal* (1941) and *Bandā Siṅgh Bahādur* (1964). Ganda Singh has cared more for historical proof than for interesting details, and this has led to his dull style which may attract a student of history but not a reader of biographies. He lacks the flavour of a literary style so essential for a successful biography.

Prem Singh Hoti (1882–1954) is a prolific writer of biographies. His main area of interest has been Maharaja Ranjit Singh, his successors and military generals. He has written biographies of *Mahārāja Rañjīt Siṅgh* (1918), *Mahārāja Śer Siṅgh* (1951), *Mahārāja Naunihāl Siṅgh* (1941), *Akālī Phūlā Siṅgh* (1914) and *Sardār Harī Siṅgh Nalvā*. His writings are dominated by moral values which form the basis for measuring the worth of heroes. The moral element has clouded the artistic quality of his biographies. Besides distorting the historically known facts he has tried to idealize his heroes in the medieval fashion, reducing his works to long narratives devoid of literary qualities. The same is true of Sita Ram Kohli's biography, *Mahārāja Rañjit Siṅgh* (1953). He proves facts with historical references, but he lacks the aroma of literary style. Lala Gurandita Khanna's biography, *Rāṇi Lakşmī Bāī* can also be put in the same category. Surjit Singh Sethi's biography, *General Mohan Siṅgh* (of Azad Hind Fauj) exhausts all adjectives, rendering the protagonist a dull supermachine. This biography is an example of uninspired writing. Similarly Amar Singh's *Jīvan Ithās Bābā Buḍḍha Jī* (Life History of Baba Buddha, 1964) beats the trodden path without providing any new dimension to the personality portrayed.

In the same tradition can be counted some brief biographies such as Sharda Ram Phillori's *Sikhān De Rāj Dī Vithyā* (Narration of the Sikh Kingdom, 1868), in which he has portrayed the ten Sikh Gurus and Maharaja Ranjit Singh. This book was written under Government's patronage for British officials. Twisting the facts to suit the mood of his contemporary rulers he has portrayed the Sikh Gurus and the Maharaja as commonplace people. This book contains brief life-sketches. In the same tradition Prem Singh Hoti has written *Khalsa Raj De Usraiye* (Builders of the Sikh Kingdom; I, 1942; II, 1943) and *Khālsā Rāj De Badeśī Kāriṇde* (Foreign Officials of the Sikh Kingdom, 1945), in which he has recorded brief life-sketches of those who played a significant role in the building of the Sikh empire and Sikh military power. Undoubtedly the writer has given a restrained, yet sentimental, treatment.

Hagiographies. In the category of hagiographies can be counted life stories of religious personalities. Foremost among such writers comes Bhai Vir Singh (Bhāī Vīr Siṅgh, 1872–1957), who romanticized the lives of the Sikh Gurus in his *Guru Nanak Camatkar* (Marvels of Guru Nanak, 1955), *Kalgīdhar Camatkar* (Marvels of the Tenth Guru, 1955) and *Aşṭaguru Camatkar* (Marvels of Eight Gurus, 2 vols, 1952, 68). The personalities presented in these books were

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earlier the subject-matter of tracts. Bhai Vir Singh is an ardent preacher of Sikh philosophy and religion, so his presentation is highly subjective. He has a mastery of details and can lend a new dimension to the chief characters by intermingling fact with fiction. He is unique in his style which is simple and lucid. The other known hagiographies are *Jīvan Kathā Sant Attar Siṅgh* (Life Story of Saint Attar Singh) and *Sant Bābā Nand Siṅgh Jī* (1960), which are written with dedication lending mythical qualities to the heroes. These books are long narratives which do not have much literary significance. Inder Singh Chakarvarti's *Aṭal Pratāpī* (Nāmdhārī Guru Pratāp Siṅgh) and Nidhan Singh Alam's *Yug Palṭāū Satguru* can be cited as other examples of hagiographies.

Literary Biographies. Though some attempts have been made, there is no established tradition of writing literary biographies in Punjabi. In 1965 Surinder Singh Johar (b. 1927) wrote a literary biography of a political personality *Lālā Lājpat Rāi*. The writer has given an objective yet interesting account of Lala Ji's life. His style is lucid and presentation realistic and objective. In 1968 Vishwa Nath Tiwari wrote a biography of Pratap Singh Kairon under the title *Sardār* in which he has presented stray episodes but not the ups and downs of his hero's life in the light of his political prowess, his achievements, his rapport with the rural masses and his secular attitude.

In 1965 Piara Singh Datta wrote a biography of the first Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, in which he presented his hero as an internationally recognized personality, who with his concern for the country's developments and his farsighted progressive policies laid the foundation of a strong and secular India. Briefing the history of the Nehru family, the writer has given a chronological account of the main events in Pandit Nehru's life with its social, political and economic background. For the first time in literary biographies we come across ironic and humorous observations. In 1966 Shamsher Singh Ashok published *Bhāī Kāhan Siṅgh Nābhā*, in which the writer has presented the life story of a great Sikh scholar and commentator on the basis of his available diaries and memoirs. Written in a simple style, this biography brings out the sterling qualities of Bhai Kahan Singh. Niranjan Singh in his book *Jīvan Yātrā Master Tārā Siṅgh* (Life Journey of Master Tara Singh) has tried to give all the significant details regarding the politically colourful life of the undisputed Akali leader. Being the younger brother of Master Tara Singh, the writer has succeeded in imparting familiar descriptions of his hero's habits, events, likes and dislikes and this has made this book an authentic biography.

In the same tradition come Jaswant Singh's *Bābā Rām Siṅgh* (1958) and *Bābā Sohan Siṅgh Bhaknā*, Surinder Singh Johar's *Rabindra Nāth Tagore* (1962), Tarlochan Singh's *Bhāī Randhīr Siṅgh*, Gurdial Singh Phul's *Bhāī Jodh Siṅgh*, Piar Singh's *Tejā Siṅgh Samundrī* and Takhat Singh's *Ṣahīd Karnail Siṅgh* (1959). In all these biographies, the writers have presented their heroes with warmth and sincerity.

Besides these full-scale literary biographies some collections of brief life sketches also deserve notice. Among these can be counted Kapoor Singh's *Sapat Śriṅg*, Sujan Singh's *Dhartī de Lāl*, S. S. Amol's *Tīn Mahā Puruṣ* (Three Great Persons, 1964), Gurmukh Singh Musafar's *Vīhvīn Sadī de Ṣahīd* (Martyrs of the 20th century, 1968) and Man Singh's *Dasmeṣ De Ṣer* (Lions of the Tenth Guru). Some writers have attempted pen-portraits of contemporary literary personalities. Balwant Gargi's *Nīm De Patte* and *Surme Vālī Akkh*, Kulbir Singh Kang's *Patthar Dīān Likān* and *Badlān De Raṅg*, Karam Jit Singh's *Kalam Dī Akkh*, etc. are collections of character sketches that have come to be designated as *Rekhā-cittar*.

Commemorative Volume. Commemorative volumes/monographs have been a recent phenomenon. These are presented or published by private societies, associations or government agencies. The Languages Department of Punjab Government honours the prize-winning literary personalities at special functions in which either the commemorative volumes or monographs are released. Significant among the commemorative volumes are those presented to M. S. Randhawa, S. S. Amol, Nanak Singh, Gurbakhsh Singh, Jodh Singh, Balraj Sahni, Inder Singh Chakarvarti, Kirpa Sagar, Shadi Singh, Teja Singh, Lal Singh Kamala Akali, Sujan Singh, Mohan Singh etc. In these volumes different scholars write articles which throw light on the various aspects of the person's life and literary achievements.

In its 'Men of Letters' Series, Punjabi University has published a number of monographs on the lines of western universities and publishing houses. Fifteen monographs have already been published viz, *Sodhī Meharbān, Bhagvān Siṅgh, Giānī Gīān Singh, Professor Īśwar Cander Nandā, Lālā Dhanī Rām Cātrik, Bueleh Ṣāh, Bhāī Mohan Siṅgh Vaid, Professor Pūran Siṅgh, Damodar, Lālā Kirpā Sāgar, Bhāī Gurdās, Ṣāh Husain, Sultān Bāhū, Principal Tejā Siṅgh* and *Qādaryār* etc. These monographs provide authentic information regarding the persons portrayed. In the series of valiant heroes an effort is being made to make available the biographies of well-known historical figures. The writers of these monographs are, in most cases, historians and the focus is on the historical role of the heroes. More than a dozen monographs in this series have already been published, prominent among them being *Sardār Sevā Siṅgh Ṭhīkrīvālā, Bhāī Mahārāj Siṅgh, Sardār Harī Siṅgh Nalvā, Sardār Ajīt Siṅgh, Bandā Bahādur, Rāṅī Sāhib Kaur, Jassā Siṅgh Āhlūvālīā, Sardār Ṣām Siṅgh Attārīvālā, Ṣahīd Bhagat Siṅgh, Lālā Lājpat Rāi, Ṣahīd Kartār Siṅgh Sarābhā* and *Dīvān Siṅgh Kālepāṇī*.

The National Book Trust, Delhi, has also planned the

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publication of monographs of national heroes which are to be translated into all the Indian languages. Significant among the monographs already published in Punjabi are *Ahilyā Bāī*, *Sūrdās*, *Bhagat Nāmdev*, *Sant Kabīr*, *Guru Nanak*, *Guru Gobind Siṅgh*, *Mirzā Ghālib* and *Amīr Khusro*.

Autobiography

Literature is a medium for expressing man's aspirations and experiences. Man has still not been able to evolve a more potent method for self-expression. In an autobiography a writer tries to share his experiences, trials and tribulations with others. The rendering of important events in one's life in a chronological and lucid way forms the scheme of an autobiography. In Punjabi, the genre of autobiography is of very recent origin. Though Guru Gobind Singh's *Apnī Kathā* (*Bacitar Nāṭak*—Wonderful Drama) comprising events of his previous lives and purposes of his life on earth was written in the 17th century, the autobiography in the modern sense of the term originated in the 20th century under the influence of western literature.

In Punjabi the first attempt at an autobiography was made by Sant Sampuran Singh in 1954 under the title *Jīvan Gāthā*. He was Bhai Mohan Singh's elder brother and, fed up with the problems of domestic life, he renounced family ties. In his autobiography he has narrated the incidents right from his birth to the last days with the backdrop of contemporary political, social and religious movements and the condition of Sikh shrines. This book preaches simple living devoted to religion.

The credit for writing the first really successful autobiography however goes to Teja Singh for his *Ārsī* (Mirror, 1952), which was published in 1958. In its 14 chapters this book gives interesting details of the author's life. By portraying significant events of his life the author has lent an aura of idealism to the book. The multifaceted personality of the author makes its reading a rewarding experience. The author has played a significant role in various fields such as politics, teaching, administration, preaching philosophy, writing, painting, art and family life. It is a successful autobiography not only in Punjabi language but also in modern Indian languages as a whole.

Nanak Singh's autobiography *Merī Duniyā* (My World) was published in 1959. Divided into five parts this autobiography gives a true picture of contemporary events and movements. The writer had written most of his novels on hill-stations. His depiction of Dharamsala, life at Dalhousie and nearby areas make interesting reading. *Merī Duniyā*, on the whole, can be called a biographical novel or novel-like biography in which he himself is the protagonist.

Gurbakhsh Singh Pritlar has written his autobiography in three successive volumes. The first part *Merī Jīvan Kahāṇī* (Story of My Life, 1958) covers the period between childhood and youth (1895–1924). The second part *Manzal Dis Paī* (The Goal is Visible, 1964) narrates events between 1924 and 47. The third part of *Merī Jīvan Kahāṇī* (Story of My Life, 1978) encompasses the events from 1947 to 1960. In spite of being the most detailed autobiography in Punjabi, the author has talked more about other persons than about himself. These volumes speak of his idealized love experiences in various lands. He has a deep and uninhibited respect for the women-folk. He has given an original interpretation of various contemporary situations, problems and events. This autobiography is international in character and secular in outlook.

Arjan Singh Gargaj, a revolutionary, in his autobiography *Merā Āpnā Āp* (My Own Self, 1968) has given an interesting narrative, his initiation into the revolutionary path. This book presents contemporary political history in a lucid style. Since the author had spent a long period of his life in jails, his first-hand experiences of jail-life make the book interesting. The author puts forth his progressive ideas in an uninhibited manner. He does not care much for ornamentation, but his love of facts makes the autobiography convincing.

Niranjan Singh published his autobiography in 1970 under the title of *Jīvan Vikās* (Evolution of Life). The writer has evolved a unique style for the book in which his student life forms the best part. Most of the incidents are concerned with his career as a teacher especially with reference to political agitations started by the Sikhs and the personalities he came into contact with at various stages. The style of the book is well in accord with the author's love for freedom and vast experience.

Balraj Sahni's autobiography *Merī Filmī Ātam Kathā* (Autobiography of my Film Life, 1974) shows the film artiste Sahni getting the better of the writer Sahni. Using the technique of flash-back he takes the reader to various situations and events. Though the events are not set in a chronological order, they hang together as an artistic whole. His experiences of film life make this book multidimensional.

Amrita Pritam, the popular Punjabi poetess, published her autobiography *Rasīdī Ṭikaṭ* (Revenue Stamp, 1976) which can be termed an imaginative treatment of the facts of her life. The poetess, as usual, pays greater attention to lyricism than reality. She treats her contemporaries with the contempt born of a sense of superiority. This book is a confluence of a diary, memoir and an autobiography. It does not deal with the author's life in a comprehensive manner, only a few episodes are taken up leaving major questions regarding her life unanswered. She sidetracks the basic issues and builds a mist over reality.

Sahib Singh in his autobiography *Merī Jīvan Kahāṇī* (Story of My Life, 1977, ed. by Pritam Singh) outlines the hardships faced by him during his simple life. Most of the events relate to the author's family life though in some places reference has been made to political incidents and

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personalities. The author has commented freely on the persons who influenced him. The style is as free from linguistic embellishments as from human blemishes.

Translated Autobiographies. The first translated autobiography in Punjabi was that of Mahatma Gandhi by Niranjan Singh under the title *Sat Dī Prāpatī De Yatan* (Efforts for the Achievement of Truth, 1928). The original writer has treated the subject in three sections and has tried to give an objective picture of the weaknesses as well as strengths of his character. The translator has treated the subject well and the translated version reads like an original work.

The second autobiography was rendered in Punjabi by the author Dewan Singh Maftoon himself under the original Urdu title *Nāqāble Frāmoṣ* (1957). The author was a man of vast experience and was fortunate enough to come into contact with the leading personalities of his time. This book abounds in keen observations. Like other successful autobiographies this one also gives a glimpse of the political events of the pre-Independence era. The writer exhorts his readers to stand for principles and face hardships cheerfully.

In 1958 Amrita Pritam translated and published Dr. Rajendra Prasad's autobiography under the title *Ātam Kathā* (Autobiography). Rajendra Prasad was a man of very rich experiences in the political life of the country. The translated version keeps intact the freshness and lucidity of the original.

Piara Singh Bhogal published Rousseau's *Confessions* (cum-autobiography) under the title *Āp Bītīān* (1960). This book brings to light the rich and varied experiences of the great man.

The first part of Maxim Gorki's autobiography was translated into Punjabi by Gurdial Singh in 1961 under the title *Merā Bachpan* (My Childhood) in which Gorki has presented the hardships of his childhood. The second part *Mere Ṣāgirdī De Dīn* (Days of My Pupilship, 1961), was translated by Darshan Singh and the third part *Mere Viśv-Vidyāle* (My Universities, 1961) was translated by Harbhajan Singh. In 1961, Rabindra Nath Tagore's autobiography of his childhood was translated by Kuldip Singh under the title *Merā Bachpan* (My Childhood) in which Tagore has penned the experiences of early life which became the guiding principles in his later life. In 1965 Piara Singh Datta translated Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's autobiography. It is rewarding reading and the reader comes to know the main events in the sub-continent and Nehru's reactions to great personalities and situations.

In 1968 Gurbakhsh Singh rendered the Punjabi version of Puran Singh's autobiography *On Paths of Life* under the title *Zindgī De Rāhān Te*. This book presents Puran Singh in his majestic greatness and gives new material on the poet's life and thought.

Major Harī Pal Singh Ahluwalia translated his own English autobiography into Punjabi under the title *Ākāśān Ākāś* (Skies and Skies, 1974). The Major has been one among the few to scale Mount Everest. This book tells about the problems and hardships of mountaineering, particularly the vagaries of weather faced during the expedition.

Mubarak Singh published a translated version of Benjamin Franklin's autobiography in 1978 in which he has depicted the multifaceted personality of the great statesman, philosopher, writer, orator, administrator, scientist and artist.

Jagjit Singh Anand's translation of Karl Marx's life story *Jīvnī Karl Marx* (Biography of Karl Marx, 1962) presents the great philosopher in a very chaste style.

There are a few other writings which have many elements of an autobiography. As the first among these can be counted *Mittar Asāḍe Sei* (Those are Our Friends) by Jit Singh Sital. Published in 1968, this book gives the author's reaction to the personalities whose acquaintance enriched his life. It is a sort of autobiography in which the author gives free expression to his own life-style, likes and dislikes. A scholar of Persian, the writer has adopted an ornamental style.

Under the same category can be placed Hira Singh Dard's *Merīān Kujh Ithāsik Yādān* (Some of My Historical Reminiscences, 1955) in which he has presented incidents and movements which played a significant role in shaping the writers attitude towards life, society and the world. Similarly Balraj Sahni's *Ghair Jazbātī Diary* (Diary—Free of Emotions, 1975) presents a number of incidents in the 14 chapters of the book, which introduce us to the working of the artist's mind. Narain Singh's *Kujh Haḍḍ Bītī Kujh Jag Bītī*, Amrita Pritam's *Kīrmacī Lakīrān*, *Kālā Gulāb*, and *Mom Batīān De Bhed*, Gurbakhsh Singh's *Merīān Abhul Yādān*, Master Ta a Singh's *Merīān Kujh Ithāsik Yādān* and Major General Gurbakhsh Singh's *Āp Bītī Dīān Abhul Yādān* are some of the other attempts which, though not proper autobiographies, have many elements of this genre.

No doubt, there are many biographical and autobiographical writings that lack literary and artistic flavour. The few successful attempts were made only after 1955. As the Punjabi language grows popular, this form of literature may develop on healthier and more mature lines leading to better biographies and autobiographies.

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Sanskrit

K. V. SARMA

Literary tradition in Sanskrit has been averse to the eulogy of man, much more so of the author himself, especially during early times. An exception seems to have been made in the case of saints and teachers and, in later times, royalty, as well. This should explain the paucity of biographical literature in Sanskrit, during early and medieval times, and why the available writings of this genre relate to religious leaders and the rulers of the land.

In Sanskrit, biographical literature has remained practically the domain of the poet and has been treated as a branch of the *belles lettres*, like poetry and drama. While this aspect of Sanskrit biographies has resulted in the introduction of poetic fancies and exaggerations in their composition, the fact that biographies in Sanskrit, especially the early ones, have been composed long after the lifetime of the persons concerned, has had the effect of introducing into them much legendary matter and hearsay accounts. In evaluating the Sanskrit biographies, it is therefore necessary that due allowance should be made for this aspect of the matter.

Buddhist Biographies

The earliest works in India which could be termed biographies occur in Buddhist literature written in Pali. Thus three long sections in the *Suttanipāta* (3rd century B.C.), viz., 'Nālakasutta', 'Pabbajjasutta' and 'Padhānasutta', narrate the life of the Buddha immediately after his birth, his departure and wanderings, and his struggle for knowledge, respectively. The 'Mahaparinibbāṇa-sutta' of the *Dīghanikāya* is a continuous record of the latter part of the Buddha's life, his last speeches and his death. What is more interesting is the autobiographical account of the Buddha found in *suttas* 26 and 36 occurring in the *Majjhimanikāya*. Among long biographical accounts of the Buddha couched in ornate classical style might be mentioned the *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa (2nd century A.D.) and the *Payacūḍāmaṇi* by a later author, Buddhaghoṣa.

Jain Literature

Jain literature, both in Sanskrit and in Prakrit, abound in biographies of Mahāvīra and other saints of Jainism. The earliest biography of Mahavira occurs in the *Jinacarita*, in section I of the *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu.

The *Sthavirāvalīcarita* of Hemacandra (b. 1088), the prolific Jain monk of Gujarat, sets out the life and work of several Jain teachers. There are a number of narrative poems of the medieval times on the lives of Jain monks and patrons, like the *Kumārapālapratibodha-mahākāvya*, *Hemakumāracarita* and *Sumatināthacarita*, all by Samaprabhācārya (12th century), the *Digvijayamahākāvya* on Saint Vijayaprabhasūri by Meghavijayagaṇi (1691), the *Jagadgurukāvya* on Haravijayasūri by his pupil Padmasāgaragaṇi (1577), the *Vijayadevamāhātmya* on Vijayadevasūri by Śrīvallabha Pāṭhaka, and *Jinadattacarita* on Jinadatta, author of the *Jain Ādipurāṇa*, by his pupil Guṇabhadra.

Hindu Saints. Among the Hindu saints, Śaṅkarācārya, the prolific writer and promulgator of Advaita philosophy, has the largest number of biographies written on him, most of them in the form of *mahākāvyas*. Of these, the *Śaṅkaravijaya* of Ānandagiri, *Bṛhatśaṅkaravijaya* of Citsukhācārya, *Saṅkṣepa-śaṅkaravijaya* of Vidyāraṇya-Mādhava and Govindanātha's *Śaṅkarācāryacaritam* are early works, while the *Śaṅkarābhyudaya* of Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita of Tanjore (17th century), *Śaṅkarācārya-digvijaya* of Vallīsahāya and *Śaṅkaradigvijayasāra* of Sadānanda belong to a later period. Ramanuja, the promulgator of the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* school of philosophy, and his successors have also been the subjects of biographies, which take the form of *mahākāvyas*, *campūs* and dramas. On Ramanuja, the important works are the *Rāmānujacarita-culaka* by Annayācārya, *Śrībhāṣyakāracarita* by Kauśika Veṅkaṭeśa, *Śrīśailakulavaibhava* by Nṛsimhasūri, *Yatirājavaibhava* by Āndhrapūṛna and *Yatīndracampū* by Vakulābharana. Several of the exponents of the Dvaita school of philo-

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sophy have also been the subjects of biographical works, mostly Mahakavyas. Of Anandatirtha-Madhva, the first exponent of the school, we have three works, the *Mādhvavijaya*, *Aṇumādhvavijaya* and *Maṇimañjarī*, all by Trivikramabhaṭṭa. Chaitanya (16th century), propounder of the Bengal School of Vaishnavism, is the subject of two biographies by his own disciple Kavi Karṅapūra alias Paramānanda (b. 1524), namely, the *Caitanyacarita*, a *mahākāvya*, and *Caitanyacandrodaya*, a drama in ten acts. The life and doings of Chaitanya have also been portrayed in a voluminous work entitled *Gaurāṅgacampū* by Raghunatha Gosvāmin (18th century). The life of the Śuddhādvaita philosopher Vallabhacharya has been depicted in the *Vallabhadigvijaya* of Bābu Sītārāma Śāstrin, *Vallabhākhyānaka* of Gopaladasa and in the modern *mahākāvya Śrī Vallabhācāryacaritam* (Bombay, 1920) by S. S. Hasurkar (20th century). The life of Basava, propounder of the Virasaiva system of philosophy in Karnataka, is depicted in the *Basavavijaya* of Pālkuriki Somanātha. It is interesting to note that a biography of Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, is available in the *Nānakacandrodaya* (Rise of the moon-like Nanaka, Bombay, 1887) by Devaraja and Gaṅgārao. Lately, S. S. Hasurker has narrated the lives of all the Sikh teachers in his *Śikhaguru-caritāmṛtam* (Indore, 1933).

Harṣacarita of Bāṇa

The earliest biographical work on royalty is the *Harṣacarita* of the 7th-century polymath Bāṇa. Incidentally, it also forms an instance of autobiography, in that in its first section and part of the second, Bāṇa gives an elaborate account of himself and his family. Sections two to eight give an equally elaborate account of the life and early career of King Harshavardhana. A highly interesting aspect of this work is that it is couched in the form of a long narrative which Bāṇa makes for the benefit of inquisitive friends and relatives, on his return from the King's court. One may refer, in this context, to a similar autobiographical account that poet Daṇḍin (7th century) gives in the introductory chapter of his prose work *Avantisundarī-kathā* (Trivandrum, 1954).

Extensive biographical works on royalty are also known in different parts of India. For instance, the *Tārācandrodaya* by Vaidyanātha on King Tārācandra of Mithila, *Mayūravarmacarita* on Mayūravarman, founder of the Kadamba dynasty of Jayantipura (Banavasi), *Toḍaramallakāvya* on Raja Todar Mall, the Rajput Chieftain, and Finance Minister of the Mughal emperor Akbar, *Yācaprabandha* on King Yāca of the kingdom of Venkaṭagiri, in the Telugu country, by Tripurāntaka and *Rāmacandra-yaśaḥprabandha* on King Ramacandra of Bikaner by Govindabhaṭṭa.

The adventurous life and military exploits of Sivaji, who established the Maratha empire in the Deccan, have induced contemporary writers to compose several biographical accounts on Sivaji. The most important amongst these are *Śivabhārata* (Poona, 1930), a *mahakavya* in 32 sections by Kavīndra Paramānanda (18th century), a court-poet of Sivaji, and the *Parṇālaparvata-grahaṇākhyāna* (Account of the capture of the Parnala hill-fort, Poona, 1923), a prose work in five sections by another contemporary poet, Jayarama (18th century). Similar pieces have been written on his successors too. The abundant literature in Sanskrit produced under the patronage of the Nayak and Maratha rulers of Tanjore, too, contains a good number of biographical works. From Kerala, there are at least four contemporary biographical tracts on Viśākham Tirunāl Rāma Varma Mahārāja of the erstwhile State of Travancore, namely, *Viśākhakīrtivilāsa* by Elattūr Rāmasvāmi Śāstri, *Viśākha-tulāprabandha* by A. R. Rajaraja Varma, and *Viśākha-setuyātrāvarṇana* by T. Ganapati Sastri, all in prose-verse (*campū*), and *Viśākharāja-mahākāvya* by Kerala Varma Valiya Koil Tampurān (1845–1910).

Muslim Rulers

A very interesting chapter in the biographical literature of the late medieval times is the accounts of the lives of Muslim rulers and chieftains who patronized Sanskrit. Among these might be mentioned *Akbarnāmā*, a Sanskrit version of the Persian work of that name, on the life and court of the Mughal emperor Akbar (1556–1605); *Jahāṅgīra-carita*, a prose work on the life of the Mughal emperor Jehangir (1605–1627) by a contemporary poet Rudrakavi (17th century), *Āsafavilāsa* and *Jagadābharaṇa*, both by Pandita Jagannatha (17th century) on his patrons Asaf-Khan, Minister at the Mughal court, and Prince Dara Shukhoh, son of emperor Aurangzeb; *Rājavinodakāvya* by Udayarājakavi on the life of Sultan Begeda Muhammad of Gujarat; *Abdullacarita* by poet Lakshmipati on Abdulla, the Kingmaker of the Mughal Court during the 18th century; and *Śūrjanacarita* (Calcutta, 1951) by poet Candrasekhara of Bengal (17th century) on the life and exploits of Prince Surjana, a contemporary of Akbar.

Biographies of poets

Incidentally, the lives of certain poets have also formed the subject of biographical narratives. An anonymous biography of Asvaghosha, the author of *Buddhacarita* (1st century), is known in its Chinese translation by Kumārāsya (A.D. 4th-5th century). Vasudeva, a 15th century poet of Kerala, retells the life of his ancestor Maharshi of the scholarly family of Payyūr Bhaṭṭatiris in his prose work *Satytapaḥ-kathā*. In another work *Śivodaya*, the same author gives a biographical account of himself and his eight brothers, all of whom were eminent poets and philo-

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sophers. The *Ratnakheṭavijaya* (Success Story of Ratnakheta) is a biographical poem by Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dikṣita of Tanjore (17th century) on the life of his father, the renowned Ratnakheṭa Dīkṣita. A highly informative and fully documented biography of Appayyadīkṣita (1554–1626), the encyclopaedic author of 104 treatises, has lately been written by K. V. Subramania Sastriar, a scion of the family, under the title *Śrīmad-Appayya-dīkṣitendra-vijaya* (Madras, 1933).

A Political Biography

The *Ānandaraṅgavijaya-campū* (1948) by Śrīnivāsakavi (18th century) of Tiruchirapalli, written in 1752, is a unique work in that it is a detailed biography, mainly of the official life of Anandaranga Pillai (1709–61), the *Dubash* (Official interpreter) of Dupleix, the Governor of the French settlement of Pondicherry. Details of the unsettled political conditions of the period collected in the work by the author, who was a contemporary of Pillai, are very valuable.

Modern Trends

As stated above, though the contents of the works mentioned so far are biographical, the treatment is poetic, with the use of highflown style, eulogies and descriptive excursions not germane to the biography proper. The advent of western literature in India and an understanding of the norms and practices followed in modern biographical writings appear to have wrought a definitive change in Sanskrit biographies produced from around the beginning of this century. Stress began to be laid on personalities and the objective recording of events. Poetic effusions began to give way to simple prose or narrative verse. The scope of the biographies was extended to include leading persons in all walks of life, to wit, historic personalities, old and new, saints and social reformers, political leaders and freedom-fighters, poets and philosophers.

Notable biographers

Among modern biographers in Sanskrit might be mentioned Shripad Shastri Hasurkar of Indore, author of several biographies: the *Buddhadevacaritam*, *Vardhamānasvāmicaritam*, *Śaṅkarācāryacaritam*, *Vallabhācāryacaritam*, *Rāmadāsacaritam* and *Sikhaguru-caritāmṛtam* on saints and philosophers, *Pṛthvīrāja-Cāhvāṇacaritam*, *Mahārāṇapratāpasimhacaritam* and *Chatrapati-Śivājimahārājacaritam* on historical personalities, *Rājasthāna-satī-navaratnahāra* and *Mahārāṣṭra-satī-navaratnahāra* on notable women, and other works of a similar nature. Kshama Devi Rao of Bombay has composed *mahākāvyas* on four medieval saints, entiled *Rāmadāsacaritam*, *Tukārāmacaritam*, *Mīrālaharī* and *Jñāneśvaracaritam*, besides recounting certain periods of Mahatma Gandhi's fight for the freedom of India in two works, the *Satyāgraha-gītā* and *Uttara-Satyāgrahagītā*. She has also composed a biography, in verse, of her own scholar father, Sankar Panduranga Pandit.

Biographies of Saints

The tradition of selecting saints and royalty for biographical writings was sustained in the new age also, though, as indicated earlier, the approach was more objective. The *Śrī-Śrīrāmakṛṣṇa-kathāmṛtam* (Pt. I, Calcutta, 1976) is the Sanskrit rendering of the spiritual talks in Bengali of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa recorded by Mahesh Nath Gupta, a close disciple of the saint. A poetical biography of the saint was composed in 1937 by P. Panchāpagēśa Śāstri (b. 1874, Madras), while *Rāmakṛṣṇaparamahamsīya* (Poona, 1964) is a fuller biography by S. B. Varnekar of Nagpur. K. S. Nagarajan composed a short poetical biography of Swami Vivekananda in his *Vivekānandacaritam* (Mysore, 1940). A full-fledged *mahākāvya* entitled *Viśvabhānu* (Universal Light, Trivandrum, 1979) on the Swami in 21 cantos, couched in mellifluous verses, has been written by P. K. Narayana Pillai. Pandit Tryambaka Sarma Bhandarkar, formerly of the Sanskrit University, Varanasi, too, has composed a *mahakavya* in 18 cantos, on the Svāmi, under the title *Śrī Vivekānandacaritam* (Varanasi, 1973).

The life of Dayananda Sarasvati, founder of the Aryasamaj, has been depicted in detail by several scholars, prominent among whom are Akhilāṇḍa Śarma (*Dayānanda-digvijayamahākāvya*, Allahabad, 1910), Dilīpadattopādhyaya (*Municaritāmṛta*), Dvijendranātha Śāstri (*Dayānandodaya*) and Medhavrata Sastri (*Dayānanda-digvijaya-Mahākāvya*, Baroda, 1931). Medhāvrata Śāstri has composed poetical biographies of several other stalwarts also of the Aryasamaj, to wit, the *Brahmarṣi-Virajānandacarita*, *Nārāyaṇasvāmi-carita*, *Jñānendra-carita* and *Nityānandacarita*.

Swami Sivananda, the saint of Rishikesh, has his life retold in the *Śrīśivānandavilāsa* (Acts of Sri Sivananda Rishikesh, 1962), a *mahākāvya* in eleven cantos, by M. Ramakrishna Bhatt (b. 1909). The life of Pūrṇānanda, a saint of Vidarbha, in Maharashtra, is the subject-matter of *Śrī Pūrṇānandacaritam* (1953) which consists of 50 chapters.

Biographies of Royalty

Sivaji, who defied the mighty Mughals at Delhi and carved out an empire for the Marathas, greatly inspired the imagination of the people, with the result that several new biographies came to be written on him, the more important of them being the *Śivakathāmṛtam* by Chajjurāma Sastri. *Śivāvatāraprabandha* by V. V. Sovani (1882–1925)

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of Meerut, *Śivakāvyam* by Puruṣottama, and *Chatrapati-Śivāji-mahārāja-caritam* by S. S. Hasurkar, of which the last one has already been mentioned. But the most important is the *Śivarājavijaya* (Benares, 1925) of Ambikadatta Vyas (1901–1949), an extensive work set on the historical background of the times and written in the classical style of Bana.

Royal Heroines

The heroic life of the Rani of Jhansi who died fighting the British is narrated by P. Gopalakrishna Bhatta in a poem, in two cantos, entitled *Jhānsī-Lakṣmībhāyī* (Udupi, 1959). A detailed biography of the saint-queen Ahalyābhāyi of the Holkar State, composed by Sakhārām Śāstri, has been issued from Kolhapur (1937) and Satara (1951).

Freedom Movement

The last quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed a a wave of nationalism which swept across the Indian subcontinent and resulted in securing freedom for India in 1947. The upheaval threw up a number of nationalist leaders whose dedicated lives have been the subject of a great number of biographies. Among these biographies some merit special mention. The relentless fight that Bal Gangadhar Tilak waged against the British rule in India and his deportation for life and imprisonment have been narrated in great detail, in lucid, racy verses by another freedom-fighter M. S. Aney, in a *mahākāvya* in three volumes, entitled *Tilakayaśorṇava* (Poona, 1969 ff.). A shorter biography of Tilak, in prose, has been produced by K. W. Chitale (Wai) under the title *Lokamānya-Ṭilaka-caritam* (Bombay, 1956). Mahatma Gandhi, who was the live-wire behind the Indian freedom movement, has been the subject of several biographies. The most comprehensive among them is the biography written by Pandit Bhagavadāchārya (20th century), in three volumes, entitled *Bhāratapārijāta*, dealing with the early career of the Mahatma, *Pārijātāpahāra* on his assassination and *Pārijātasaurabha*, dealing with the aftermath (combined ed., 1951). The dedicated life and long political innings of Jawaharlal Nehru have led to the publication of a number of biographies on him, like *Javahar-taraṅgiṇī* (Nagpur 1958) by S. B. Warnekar, *Śrī-Javaharlāla-Vasanta-Sāmrājyam* (The Spring Realm of Sri Jawaharlal, a *mahākāvya* in 5 cantos) by Jayarama Shastri, and *Śrī-Nehru-caritam* (a *mahākāvya* in 8 cantos) by Brahmananda Shukla.

Biographies of Savants

Accounts have also been prepared of the life and work of some of the prominent writers, especially of Sanskrit. Gairikapati Lakshmikāntayya (20th century) has composed a *mahākāvya* entitled *Viśvakavi* (Universal poet) on the renowned poet Rabindranath Tagore, laying stress on the poet's writings and the establishment of the Visvabharati. Mahāmahopādhyāya Yajñasvāmi Śarmā wrote the *Tyāgarājavijayam* (Tanjore, 1904), a long poem on the life of his grandfather, the renowned M. M. Rāju (Tyāgarāja) Sastri of Mannargudi in Tamil Nadu. The *Vidvat-caritapañcaka* (Benaras, 1928) of Nārāyaṇa Śāstri Khiste gives an account of the lives of five leading *Mahāmahopādhyāyas* of Varanasi. The *Haranāmāmṛtakāvya* (Bikaner, 1955) of Vidyadhara Sastri is an account of the author's grand-father against the background of contemporary Sanskrit activities in Rajasthan. Kapali Sastri's (20th century) *Vāsiṣṭhavaibhavam* (Greatness of Vasiṣṭha Ṛṣi, Mysore, 1944) depicts, in two sections, the life of Kavyakaṇṭha Vāsiṣṭha Gaṇapati Śāstrī of Gokarna, one of the foremost scholars in Veda, Dharmaśāstra and Āyurveda. The *Śivakaivalyacarita* (Bombay, 1950) of V. M. Kaikini narrates the life of Sivakaivalya of Karwar, an ancestor of the author. A biography of M. M. P. V. Kane, eminent Sanskrit scholar and authority on Dharmasastra, is included in the work *Jīvanasāgara* (1950) by S. B. Velankar. In *Āśutoṣāvadānam* (Biography of Ashutosha, Calcutta) by MM. Kālīpada Tarkācārya (1888–1972), we have a biography of the renowned educationist of Bengal and distinguished Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, Sir Asutosh Vasiṣṭha Mukherji.

British Sovereigns

Several short biographies and eulogies have come to be composed during the first half of the twentieth century on the British ruless of India, of which two deserve special mention, namely, the *Vijayinī-kāvya* (Calcutta, 1902) in 12 cantos by Śrīvara Vidyālaṅkāra Bhattacharya of Rangpur and *Gītabhāratam* (1902) by Trailokyamohana Guha in 21 cantos. Another Sanskrit biography of a western personality is the *Leninamṛtam* (Hoshiarpur, 1976) by Padma Śāstri, which, in 15 cantos, depicts the life and works of Lenin, the founder of Communist Russia.

Autobiographies

Autobiographical writing does not seem to be germane to Sanskrit. The early writers were reticent about themselves in their works, let alone writing full-fledged autobiograbhies. Two exceptions to this are Bana (6th century), who gives a long biographical account of himself at the beginning of his *Harṣacarita*, and Dandin (7th century), who does likewise in his work *Avantisundarī* (Trivandrum, 1954). While most medieval writers mentioned nothing more than their names in their works, a few of them supplied short autobiographical details either through introductory verses to their works or in the colophons

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thereof. Among modern writers, Kōrāda Ramakrishna Kavi (19-20th century), a versatile scholar from Andhra Pradesh, composed a *Svodayakāvya* (unpublished) while Durgānanda Svāmi (20th century) has depicted his own life in a long poem entitled *Vidyodaya* (unpublished). In the same strain, Svāmi Tapovanam of Kerala, who lived as a recluse in a Himalayan ashram, has depicted his life in an excellent prose work *Īśvaradarśana* or *Tapovanacarita* (Trichur, 1950).

Conclusion

The bird's-eye view of biographical literature in Sanskrit given above would show that the subject is classed under two headings, namely, the literature produced before the impact of western concepts, and the literature from then upto modern times. The writings of the early period were prone to the introduction of legendary accounts, exaggerations and parallelisms characteristic of classical Sanskrit, and to be eulogical and moralistic rather than objective and balanced. In tune with the thought of the times, the lives portrayed pertained primarily to the saints and the royalty. During the second period, when the norms of western biographical writing began to seep into India, its impact also began to be felt by the Sanskrit writer. For one thing, the vision of the Sanskritist widened and, as a result, he began to view men and matters in a more realistic perspective, with a critical eye and an enquiring spirit. For another, the prevailing nationlist movement, too, had its effect on him. Thus, while he took up for portrayal prominent personalities from all walks of life, he also took pains to collect data from diverse sources and set them out in an objective manner, to form authentic biographies. However, it has to be noted that, in spite of these efforts, there still remain, in these works, traces of classical presentation germane to Sanskrit poetic tradition. This aspect apart, the substantial biographical literature produced in Sanskrit during modern times may be taken to represent a welcome diversion from the biographical writings produced during the earlier phase.

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Sindhi

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Early Biographical Works in Verse

There is no record available about the existence of any biographical work in Sindhi prior to the 18th century. There might have existed books either in Arabic or Persian relating to the lives of the Prophet of Islam, the Caliphs, early Hindu kings or Muslim saints but the first book of this type is *Quvvat-ul-'Āshiqīn* (Strength of Lovers, 1715) by Muhammad Hāshim Thaṭvī (1669–1760) in verse form which describes the Prophet's miracles. Other works in this field are *Qamar-ul-Munīr* (The Bright Moon, 1766–67; first published in 1854) and *Badr-i-Munīr* (The Bright Full Moon) by Abdullah Makhdūm of Kutch. These too are in verse and refer to the incidents in the Prophet's life and those of his grandsons.

About the same period Abdul Rauf Bhaṭī Makhdūm (1682–1762) wrote *Mauluds* (A type of laudatory poem) celebrating the Prophet's birth and describing some select incidents in his life and those of his grandsons. These *Mauluds* continue to be popular with Sindhi masses.

There also exists a verse translation of a Persian biographical work *Qisas-ul-Anbīa* (Tales of Prophets) by Muhammad Husain Maulavī. This work bearing the title of *Sair-i-Bostān* (Promenade in the Garden, 1763) gives the lives of Prophets from Adam to Muhammad.

A detailed biography of the Arab Prophet under the title

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Shamāil-i-Nabvi (Virtues of the Prophet, 1782–83) is based on an authentic Arabic work by Imām Tirmidhī. The Persian classic, *Rauzat-ul-Shuhadā* (Garden of Martyrs) by Kashīfī Husain Mirzā too has been rendered in Sindhi verse. This work describes the sufferings of Prophets and the martyrdom of Husain and others. Even though it is not essentially a biographical work, it has the elements of a biography proper and focuses before us the character of the Prophets especially that of Husain. It appeared in 1782–83.

British Period (1843-1947)

Qalīc Beg Farīdūn Beg Mirzā. After the British conquest of Sind in 1843 when the Arabic Sindhi script was standardized, many writers turned towards this genre. In the initial stage Qalich Beg (1853–1929), the most prolific and versatile scholar, wrote several biographical works such as *Hālāt-ul-Avliā* (Lives of Saints, 1905), *Zeb-un-Nisā Begum* (1928), *Qadīm Sind* (Ancient Sind, 1921), *Javāhir-ul-Insān* (Gems Among Men, 1926) and *Ahvāl Ṣāh Abdul Latīf Bhiṭāī* (Biography of Abdul Latif Bhitai, 1897). In *Qadīm Sindh Jā Sitārā* (Stars of Ancient Sind, 1926), the author has given biographical sketches of scholars, learned men and poets. *Qadīm Sindh* has sixteen chapters describing the old towns of Sind and it contains biographies of various poets, saints, rulers and nobles hailing from these towns. In *Ṣeikh Bū Alī Sīnā* (Avicenna, the Great Physician and Philosopher, 1926) he has given fairly good details of Avicenna's life and enumerated his works—both Arabic and Persian.

Qalich Beg wrote yet another biographical work, *Tuhfat-ul-Nisvān* (Gift of Women, 1921) about eminent Muslim women of India, Arabia and Persia. In *Javāhir-ul-Insān*, biographies of sixty-one men and women of Europe who have distinguished themselves in various fields are incorporated judiciously by the same author. Qalich Beg's contribution to biographical writing in Sindhi is no doubt very great and he may therefore be called the doyen amongst biographers in the language. He had all the requirements needed of a biographer—detachment, sympathy and a facile pen.

Hindu Writers and the Prophet of Islam

The biography of the Holy Prophet of Islam continued to attract the attention of not only Muslim but Hindu writers as well. In Sind there has been such fusion of Vedic and Islamic cultures as cannot be found elsewhere in the subcontinent. The spirit of tolerance and respect for other religions prompted Hindu scholars to attempt the life of Muhammad. Lalchand Amardinomal Jagtiani (Lālchand Amarḍinomal Jagtiāṇī, 1885–1954) wrote *Muhammad Rasūl Allāh* (Mohammad, the Prophet of God, 1911) and this earned for him the sobriquet of 'Lāl Muhammad'. He shows psychological insight, has power of characterization and above all, understanding and sympathy. Hotchand Dialmal (Hotcand Dialmal) brought out *Islām jo Paighamber* (The Prophet of Islam, 1931). There was yet another writer, Amarlal Hingorani (Amarlāl Hingorāṇī, b. 1907), the pioneer of the Sindhi short story, to write a similar volume, *Mir Muhammad 'Arabī* (1947).

Amongst the Muslims, mention must be made of Fateh Muhammad Sevhani (Fateh Muhammad Sevhāṇī, 1882–1942) whose *Hayāt-un-Nabī* (Life of the Prophet, 1914) is still considered a classic and an authentic one too. Din Muhammad Wafai (Dīn Muhammad Vafāī, 1894–1950) translated Maulana Muhammad 'Ali's *Hazrat Muhammad Mustafā* in 1930.

Biographies of Saints, Sufis (Mystics) and Poets

Sindhis as a community have always believed in the spirit of tolerance, national integration and respect for all religions, and therefore Hindus as well as Muslims have been avid readers of lives of all saints and mystics. From time to time such biographical works have seen the light of day. Of them, the most famous one is *Nānak Prākaṣ* in 34 volumes, published between 1910–20. It was the work of Jethanand Sanvlani (Jeṭhānand Sanvlāṇī) who wrote biographies of Guru Nanak and the succeeding Sikh gurus. In *Jīvan Phulvārī* (Garden of Life, 1939) we have life sketches of poets like Kabīr, Mīrā, Nāmdev, the Persian poet Shaikh Śādi and Sindhi poets like Latīf, Gul Muhamad and Lilārām Khāki. *Sindh jā maṇiā* (Gems of Sind, 1932), and *Sindhī Sūnhārā* (Sindhi Worthies) also contain biographies of eminent Sindhis.

Nirmaldas Gurbakshani (1889–1966) who was a Brahmo, wrote the biographies: *Rāja Rām Mohan Roy* (1930) *Brahmānand Keshab Chander Sen* (1931), *Sādhu Navalrāi* (1932) and *Devendra Nāth Ṭhākūr* (1938). The same writer has a book on *Gautam Buddha*, published in 1938. Of these only the biography of Keshab Chander Sen, the founder of Brahmo Samaj, is a full-fledged account giving a live portrait of the great soul.

Jethmal Parsram Gulrajani (Jeṭhmal Parsrām Gulrājāṇī, 1886–1948), the great theosophist, Sufi, social reformer, journalist and writer, has many biographical works to his credit, but the most beautiful is his *Pūrab Jōti* (Light of the East, 1923), an adaptation of Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia*. It is hailed as a great work in Sindhi even though it is an adaptation. Arnold's poem was rendered in Sindhi verse by Devandas Kishnani Azad (Devandāsi Kiṣṇāṇī Āzād, b. 1913) under the title *Pūrab Sandeś* (Message of the East, 1937). This too has been considered a fine versified biographical work. On the occasion of Lord Buddha's 2500th birth anniversary, Samtani Narain's

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(Sāmtāṇī Nārāin) book *Buddh Darśan* dealing with his life and mission was brought out (1956).

Jethmal Parsram wrote a short life-sketch of Bhai Kalachand (a social reformer) and another of Abdul Latif Bhitai in 1914 and 1915 respectively. His biography of another mystic poet Sachal (Sacal) appeared in 1922 under the title of *Sachal Sarmast* (Sachal, the Intoxicated).

Lalchand Amardinomal Jagtiani wrote three pamphlets on three Sindhi poets—Shah, Sachal and Gul—in 1914, 1916 and 1920 respectively. They treat briefly the lives of these poets. The same author has written *Rām Bādshah* (Ram, the King, 1914) describing Swami Ram Tirth's life in a nutshell. Later Vishnu Jagtiani (Visṇu Jagtiāṇi) brought out a detailed life of Ram Tirth wherein the author was able to give a clear portrait of the Swamiji.

Shahani Tejumal (Ṣahāṇī Tejūmal) wrote *Gokle jī Hāyāti* (Life of Gokhale, 1924) and life of Joan of Arc under the heading *Jenī* (1915). In his biography of Gokhale the author has proved to be a biographer of no mean order as he has been able to make Gokhale's character living and dynamic. This book is actually a Sindhi version of his own book in English on the same subject. Another significant biography of the same period is that of Rajarshi Dayaram Gidumal (1857–1927), who was a great savant, social reformer and an eminent writer. The author Shewaram Pherwani (Shevaram Phervāṇī) has proved equal to the task and has given us a sympathetic picture of Dayaram Gidumal.

Hotchand M. Gurbakshani (Hotcand M. Gurbakshāṇī, 1883–1947) presented the life of the premier poet of Sindhi Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai in his *Muqaddamah Latīfī* (Introduction to Latif, 1922), based on original Persian sources. His other book, *Luārī-a-jā-Lāl* (Rubies of Luari, 1934), gives biographies of the saint poet Khwaja Ahmad Zaman (1713–74) and his successors.

Fateh Muhammad Sevhani during this period wrote by far the best biography. In his book *Abdul Fazl ain Faizī* (Abul Fazl and Faizi: Two Gems of Akbar's Court, 1936) the author has portrayed their character and depicted their lives in a sensitive manner, couched in a beautiful style. He says, 'People very much differ regarding their estimation of Abul Fazl, Faizi and their father Mulla Mubarak. Some call them atheists and some call them irreligious. Some say they were Shias and some even dub them as free thinkers. And they are also referred to as infidels . . . They behave like Sunnis with Sunnis, and like Shias with those who are Shias. With Muslims they were as Muslims and with Hindus they were just like them.'

Sāīn Qutub Shāh (Spiritual Master Qutub Shah) is the title of Jhamandas Bhatia's (Jhāmandās Bhātia, 1902–65) book on the great Sufi poet. This work appeared in 1947.

There have also appeared biographies of Shri Ramakrishna Paramahans by Butāni N. B. (1883–1971) under the title *Shrī Ramakrishna jī Hayatia jo Zikiru* (A Glimpse of Ramakrishna Parmahans' Life, 1936) and by Brahmachari Prabhudas (Brahmacārī Prabhūdās, b. 1903) entitled *Shrī Ramakrishna* (1932). Ramrakhyāṇī Bhūromal's *Rişī Arvind Ghoş* (1926) is another biography of this type.

Mention has to be made of versified biographies of Guru Nanak and Harishchandra which were written by the poet Kishincand Bevas (1885–1947). *Gurū Nānak Jīvan Kavitā* and *Hariṣcandra Jīvan Kavitā* appeared in 1963 (4th ed.) and 1941 respectively. Satramdas Juriasinghani Sail's (Satrāmdās Jūriāsinghāṇī Sail) *Rām Kathā* (1954) written in *Masnavī* (a poetic form), sums up Shri Rama's life in verse. *Kanvar* (1959) by Tirth Basant (b. 1909) is a sympathetic study of Kanvarram Bhakta, a renowned saint and singer of devotional songs, who was felled by an assassin as an aftermath of communal riots that raged in Sind many years before Partition. This work was awarded the Sahitya Akademi prize for being an outstanding contribution to Sindhi literature during 1959.

Short Accounts of Political Leaders

Political biographies had appeared in Sindhi before 1947, i.e. during the period of struggle for freedom. Most of these are too concise and fail to do justice to the leaders about whom they have been written. Brahmachari Prabhudas wrote *Kamala Nehru* and Dipchand Tilokchand (Dīpcand Tilokcand, b. 1909) produced a book *Kastur Bā* (1944) giving glimpses of the life of Kasturba Gandhi. Jethanand Lalvani (Jeṭhānand Lālvāni, b. 1916) wrote two biographies, *Jai Prakāś Nārāin* (1947) and *Babu Rajindra Prasad* (1936). Tejvani Harkrishn's *Sher-i-Kashmīr* (Lion of Kashmir, 1946) is a pen picture of Sheikh Abdullah. A. J. Uttam wrote lives of *Vijayalakshmī Pandit* as well as *Khan Abdul Ghaffār Khān, Sarhad jo Gandhī* (Frontier Gandhi). Satish Kumar Rohra's book on Vinobaji is entitled *Tapasvī Vinobā* (1957). Sita Bhambhani (Sīta Bhambhāṇī, b. 1916) has given an intimate and factual biography of Mahatma Gandhi (1953) whereas Dayal Asha (b. 1936) has written about Lal Bahadur Shastri (1967).

Autobiographies

Autobiography as a branch of literature has not developed in Sindhi. After the publication of Mahatma Gandhi's *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* and Jawaharlal Nehru's well known *Autobiography* there has been a spate of translations of these books. In Sindhi, Nehru's autobiography was first translated by Tirth Basant under the heading *Javāhar Jīvani* (1941). The translation is excellent although he has sometimes departed from the original and translated freely. N. R. Malkani retranslated it under the name of *Javāhar Ātam Kathā* (1946–47). Prior

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to this he had translated Mahatma Gandhi's autobiography under the title of *Ātma Kathā* (1932).

After Partition there have appeared here as well as across the border many books that are autobiographical in nature or that describe personal experiences. Qalich Beg's autobiography appeared for the first time under the title *Sāo pan yā karo pano* (Green Leaf or Black Paper). Alī Muhammad Rāshdī's (b. 1905) *Uhe Dīnhan Uhe Shīnhan* (Those were the Days, 1966) and G. M. Sayyed's (b. 1904) *Janab guzāriyum jin sīn* (With Whom I Spent My Life, 1967) and *Jadīd Siāsat Jā Nava Ratana* (Nine Gems of Modern Politics, 1967) are really a treat to peruse. Rashdi's inimitable book written in chaste Sindhi ranks with classics. It will be no exaggeration to compare him to A. G. Gardiner, whose *Prophets, Priests and Kings* (1908) and *Pillars of Society* (1913) are most refreshing. Rashdi gives the entire history of contemporary politics and social life in Sind through these remarkable pen-portraits of politicians, social workers, landlords, journalists and I.C.S. officers. The language is crisp and colloquial with a touch of humour. In *Jadīd Siāsat Jā Nava Ratana*, G. M. Sayyed has presented vignettes of Annie Besant, Gandhi, Nehru, Azad, Vallabhbhai Patel, Sayyed Ahmed Khan, Muhammad Ali, Muhammad Iqbal and Muhammad Ali Jinnah. It is a significant contribution to political biography in Sindhi. Mariwalla Chetan L. (Mārivāla Cetan, b. 1916) is the first Sindhi writer here who brought out his reminiscences in two volumes: *Sambhar je Darsinīa tān* (From the Mirror of Recollection, 1960) and *Hikṛe Ḍīnhan Jī Gālh* (Once, 1975).

The only original autobiographical work that can compare favourably with similar books in other Indian languages is *Nirālī Zindagī* (Unusual Life, 1973) by N. R. Malkani (b. 1890) who came under Gandhiji's influence in the twenties. His autobiography provides a glimpse of the Gandhian era and, besides personal details, portrays faithfully the political events leading to the Partition of India. The author gives frank views on men and politics and describes in detail the part played by him in the social and political life of the country. There is little doubt that Malkani was inspired by the autobiographies of Gandhi and Nehru, which he had already translated into Sindhi. It shows him to be a sensitive writer and one is struck by his sincerity and faithful depiction of his times. An extract from the book given below hardly does justice to his great book though it gives a glimpse of the rural life of the day.

In spite of this I like villages for one's senses become refreshed in the open atmosphere, green fields and God's sky above and the air is free from the suffocation of urban areas. I think we can improve villages if we strive hard and intelligently but alas! we are indifferent. It is strange that human beings stay in such dirty villages . . . These families have known each other since generations and are akin to one another in some way or other. They share their joys and sorrows, ups and downs together.... In cities it is a different story for there one loves money more than man. In spite of poverty it is in the nature of villagers to be hospitable.... Their talk will be direct and simple, without any twists. If they cut a joke they will laugh louder than you.

(tr. D. K. Mansharamani).

Sindhi cannot boast of a Boswell or Lokhart or Trevelyan. Of late there have appeared monographs on the poets Shah, Sami and Sachal by Advani Kalyan and they do contain biographies of these poets, interspersed with critical studies.

Besides we have now Romain Rolland's *Swami Vivekanand* translated into Sindhi by Fatehchand Vasvani and published by Sahitya Akademi. Also Mahendra Nath Gupta's *Rāmkṛṣṇa Amrit Kathā* and *Sri Rāmkṛṣṇa jī Jīvanī* (translated by Suśīlā Sājnāṇī, 1965) and *Svami Vivekānand Jīvanī* (translated by Popatī Hiranandani, 1965) published by Ramakrishna Ashram under their scheme. These can serve as model biographies for future writers in the field.

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Tamil

K. V. JAGANNATHAN

Sangham poetry deals with the lives of kings, men of valour, philanthropists, poets and other great men who lived in Tamil Nadu before recorded history. Based on these references, life stories of many of them have been written in modern times.

After the Sangham age came the age of the epics. Then followed the (Bhakti) period of the Āḻvārs and the Nāyanmārs. Sēkkiḻar (mid-12th century) wrote a metrical biography of the Nayanmar. This work, *Tiruttoṇḍar Purāṇam* (Stories of the Men of God), popularly known as *Periya Purāṇam* (The Great Purana), consists of 4,286 *viruttam* verses. *Tiruvāḍavūrar Purāṇam* (by Kaḍavuḷ Māmunivar, 15th century) narrates the life of Saint Māṇikka Vācakar in verse. *Paṭṭiṇattaḍihaḷ Purāṇam* and *Kumara Guruparar Caritram* were two other metrical biographies of saints written in the 19th century. Daṇḍapāṇi Svāmi (1838–'98) wrote *Pulavar Purāṇam* (Lives of the Poets) and Paṇḍitai Asalāmbikai (early 20th century) wrote on Gandhiji, Tilak and Saint Rāmaliṅga in the purana form.

All these are metrical biographies. But several modern writers have written in prose on the lives of personalities of the Sangham period as well as the lives of saints, kings and poets of later periods. These writers were not contemporaries of their subjects and, hence, had to rely on traditional accounts, literature and inscriptions. More than 300 such biographies have been written. There are, however, several biographies written in the 19th and 20th centuries by authors who had personal contact with their subjects. The number of such biographies is indeed very large. Original or translated biographies of celebrities belonging to the other regions of India and other countries of the world are also numerous. Autobiographies form a significant portion of this genre. Of all this material, only a few prominent life stories are dealt with here.

Modern Biographies

A Mahāvidvān's Biography. Mahāvidvān Mīnākṣisundaram Piḷḷai (1815–76), a renowned poet, wrote 75 poems, long and short, comprising over a hundred thousand verses. Contemporary estimates equated him with Kambar, the great author of the Tamil Ramayana. Once, a letter to him from London addressed merely to 'Mahavidvan Minakshisundaram Pillai, India' reached him at Tiruvavaduturai. Such was his fame.

Dr U. V. Swaminatha Aiyar (1855–1942), who rescued Sangham poetry and other ancient Tamil literary works from oblivion, was his student. Aiyar wrote his master's biography, *Śrī Mīnākṣi Sundaram Piḷḷai Avarhaḷ Caritram*, in two elaborate parts, each comprising 350 pages. The first part deals with the period, 1815–70, before Aiyar joined him as a student and the second describes the later period, 1870–76, from the author's own studentship till the death of the poet. The publication of this biography in 1933 and 1934 was a great event in Tamil literary history and it ushered in biographical writing as a branch of modern Tamil literature.

The poet, who started composing his songs at the young age of ten, had visited many places in his youth before settling in Tiruchi. After leaving Tiruchi he lived in Māyūram, then became the 'Ādhīna Vidvān' (Court Poet) of the Tiruvāvaḍuṭuṟai mutt. His entire life was dedicated to teaching Tamil and composing poems. He used to teach his students without reference to any book, for he carried every classic in his mind. He was hailed as a walking library.

Vallūr Dēvarāja Piḷḷai, a rich young man from Bangalore, became his student when the Mahavidvan visited the city. Devarajan, who had only a little poetic talent, was unable to write any poetry despite the great effort he put into his work. Seeing his plight, the master came to his rescue. He wrote two poems, *Kucēla Upākhyānam* (The Story of Kuchela, in 773 verses) and *Sūta Samhitā* (from Sanskrit, in 3003 verses), and magnanimously allowed their publication in his disciple's name.

Mahavidvan Pillai could compose a poem at a moment's notice and he used to dictate poems extempore to his students. His words gushed forth in a torrential outpouring and would be taken down on palm leaves by his disciples. Till almost his last breath, poems flowed from the lips of the poet. Just a day before his death, when a Sanskrit verse was recited to him he dictated a translation on the spot. Such scenes of the poet's creativity are vividly portrayed by Aiyar in his biography.

Aiyar's biography also includes a short critical study of the poet's major works and minor poems. Reading the book, one is filled with the same sense of wonder and satisfaction as one experiences while looking at a majestic mountain. However, as minor flaws we may indicate that there is no mention of Pillai's family life and that the critical appraisal of the poetic works impedes the flow of the narrative.

Bharati Remembered. Subramaṇya Bhāratī (1882–1921), better known as Bhāratī, is regarded as the greatest Tamil

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poet of the 20th century. His life story has been written by many. *Mahākavi Bhāratiyār*, written by Va. Ra. (Va. Rāmasvāmi Aiyaṅgār, 1889–1951), who was a devotee of Bharati, is a good book. It is a rather brief account in no more than 126 pages. Nevertheless it strings together many salient facts about the poet and reflects his total personality.

Bharati lived only for 39 years, but in this short span he gave a new direction to Tamil poetry. He wrote exquisite poems that breathed the fire of nationalism and these served to urge the nation onward in its struggle to overthrow the foreign yoke. Bharati spent part of his early life in Madras and then went to Benares. On his return to Madras, he worked with the Tamil newspaper *Swadēśamitṛan*. When hounded by the British for his fiery writing, he fled to Pondicherry, a French enclave in Tamilnadu, where he lived for many years. There he came into close contact with Aurobindo. *India*, a weekly that had been started by Bharati in Madras, was later issued for some years from Pondicherry. Bharati was a revolutionary, both in his writings as well as in actual life. Born a Brahmin, he threw away the sacred thread and sported a twirling moustache. But he invested a Harijan named Kanakalingam with the sacred thread, thus conferring brahminhood on him.

Va. Ra. has given a graphic account of how Bharati used to sing his songs and move about in the society around him. It was in Pondicherry that Bharati's poetic fervour blossomed. He sang his songs with considerable emotion and was inspired by the Muses for long periods at a stretch. He used to collapse after such an outpouring. Va. Ra. records it thus: 'Even as a mother after delivering a baby, goes to sleep with fatigue, Bharati used to lie down on the earthen floor tired after the delivery of his song. He would not demand any head-rest and we would be afraid to offer one. When Mother Nature had danced through his mental frame, perhaps the body required only a natural bed on the floor.'

Bharati returned to Madras in February 1919 and stayed there till the end of his life. When Gandhiji visited Madras, Bharati went straight to the Mahatma, breaking all cordons, and sat near him. He asked: 'Gandhi, this evening at 5.30 I am addressing a meeting at Triplicane beach. Can you preside over it?' Gandhiji said, 'It is impossible today. Can't you postpone it for tomorrow?' Without any hesitation, Bharati said, 'No. I take leave of you. Mr. Gandhi, I bless the movement you are going to start,' and went away. After his exit, Gandhiji asked Rajaji: 'Who is this?' and Rajaji replied: 'He is our national poet'.

On 11 September 1921, Bharati died of injuries sustained in an encounter with the Parthasarathi Temple-elephant. When one reads Va. Ra.'s biography of Bharati, one can vividly visualize the fearlessness and poetic outbursts of this great nationalist.

A Son's View. By 1916, a movement had grown in Tamilnadu which wanted to eschew Sanskrit words in Tamil writing and speech. The founder of this movement was Svāmi Vēdācalam (1876–1950) who had translated his name into pure Tamil as Maṟaimalai Aḍihaḷ. Tirunāvukkaraśu, his son, has written a detailed biography of his father.

Adihal had a full life. He used to maintain a diary in English. The author of the biography acknowledges the immense use he has made of this diary. *Maṟaimalai Aḍihaḷ varalāṟu* (The Life of Maraimalai Adihal) describes in 900 pages Adihal's education, his career as a teacher, writer, public speaker and literary rebel, and his final renunciation.

Maraimalai Adihal was as well-versed in English as he was in Tamil. He taught at Madras Christian College for a short time. After resigning his post there, he lived at Pallavaram. He became a monk in 1911.

Adihal believed that Tamil civilization was not only more ancient than, but was also superior to, the Aryan civilization. He felt that Tamil had been polluted by its contact with Sanskrit and only pure Tamil could ensure the growth of the language. He urged the eradication of the caste system and sought the adoption of the Tamil language for temple worship. He was of the view that Kambar was not a great poet, and that his Ramayana did not represent the best in Tamil culture. He was also of the view that India should not be granted freedom, that khaddar was incapable of producing any good for the country and that the British were a praiseworthy people. But these opinions have been repudiated by the biographer, who records his disagreement with his father on these counts. When speaking about Adihal's friends, his public talks and the places he visited, the biographer tends to introduce his own extended comments and this obstructs the free flow of the narrative.

A Doctor's Biography. Dr Raṅgācāri (1882–1934) was one of the greatest surgeons of Tamilnadu in his day. His statue adorns the entrance to the General Hospital, Madras. Smt. Rājam Kṛṣṇan (b. 1925), a renowned Tamil writer, has written a biography (1965) of the doctor in about 380 pages. Written by a seasoned novelist, each chapter of this biography is by itself as interesting as a short story. Even the beginning is dramatic. 'It is clear that the school gong is yet to sound. The noise and ballyhoo emanating from the Kumbhakonam Town High School premises reverberate from the walls. The verandah is full of wet, sandy footsteps due to the rains of the Kārttikā month. If you climb the staircase noisily with the boys, you will see the highest class of the school. It is the matriculation class. On the blackboard one finds the date 10–12–1896 marked by a piece of chalk.' So starts the life story.

Rangachari's father wanted his son to become an engineer or a judge. But the boy insisted on becoming a doctor. The parents had an obvious distaste for their son's chosen

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profession, being of an orthodox, Vaishnava family. To take the surgeon's scalpel and carve human bodies was abhorrent to them. Yet, in the course of his career, Rangachari saved innumerable lives with his surgeon's knife.

The doctor's biography consists of 48 chapters. In them, the characters speak in their own dialects and their speech truly reflects their feelings. The equanimity of the doctor, his compassionate service to the poor and his dedicated spirit, which ignored his own health while serving others, are lucidly portrayed. What his patients express in some passages in the book melts the reader's heart. The possession of a Rolls Royce car is considered the greatest luxury, but Rangachari bought such a car for the specific purpose of rushing quickly to the succour of his poor patients. He later acquired even an aeroplane to help him reach his rural patients quicker.

Incidents, anecdotes, descriptions and emotional sequences—like the time Rangachari rescued some patients abandoned by other doctors, from the jaws of death—are all so developed as to stimulate the reader's further interest in the book. This book is indeed a milestone in Tamil biographical writing. Every page brings out scintillating conversation, rippling with joy. One is easily convinced that here was a doctor for whom service to patients was a *yōga* by itself. Quite convincingly, the biographer has made a superhuman being out of Rangachari.

The Kalki Story. Kalki (1899–1954) is a household name in the world of Tamil journalism. He wielded his pen in many fields, writing short stories, novels, essays and criticism. He demonstrated that it was possible to write about anything interestingly in Tamil. His real name was Krishnamurti. Sri Sunda (M. R. M. Sundaram, b. 1918) has written the life story of Kalki, *Poṅṅiyin Pudalvan* (1976), in about 900 pages.

Born in the village of Puttamangalam in Thanjavur district, Kalki studied at St Joseph's College High School in Tiruchi. He discontinued his studies midway, to join the freedom struggle. He was imprisoned twice during that struggle. He worked as a sub-editor on the *Navaśakti* weekly run by Thiru Vi. Ka. Later he joined the Tiruchengode Gandhi Ashram founded by Rajaji. His writing talent was manifested in the journal *Vimōcanam*, published by the Ashram to fight the evil of drink. He also wrote essays and stories for the *Ānanda Vikaṭan*, before becoming its editor in 1931. He wrote many social and historical novels.

In 1941 he started his own magazine, named after his pen-name, 'Kalki'. He was its editor till his death. During this period he earned renown by writing mammoth historical novels, which were serialized in the magazine. He also wrote several anecdotes culled from his personal life in a number of essays. Sunda has compiled all such material for use in his biography. The biographer has, thus, developed the life story of Kalki by extensively quoting from Kalki's own writings, which form about half the book. As a consequence, readers who have missed Kalki in the original can read his descriptions and opinions in this book.

Other Biographies

Pudumaippithan, a name to reckon with in modern Tamil writing, wrote short stories, skits and essays. He used to write graphically on love themes, but at the same time was able to dwell on mystic themes too. His *Maṅakkugai Ōviyaṅgaḷ* (Frescoes in the Cave of the Mind) is one of the stories that reveals the philosophic moorings of the writer. The biography of Pudumaippithan, *Pudumaippittan Varaḷāṟu* (1951), was written by T. M. C. Raghunathan. Though not a large work, it deals with the man and the writer whose original name was Vriddhachalam.

K. Chandrasekharan has written the biography of his father V. Krishnaswami Aiyar in an elaborate work entitled *V. Kṛṣṇasvāmi Aiyar Varalāṟu* (1963). This runs to more than 1,000 pages. It is noteworthy that even though Krishnaswami Iyer was an Executive Councillor of the then Madras Government he was the first to consider Bharati as a national poet and to bring out a booklet of Bharati's national songs. Krishnaswami Iyer was the founder of the Madras Sanskrit College and the Venkataramana Ayurveda Dispensary. When the Arbuthnot Bank collapsed, he evinced great interest in starting an Indian bank and succeeded in founding the Indian Bank.

Chandrasekharan has included detailed information in his work and has also incorporated many statements and extracts from the lectures of his father. Thinking that this might affect the narration, Chandrasekharan also published a condensed version of the same work.

T. S. S. Rajan, a minister in the Rajaji Government, was a talented writer. He was a member of the India League in London in his student days and was associated with Savarkar and V. V. S. Iyer. He has written a short life sketch of V. V. S. Iyer. He has also written his autobiography, *Niṅaivu Alaihaḷ* (Waves of Thought, 1947), which was first serialized in *Kalaimagaḷ* and then published in book form. His life in Rangoon, his encounters with prominent persons and his experiences as a doctor and as a politician are described interestingly in this autobiography that reads almost like fiction. Written in simple style, this work takes the reader to the place and time of the incidents, this tempo being maintained to the end.

Omandur Ramaswami Reddiar, Chief Minister of Madras State from 1947 to 1949, was a politician, philosopher and saintly person. Somalay (S. M. Lakshmanan Chettiyar) has written his biography, *Vivasāya Mudal Amaiccar* (The Agriculturist-Chief Minister, 1979) running to about 480 pages. Reddiar's early life was not of much interest. He

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studied only up to the 8th standard. When he joined the freedom struggle, he threw himself wholeheartedly into the National Movement, courted arrest and went to jail. When he became Chief Minister of Madras, he took a special interest in the Khadi movement and the upliftment of the Harijans. He was a follower of the saints and spent some time in meditation every day. He would miss a meal but not his meditation. All these aspects of his life are vividly described by his biographer.

A recent biography *Ilakkiya Jōti* (1981) of Srimati Ha. Ki. Valam by Madhu Sa. Vimalanandan should also be mentioned here. Valam was a daughter of the nationalist Halasyam, from Trichy. She was well-versed in Tamil, Sanskrit, Hindi and English and wrote poetry in all these languages. She made a comparative study of the Ramayanas of Valmiki, Kambar and Tulsidas and, as a result, began work on a book dealing with the different aspects of these three epics but died before it could be completed.

Being the wife of a government official she had to travel to many places and spend some years in each place. Wherever she went, she mixed with the people and gave lectures in their own language. Vimalanandan has mentioned all these details in his book, the first part of which deals with the life of Smt. Valam and the second, with her works.

Rāmaliṅga Aḍihaḷ Varalāṟu (1971) is a documented biography of Ramalinga Swami (1823–'74) who was a contemporary of Minakshisundaram Pillai. This is a large volume of valuable material compiled and written by Ooran Adihal. The book is written well and brings together many historical facts of the period and also considerable internal evidences and contemporary references. It is indeed a valuable addition to biographical literature in the Tamil language.

From other Languages. Many biographies written in other languages have been translated into Tamil. There are hundreds of such works. The most prominent among them is Mahathma Gandhi's *My Experiments with Truth*. Kalki rendered this in Tamil under the title *Satya Śōtaṅai* (part I, 1927 and part II, 1932). His translation is lively and faultless. Being a seasoned writer, he was able to use apt Tamil idioms. Many writers do literal translations, but not literary ones. This detracts from the charm of the original work, but Kalki's translation is exemplary.

Autobiographies

Autobiography is a literary form imported from the West. In the olden days, poets were too modest to speak highly of themselves. But they had the opportunity of extolling themselves when they sent poetic epistles (*Sīṭṭukkavi*) to their patrons seeking help. Even grammatical treatises sanctioned this custom. Details found in such poems may be considered autobiographical. Bharati, in fact, has named one of his poems specifically as *Suya Caritai* (autobiography). Apart from this, he also discloses information about his personal life in his poem *Bhārati 66*.

Among the scholars who have written their autobiographies in the 20th century, four should be mentioned for the intrinsic merit of their work and their elaborate treatment.

The first is by Dr U. V. Swaminatha Aiyar, whose *En Caritṟam* (My Story) first appeared as a serial in the *Ānanda Vikaṭan* over a period of two and a half years commencing in 1940, and later in book form in 1950. This autobiography covers the period from his birth to July 1898. Though incomplete, the book sustains interest and is of great value because of the elaborate manner in which it is written and the light it sheds on the literary activities of the period.

Aiyar was responsible for the modern publication of the 2,000-year-old Sangham poetry as well as many other ancient classics. Research on Tamil literature is being done in several parts of the world today. Dr Aiyar's publications form the basis for most of this research and consequently research workers on Tamil cannot but be indebted to him.

Aiyar's father was a musician who also gave musical discourses. He wanted his son to flower into a great musician and gave him a basic training in music. But though Aiyar loved music, his interest was in Tamil literature. His father took him to many Tamil scholars to help him learn Tamil, but the young man could learn only a little from them. Some of the scholars even quipped 'How do you expect to learn so quickly all that has taken us so much effort?' Thus, up to the age of 16, Aiyar was able to learn the Tamil language and literature only piecemeal.

All this changed when Aiyar became a student of Minakshisundaram Pillai in 1871. Pillai was a reservoir of knowledge from which Aiyar could draw to his heart's content. Aiyar studied for six years under Pillai, till the latter's death, and then took more lessons from the head of the Tiruvavāḍuturai *adhīnam*, Sri Subramanya Desikar (latter half of the 19th century). Aiyar himself used to teach many students there before joining Kumbhakonam Government College as Tamil Pandit in 1880 at the age of 25.

When Salem Ramaswamy Mudaliyar, a district munsif and a great lover of Tamil, met Dr. Aiyar and learnt about his studies at Tiruvavaduturai *adhīnam* under Pillai, he presented him with his personal manuscript copy of *Cintāmaṇi* and spoke to him of *Cintāmaṇi* and *Śilappadhikāram*. This was the turning point in the career of Aiyar. It also marked the dawn of a new era in Tamil Nadu. After painstaking research, Dr Aiyar published *Jīvaka Cintāmaṇi*. It was a Jain epic and Aiyar was a Saivite, yet his indomitable will and discussions with Jain scholars provided him with sufficient knowledge to edit and publish the work. Then he edited and published *Pattuppāṭṭu* (The Ten Idylls), a San-

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gham anthology of ten long songs whose style was entirely different. It was altogether a strange experience for him in a world of unknown and unfamiliar classics. He next brought out *Śilappadhikāram*, *Puṟanānuṟu* and *Maṇimēkhalai*. A Buddhist work, *Maṇimēkhalai*, opened up new dimensions for Aiyar. He published *Maṇimēkhalai* with his own notes. He also prepared an elaborate thesis on the life of the Buddha, the Buddha Dharma and the Buddha Sangha and used it as an introduction to the text. The book was published in July 1898, the year which closes Aiyar's autobiography.

In the past all Tamil books were written only on palm leaves. The libraries of poets contained many such treasures. As time passed, the descendants of the poets, often ignorant of the importance of the treasure, burnt the palm leaves or threw the bundles into the rivers when they thought the books were no longer usable. The few works that still remained became a prey to white ants and silver fish. Aiyar travelled to all parts of Tamilnadu in search of the few remaining treasures. When Aiyar describes these quests, the reader is indeed moved to the point of tears, so vivid are his descriptions of many of his experiences during this ceaseless search. He speaks with bitter disappointment at some places as well as of unexpected luck at others.

The entire Tamil world was lost in admiration when Aiyar brought out his editions of the Sangham classics. His work brought him the valuable friendship of Julien Vinson of Paris and G. U. Pope of Oxford. The letters they wrote to Aiyar indicate their great love for the Tamil language.

The second great Tamil autobiography is that of Thiru V. Kalyāṇasundara Mudaliyār (1883–1953), who is better known as Thiru Vi. Ka. In the world of Tamil journalism, Thiru Vi. Ka. is associated with a chaste literary style. Whether writing or speaking, his style was neither too pedantic nor too simple. He interspersed his writings with many literary terms and on reading just a few lines, the writing of Thiru Vi. Ka. can easily be identified.

Thiru Vi. Ka. was 61 when he wrote his autobiography. The work has an individuality all its own, its chapters are not arranged chronologically but are just notes penned down subject-wise. He named it *Vāḻkai Kuṟippuhaḷ* (Reminiscences of My Life). He had studied only upto the matriculation class but had not written the examination. Jaffna Kadirvél Piḷḷai was his Tamil guru and under his guidance Thiru Vi. Ka. acquired the ability to write poetry. For six years Thiru Vi. Ka. taught Tamil at the Thousand Lights School, Madras, then worked at Wesley College for a year and a half as Head Tamil Pandit. Attracted by the National Movement, he resigned his job and became the editor of the Tamil daily *Dēśabhaktan* (The Patriot), which supported the national cause. He worked there for only two and a helf years before quitting and starting his own weekly, *Navaśakti*, which he published till 1941. The leading articles and literary essays written by him over these 21 years have been published separately in the form of several books.

Vāḻkai Kuṟippuhaḷ consists of 16 chapters. The first six are a continuous account of Thiru Vi. Ka.'s life; then such topics as his education and career are covered. In the chapter on education, the system under which he was taught and his own teaching methods are described. In the chapter on his career, he writes about the various jobs held by him, his reasons for accepting them and his reasons for quitting them later. The chapter on politics describes the part played by him in the National Movement. He records his own general observations at the end of each chapter.

In this autobiography there is an interesting merger of paradoxical traits in the personality of Thiru Vi. Ka. He was a mild-tempered person but at the same time absolutely fearless. During the Freedom Struggle, he stuck to his principles in defiance of the police and the Governor. He was steeped in art, literature and the movement of *Samarasa Sanmārga* (Universal Peace). This did not prevent him from being a pioneer labour leader, addressing meetings of workers in Madras. He was, in fact, one of the architects of the labour movement in Madras. Born a Saivite, devoted to Muruha, he, nevertheless, studied all religions, absorbing the good in each. His friends were from all religious persuasions. He was not an atheist, yet those who spearheaded the athiest movement in Tamil Nadu were his good friends. His autobiography reveals Thiru Vi. Ka. as essentially a man of calm and peaceful temperament who tried to be a friend to all without compromising any of his principles.

Namakkaḷ Ramalingam Pillai (1888–1972), some time Poet Laureate of the Madras Government, rose to instant fame by the one line of his song 'Kattiyinri Rattaminri Yuddha monru varuhudu' (Here comes a war without swords or bloodshed), composed for the singing of the Salt Satyagraha marchers to Vedaranyam under the leadership of Rajaji. He has also written his autobiography, with the title *En-kathai* (My Story, 1944). In it, he did not tell his story chronologically; instead, he wrote elaborately about those episodes which he considered interesting. The work, consisting of 18 chapters and 420 pages, is as gripping as a novel, but highly legendary.

His father, a police head constable, wanted his F.A.—qualified son to join the police force. But Ramalingam was not interested in such a job. He worked in the taluk office for three months and then for a short time as an elementary school teacher. His entire life thereafter was spent as a patriot, painter and poet.

In his young days, Ramalingam was friendly with a girl named Sita and her relatives. One day, when he was painting her portrait, she playfully came from behind and covered his eyes. Her mother accidentally came on the

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scene and, misunderstanding Ramalingam's intentions, reproached him severely and drove him out of the house. Ramalingam and Sita did not meet afterwards for a very long time. A chance encounter at a railway station several decades later, when Sita was a widow with shaven head, is movingly related in Ramalingam's autobiography.

The part dealing with his marriage to Muttammal is of absorbing interest in this autobiography. This girl attended to the comforts of Ramalingam's father so well that he wanted to have her as his daughter-in-law. Ramalingam stoutly refused at first, but relented after a tearful appeal by his father. After the marriage, he showed only aversion and indifference to Muttammal who bore everything stoically, continuing her devoted service to her husband. One day, he saw her in tears and his heart melted. It was only on that day that the marriage was consummated. The poet has written of this episode with rare charm.

What followed was tragic. Muttammal, unable to bear him a child, requested him to marry her sister. Many other relatives also urged him to do so, but Ramalingam refused them all, pointing out that marrying another woman while his wife was alive was an unthinkable act of sin. Muttammal then asked him, 'If I die, will you marry her?' The very next day she died, not by suicide, but due to some ailment. This incident is poignatly narrated under the heading 'Can you believe it?'

After attending the durbar of King George V in Delhi, Ramalingam visited the North West Frontier with Māṇikka Nāyakar, an engineer friend. The tribals kidnapped both of them, but they were convinced by Manikka Nayakar that both he and his friend were as much enemies of the British as their captors. When the tribals relaxed their watch, the friends made their escape. This portion of the autobiography has all the suspense of a thriller.

Ramalingam does not cover his entire life in this work, but whatever he wrote is well chosen and presented in an arresting style.

Eṅadu Niṅaivuhaḷ (Reminiscences, 1973) by Kovai-Aiyamuttu, who was a key figure in the Khadi development in South India for over three decades, is an important addition to the literature under autobiography. The book is the historical record of the Khadi era launched by Gandhi in 1920, spiced with the author's own pungent reactions to men and happenings. No other book in modern times records so much of detail. But what is more important is the writer's critical appraisal of every situation. The book is written in a simple but telling language, direct and forceful, for which the writer, as a Gandhian worker, was famous. The book ends with his visit to New Delhi at the invitation of the Government of India for participation in the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Independence Day held on 15 August 1972. He returned without attending the dinner hosted by the President of India, because as an important freedom-fighter he felt slighted at not being personally invited. The reaction of the writer to all matters political and social is strong and even acrid but he narrates everything in an uncompromising but spicy language.

There are many more autobiographies in Tamil, but none of them measure up to the four mentioned.

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Telugu

P. HANUMANTHA RAO

Origin

Most writers in Telugu were not interested in speaking about themselves or their people and consequently there is a dearth of biographies (jīvita caritralu) of great writers. It is only after the introduction of the western system of education and as a consequence of the contact with western languages, particularly with English, that writing biographies and autobiographies became popular.

It is, however, a surprising fact that the first book in Telugu, *Mahābhāratamu* by Nannaya (11th century), is a biographical composition. Rājarāja Narēndra of the Eastern Cālukyan dynasty (11th century) had wanted this famous epic translated from Sanskrit into Telugu, since the history of the Pāṇḍavās was that of his ancestral *Lunar dynasty*. He is quoted as saying:

> It is my strong desire to hear the history of Pāṇḍavās, the great ancestors of my dynasty, having stalwarts like Pūru, Bharata, Kuru, Pāṇḍu, originating from the moon* himself (*Himakarudu is one of the *tatsama* forms in masculine gender used in Telugu for the moon).
>
> (*Āndhra Mahābhāratamu*, tr.)

Though the history of King Rajaraja Narendra is not described in detail by Nannaya, a picture of the King and his dynasty may be obtained from the adjectives the author has used to describe the ruler, and the utterances of the King himself about his desires and wishes, tastes and talents.

Nannaya's account of Rajaraja is in just ten verses (2 to 12). The last verse is an example of the manner in which the author reflects the mind of the ruler:

> The following are very dear to me and will never leave me: A great pleasure deriving from making Brahmins fully satisfied, a desire for listening to *Bhārata* the epic, offering prayers with devotion to Lord Siva, husband of Pārvati and offering gifts constantly and in the company of good people.
>
> (*Āndhra Mahābhāratamu*, tr.)

The forewords (*Avatārikās*) by the early poets describe, to some extent, the characteristic qualities of the person and his ancestors to whom the work is dedicated or narrated. This feature is common to all Telugu works from the very first book. Such biographical sketches are to be found in almost all Telugu works composed either as *campu* (a combination of verse and linking prose) or *dvipada* (couplet) or *rūpaka* (drama). Though the kings or ministers or chieftains, to whom these works were dedicated, were generally praised in words of poetic beauty, there can nevertheless be found, behind the colourful guise, the characteristic features of the persons described—such as their physical, mental, ethical and cultural stature.

Development

Biographical writings in prose developed as a separate type of literature in Telugu only in the 20th century. Prior to that biography developed in verse alone.

For reasons beyond comprehension, Nannaya in his *Avatārika* did not give a descriptive account of Rajaraja Narendra. He avoided the description by addressing the King in words of high esteem in the first verse at the beginning of every fresh canto and in the last two or three verses in the end (i.e. Āśvasādi and Āśvaśanta verses).

Nannaya's successors, beginning with Nannecoda (12th century), as in his *Kumāra Sambhavamu*, presented rather detailed accounts of their patrons. Tikkana, second of the *Kavitrayamu* (1. Nannaya, 11th century, 2. Tikkana, 13th century and 3. Errana, 14th century) describes his patron Manumasiddhi in his *Nirvacanōttara Rāmāyaṇamu* (Canto 1, V. 17–44) thus:

> Belonging to the clan of the Sun, having a handsome figure capable of attracting even the males, unique ability in winning over the hearts of the people by tact, flourishing with the combination of prowess, charity and fame in which each one excels the others, a scholar of various branches of knowledge, a person of honour deserved, is my patron to whom I wish to dedicate my book. (tr.)

The great poet Tikkana himself is described by his poet disciple Kētana (13th century) in the dedication to *Dasakumāra Caritra* (1967). Ketana's description of his guru is 16 verses long and includes 11 Sastyanta poems. Ketana describes Tikkana as possessing 'strong chest equal to the loftiest and widest hill' (Mēruparvata, V. 104), intellect, (Caturānana sannibha) 'equal to the creator Lord Brahma' (V. 96), devotion (Abhavacaraṇāmbhōja nyastacitta) that makes 'his mind the place for lotus feet of Lord Abhava

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(Siva)' (V. 101), and wealth (Balasūdana Vaibhava) 'wealthy man equal to Indra who killed Bala, the demon' (V. 94).

Different Forms. The early biographies were written in several different literary styles such as:

Dvipada: *Basavapurāṇamu* and *Paṇḍitārādhya Caritramu* (1952, 1974) were composed exclusively in the form of *dvipada* (couplets). They deal with King Basava and Ācārya Paṇḍitārādhya, propounders and propagators of 'Vīra Śaivism' and 'Ārādhyaśaivism' respectively, and were written by Pālakuriki Sōmana (13th century).

A later *dvipada* style biography is Srinatha's (15th century) *Palnāṭi Vīra Caritra* (1961). Since it describes a story of conflict among step-brothers and has many similarities to the Mahabharata, it is also known as *Palnāti Vīra Bhāratamu*.

Harikatha: This is a composite art, combining music and poetry. It is a one-man show on stage accompanied by two to three people on musical instruments. It is called *Kālakṣēpam* in Tamil and *Abhang* in Marathi. Its origins may lie in the *Kathāgāna* of Kusa and Lava, the sons of Sree Rama, who presented the *Ramāyaṇakatha* in Sanskrit at the behest of Saint Valmiki at the court of Sree Rama. *Harikatha* in the 14th century was confined to sketches of Puranic and Ithihasic personalities. Later, the lives of poets such as Potana, music composers such as Tyāgarāja, devotees such as Rāmadāsa etc. were presented. Life sketches depicting the heroic deeds of such national leaders as Mahatma Gandhi have also a place in *Harikatha*. Sri Ajjāda Adibhatla Nārāyaṇadās (1864–1945), best known as Harikathā Pitāmaha, is regarded as the pioneer of this art in Telugu.

Burrakatha: This is a form presented by a team of at least three people. Generally it is presented to inspire and rouse the feelings of the people. During the Freedom Struggle, the life story of Alluri Seetaramaraju (a hero of Manyam who fought the British and laid down his life) was very popular. The script was written by Suṅkara Satyanarayana of Prajānāṭyamaṇḍali. From the same pen is the famous portrayal of Kandukuri Veeresalingam. *Palnāṭi Yuddham* is another famous story composed and presented as Burrakatha by the Najar Troupe.

Verse: *Kṛṣṇarāya Vijayamu* by Kumāra Dhūrjaṭi (17th century), a great-grandson of Dhūrjaṭi, one of the eight famous poet laureates (*Aṣṭadiggaja Kavulu*) who adorned the Royal Court of Krishnadevaraya, the Vijayanagar emperor (16th century), is considered the first full-length biography composed in verse. Later, *Acyutābhyudayamu* by Raghunātha Nāyak (17th century), the third Nayak king of Tanjore, and *Raghunāthābhyudamu* by Vijaya Rāghava Nāyak (17th century), son of Raghunatha Nayak, were well-known as examples of biographies in verse.

Modern Age

Even in the modern age of Telugu literature (from the 19th century onwards) there have been several biograbhical writings composed in verse form. Some of these epics are:

Śiva Bhāratamu (1943) by Mahakavi Gadiyāram Venkaṭa Śēṣaśastṛi (1887).

Rāṇa Pratāpa Simha (1934) by Durbhāka Rājaśēkhara Śatāvadhāni (1888–1957).

Sivārpaṇamu (on Sivaji, 1974) by Viswanadha Satyanarayana (1895–1976).

Vivekanandam (Swami Vivekananda, 1949) by Saṅṅidhānam Sūryanārāyaṇa Śāstri (20th century).

Āndhra Kesari by K. P. John (20th century).

Kṛstu Caritra by G. Joshuva (1895–1971).

Biographical writings in prose was first introduced and then improved by the great Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu (Kaṇḍukūri Vīrēśaliṅgam Pantulu, 1847–1919), a pioneer of almost all forms and experiments in Telugu literature. He gave a new impetus to biographical writing with his contribution on the life of Queen Victoria for which he is compared to Lytton Strachey as a biographer.

Prose biographies include several works about national as well as regional leaders who inspired and led the people in various fields. Political biographies have been written featuring Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Tanguturi Prakasam Pantulu, etc. Social reformers such as Raja Rammohan Roy, Kandukuri Veeresalingam etc. and literary figures like Vedam Veṅkatarāya Śāstri, Gurujada Venkatapparao, Chinnaya Suri, and Sir C. P. Brown have also been the subjects of biographies.

Literary Biographies

Kandukuri Veeresalingam paved the way for critical appreciation of Telugu poets by compiling their lives in his two volumes of *Āndhra Kavula Caritra* (1950). Much improvement and development is seen in the works of those who succeeded him in this line. Some of these works are:

Kavijīvitamulu (Lives of poets, 1930) by Guruzada Sreerama Murthy (Gurzāda Srīrāma Mūrti, 1862–1940), *Āndhra Vāṅgmaya Caritra Saṅgrahamu* (Short History of Telugu Literature, 1951) by Kavitva Vēdi K. V. Narayana Rao, *Āndhra Vāṅgmaya Caritra* (History of Andhra Literature, 1913) by Kasinadhuni Nageswara Rao (1867–1938), *Āndhra Kavi Taraṅgiṇi* (River of Andhra Poets, 1958) by Chaganti Seshaiah (20th century), *Āndhra Vāṅgmaya Caritra* (History of Andhra Literature) by Kalāpṛapūrṇa Dr. Divakarla Venkatavadhani (b. 1913), *Āndhra Sāhitya Caritra* (History of Andhra Literature, 1974) by Acharya Pingali Lakshmikantham, *Āndhra Vāṅgmaya Sarvasvamu* (Complete History of Andhra Literature, 1957) by S. Ramakrishna Sastry (20th century), *Āndhra Kavi Saptati* (70 Telugu poets, 1956) by Bulusu Veṅkaṭaramaṇaiah (20th century) and the latest, *Samagra Āndhra Sāhityamu* (13

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vols. History of Andhra Literature, 1968) by 'Arudra' (b. 1922). These books contain biographical information on writers, though they are not biographies proper.

Similar biographical accounts though limited in scope to a particular period of time, place, sex or type have been written during this period.

Examples of time-limited biographies are:

Navyāndhra Sāhitya Vīdhulu (1949) by Kuruganti Seetharama Bhattacharya and Pillalamarri Venkata Hanumantha Rao (1918–1971);

Āndhra Rachayitalu (1950) by Madhunapanthula Satyanarayana Sastry (b. 1914); and

Sāhitya Paricayam (1978) by Indraganti Srikanta Sarma (20th century).

Examples of place-limited biographies are:

Dakṣiṇa Deśīya Āndhra Kavula Caritra (1957) by Niḍudavolu Venta Rao (b. 1904, about the Poets of Southern India); and

Golkoṇḍa Kavula Sañcika by Suravaram Pratapa Reddi (1896–1953) about poets belonging to the Golkonda region of Telengana.

Writing about the lives of poets was the beginning of Telugu biographical writing. But these inspired the life sketches of leaders and heroes in other fields. Such writing appeared not only in prose forms but also as drama, *Kathāgāna* (*Harikatha* and *Burrakatha*), short story and novel.

Historical and Political Biographies

Among the biographies written about historical persons are: *Śrikṛṣṇa Dēvarāyalu* (1960) by Vishnubhotla Suryanarayana (20th century) and *Mantri Timmarusu* and *Aliya Rāma Rayalu* by Chilukuri Veerabhadra Rao (1872–1939). But many more are the biographies of modern personalities. Many of these biographical sketches are about those who made sacrifices during the Freedom Struggle or for the upliftment of society.

Āndhra Kesari Tanguturi Prakasam Pantulu (1966) by K. Venkateswara Sastry (20th century) is one of the best-known biographies of this type. It narrates the story of a child from a poor family in Ongole district who reached such a pinnacle of fame that this district is now named Prakasam after him.

Prakasam, who now has a permanent place in the hearts of Andhra people, was brought up by his widowed mother who ran a small 'meals hotel' to support her family. He grew up to be a political leader who once bared his chest to police guns, challenging the authorities to shoot at him. Prakasam was a man of great self-respect and independent views, and a planner with great foresight. He never compromised with life or his convictions for which he would not hesitate to disobey even Mahatma Gandhi, whom he revered. Much against the wishes of Gandhi, Prakasam became Chief Minister of the composite Madras State in 1946. Again, defying the orders of Gandhiji, he re-entered the legal profession to earn his livelihood. All the money he earned from his roaring practice in the legal profession he spent on running *Swarajya*, a daily he had started. He was the first Chief Minister of the Andhra State when it was created in 1953. He was also a famous stage actor, playing such female roles as Damayanti, Draupadi etc.

Āndhraratna Duggirala Gopala Kṛṣṇaiah (1968) by 'Kanakpravāsi' (Cāmarti Kanakaiah, 20th century) is another biography of this genre. Gopalakrishna (1889–1928), a disciple of Ananda Coomaraswamy, was introduced to Mahatma Gandhi in London by his guru in 1915. Thereafter he was drawn into the vortex of the Freedom Struggle. He was honoured by the people with the title *Āndhra Ratna* (A diamond among Andhras) for his initiative and able handling of the no-tax mass movement. He persuaded all the people, without exception, to leave Chirala-Perala town to avoid paying taxes to the municipality and was successful in getting them to live on the sands by the sea for 11 months continuously. A newspaper commentator remarked, 'Who is the Governor of Chirala? Gopalakrishna or Lord Willingdon? It seems to me Gopalakrishna is really the Governor'. The success of this mass movement owed not a little to a peace corps Sri Gopalakrishna established. It was called *Rāmadanḍu* and was dedicated to service. It was known for its discipline.

Pūrṇa Puruṣuḍu (1979), a life sketch of Sri Ajjada Adibhatla Narayana Das, (1979) by Yāmijāla Padmanābha Svāmi (20th century) is the third significant biography of this type. Its subject is a scholar in Telugu, Sanskrit, English, Persian, Urdu and Arabic, a master of music and drama. This pioneer of *Harikatha* (*Harikatha Pitāmaha*), a technique of poetic narration accompanied by music, was considered an incarnation of Saraswati. He was the Principal of Maharaja's College of Music, Vijayanagaram. He translated Omar Khayyam from the Persian and in his great composition *Navarasa Tariṅgiṇi* (River of Nine Rasas), he presented translations of all the works of Shakespeare as well as Kalidasa.

This outspoken free-thinker never hesitated to express his feelings frankly, no matter to whom he was speaking. When the Maharaja of Mysore, in appreciation of his scholarship in music and poetry, requested him to adorn his royal court, Sri Narayana Das bluntly replied that he would not serve mortals.

There were several incidents to marvel at in his life. When his mother wanted the atmosphere cooled, Sri Narayana Das composed the story of Markandeya, the conqueror of death, and presented it the next evening. Soon after his address to Lord Siva, at the end of the *Kathāgāṅam*, the whole area suddenly turned cloudy and within a few

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minutes a downpour chased away the severity of summer. On another occasion, to save his small-pox stricken grandson from the clutches of death, Sri Das offered his own life by invoking Parameswari.

Similar biographies have been written on Dēsabhakta Konda Venkatappaiah and Desoddharaka Kasinadhuni Nageswara Rao.

Other Biographies

Several biographies have been written on persons who fought for the eradication of outdated social customs that were causing distress to the majority. Such social reformers include Sri Kandukuri Veeresalingam, Chilakamarthi Lakshmi Narasimham, Unnava Lakshmi Narayana and Brahmarshi Reghupati Venkataratnam Naidu.

Great scholars who have been the subjects of biographies include Giḍugu Rāma Mūrti, who created a separate script for the 'Savara' tribe in Telugu-land and who was a staunch proponent of Vyāvahārika Bhāṣa, and Chinnayasuri, the renowned grammarian who wrote *Bālavyākaraṇamu*, an authoritative grammar to this day, and who gave a standard form and shape to idiomatic Telugu prose. Kaḷḷakūri Sūryanārāyaṇa and Niḍudavolu Venkatarao were their respective biographers.

Vedam Venkataraya Sastry, a great scholar who rendered yeoman service to Telugu literature by offering exhaustive and scholarly commentaries on the *Naishadham* of Srinadha and who translated many Sanskrit dramas, was also the subject of a biography, the author being his grandson, Vedam Venkataraya Sastry.

Life sketches of Thyagaraja, Annamacharya and Kshetrayya and discussions about their contributions to music and literature are the subject of several works. *Tyāgarāja Caritra* by Yogi Suddhananda Bharati, *Vāggēyakārulu* by Rajani, *Kṣētrayya* by Vissa Apparao are a few such works. A life sketch of Sri Ādibhatla Nārāyaṇa Das was written by M. V. Krishna Sarma and Yamijala Padmanabha Swamy in 1959.

Vyjnānikula Jīvitālu (Lives of Scientists, 1953) was written by B. V. Ramarao and *Biographies of Great Scientists* was written by Gobburi Venkatananda Raghava Rao.

Biographies of Non-Andhras

Several notable Indians from different parts of the country have had a remarkable influence over the Telugu people. Hence there are a number of biographies about these great Indians.

Jhansi Lakshmi (1973), *Nana Fadnavis* (1976), *Nehru* (1964), *Dadabhai Navroji* (1965), *Sardar Patel* (1978), and *Desabandhu Chittaranjan Das* (1978) are some of the titles of biographies in Telugu.

Biograpies of great persons who spiritually enlightened the people, like *Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa* (1939) *Swami Vivekananda* (1939), *Guru Nanak* (1938), *Guru Govind* (1938), *Swamy Rama Tirtha* (1934, 1950), *Swamy Dayananda Saraswati* (1949), etc. are some of the several well-known Telugu biographies. Biographies written by Swami Chirantanananda, portraying the lives of Ramakrishna Paramahamsa and Swami Vivekananda have an honoured place in Telugu literature.

Among modern writers Sri Gorrepati Venkata Subbayya has specialized in writing biographies. He portrayed the lives of several leaders in many fields of human endeavour, combining hero-worship with fact. His biography of the famous Bengali novelist Saratchandra Chatterjee, *Sarat Darśaṅam*, is considered his best work.

Among the foreigners whose biographies have been written in Telugu, C. P. Brown is the subject of two significant works. Brown was the first foreigner to compile a dictionary from English to Telugu and vice-versa. He was responsible for the collection, preservation and copying of many manuscripts. He patronized many Telugu and Sanskrit scholars and translated Vemana's poems into English. His biography by Kottapalli Veerabhadra Rao was published in 1963, and in 1975 there appeared *C. P. Brown's Contribution to Literature* by Calla Radhakrishna Sarma. *Annie Besant* (1967) by Kondamudi Sreeramachandra Murty, *Tolstoy* (1956) by Maheedhara Ramamohana Rao and *George Washington* (1961) translated by Dhanikonda Hanumantha Rao are other noteworthy biographies of foreigners.

Other Biographical Forms

Apart from the life sketches of individual persons, there are several anthologies featuring the lives of different personalities by various writers in various publications. *Mahāpuruṣa Jīvitamulu* (in three volumes) by Chilakamarthy, *Mahānāyakulu* (1971) by Turlapati Kutumbarao, *Mahāpuruṣa Muktāvali* (1941), *Mahābhakta Vijayamu* etc. are anthologies of this type. *Bhārataramaṇimanulu* by Sripaada Subramanya Sastry (Sripāda Subramaṇya Śāstri, 1891–1951) is devoted exclusively to women. *Lives of Great Men and Women* by Rayasam Venkata Sivudu (1870–1953), *Āndhra Sacivottamulu* and *Daṇḍanayakulu* by Kōna Venkaṭarāya Śarma (b. 1897) and *Lives of Great Men and Women* by A. Sundara Ramayya (20th century) are biographical studies.

Several academies—Sahitya, Sangeetha Nataka, etc., institutions, literary and cultural organizations, and publishers—such as Yuva Bharati, Andhra Saraswata Samiti, Vavilla, Venkatarama, Visalandra publications, etc., have contributed substantially to Telugu biographical writing by bringing out biographical sketches of great literati, poets, critics and leaders in different fields.

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Competitions conducted by these academies and academic bodies encouraged biographies to be written for prescription as textbooks. For example, *Piradausi*, the life sketch of a Persian poet by G. Joshuva (1895–1971), was written as a Modern Poetry text; *Bebbuli*, by Sreepada Krishna Murthy Sastry (Śripāda Kṛṣṇa Mūrthi Śāstri, 1866–1960) and *Narasanna Bhaṭṭu* (1957) by V. V. L. Narasimha Rao were written as drama texts, and *Chittaranjan Dās* (1978) by V. T. Veeramraju and P. Jagadeeswara Rao was a novel written as a non-detailed prose text book.

Short biograbhical pen-portraits—another type of biographical writing—should also be mentioned here. They are to be found in the dissertations by research scholars on various personalities such as Kandukuri Veeresalingam, Pānuganṭi Lakshmi Narsimham, Garajada Venkatappa Rao, Viswanadha Satyanarayana, 'Sri Sri', etc. The Telugu periodicals also contain feature articles on persons who have left their mark on the history of this land.

Autobiography

The autobiography (*Swīya Caritra or Ātmakatha*) too begins as verse in Telugu literature. Nannaya is the first poet to introduce himself. In a few lines, he states in all humility his position in the royal court of Raja Raja Narendra, his adherence to Dharma, his performance of all religious rites, his wide reading and scholarship, his wisdom, his speaking nothing but the truth, etc.

Later Telugu writers who composed in verse also presented accounts of themselves either in brief, or in full detail. The forewords or prefaces (*Avatārikas*) of their works often contained autobiographical introductions by the authors themselves or recommendatory biographical notes by their patrons. Almost all these Telugu poets speak about the clan to which they belong, their parents, the qualities of their own composition, by whose grace they were able to acquire the capacity for composing verse etc. For example, the words 'Idi Śrīmatkamalanābha pautra Mārayāmātya putra, sakala Vidyāsanādha Śrīnādha prāneetambaina Sringara Naiṣadha Mavyambunandu brathamāśvāsamu', at the end of the first canto of one work, mean 'This is the end of the first canto in Sringara Naishadhamu composed by Sreenadha, grandson of Kamalanabhamatya, son of Marayamatya, a master of all branches of knowledge'.

Development

Autobiography has developed as a distinctive form of literature only in prose. The first work of this kind published in 1910 and 1917 is attributed to Sri Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu. His autobiography reveals the risks he took to prevent child marriages, encourage widow marriages etc. and the insults and humiliations he had to suffer. Sri Chilakamarty, referring to autobiographies in general and Sri Kandukuri's in particular, has said: 'To be an ideal person to others, great people should necessarily write their autobiographies. In our Andhra Desa, Rao Bahadur Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu garu is the first man to write autobiography. His life is full of selfless service to society. Hence, his autobiography definitely is an ornament to adorn Andhra literature and an ideal one for Andhra people.'

The same spirit of sacrifice is to be found in the autobiography (1944) of Chilakamarty Lakshmi Narasimham, the most dedicated follower of Kandukuri in both social service and literature. Somewhere between these two autobiographies are the autobiographical writings of Valluri Suryanarayanarao (*Sūryanārāyaṇīyam*) and Rayasam Venkata Sivudu. The autobiographies of Desabhakta Konda Venkatappaiah Pantulu, Tenguturi Prakasam Pantulu (pub. 1946) and Achanta Lakshmipathi, the great Ayurvedic exponent, should also be mentioned in this context.

The autobiography of Koṇḍa Venkaṭappaiah (1866–1949) takes him only upto 1932. It was first published in two parts and later, in 1966, as a single volume.

Andhras honoured Konda Venkatappiah with the title Desabhakta (Devotee of the Country) for the services he rendered to his country. This politician and social reformer gave up legal practice in 1915 to devote his life completely to the service of the nation. He started a Telugu weekly in Machilipatnam, *Krishna Patrika*, which made considerable contribution to literary and political activities in Andhra Desha. He was the first social reformer to perform a child-widow re-marriage in Machilipatnam. He helped found the National College, Machilipatnam, in 1908. He presided over a political meeting at Tenali in 1907 when a demand for a separate Andhra State was made for the first time.

Ātmacharitamu (Autobiography) by Rayasam Venkata Sivudu (Rāyasam Veṇkaṭa Śivuḍu, 1870–1952), published in 1933, shows the gradual development of social reform that took place over two generations not only in Andhra but in other parts of the country too. Under the influence of Kandukuri Veeresalingam, Venkata Sivudu stood for truth and independent thinking, which led to a serious confrontation with his own father whom he, a reformist, considered a traditionalist. His attitude to different faiths, his experiences with them and his logical conclusion regarding them reveal his gradual enlightenment.

Other notable autobiographies include *Nā Jīvitamu Navyandhramu* (My life and Modern Andhra, 1959) by A. Kaleswara Rao, *Na Jīvita Yātra* (My Life Pilgrimage, 1946) by Andhra Kesari T. Prakasam, *Na Divya Smrutulu* (My Divine Memories, 1951) by Darsi Chenchaiah, *Svīya Caritramu* (My Autobiography) by Chinnaya Sury and

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Jnapakalu (Memories) by Sripada Subrahmanya Sastry (1891–1951).

Na Smruthi Pathamulo Sagutunna Yātra (A Pilgrimage Down My Memory Lane, 1960) by Achanta Janakiram (b. 1903) is one of the finest autobiographies in Telugu. Autobiographical writing with a novel touch, flavoured with subtle humour and pungency, is found in the works of Sri Nadimpalli Venkata Lakshmi Narasimharao (1889–1978), Politician and disciple of Andhra Kesari, Sri Duvvuri Venkataramana Sastry (1898–1976), the renowned scholar and Telugu grammarian of Andhra University, and last but not least in *Uhāgānam* by Latha (Tenneti Hemalata, the well-known woman novelist).

Other Works

There are several autobiographies of great national leaders not belonging to Telugu land, such as Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru etc., which have been translated into Telugu verse by Tummala Sitaramamurti Choudari (b. 1901).

There are also several brief accounts of personal experiences based on narration in diaries or letters written to children or friends. The letters of Gurajada and Chalam, for instance, reveal the movement they launched, the odds they faced, their achievements and failures, their assessment of others, their aspirations, etc.

In several biographies and autobiographies there are to be found brief accounts of other people. These present miniature portraits of the hero's associates. In *Svīya Caritra* by Sri Cilakamarty Lakshmi Narasimham such persons as Immaneni Hanumantarao Naidu, Gunneswara Rao and other promoters of Telugu drama, are portrayed in brief. Rentala Venkata Subba Rao is an important person mentioned in many autobiographies of the age, such as Konda Venkatappaiah's *Svīya Caritram* and Valluri Suryanarayana's *Suryanārāyaṇīyam*. As a matter of fact almost half of the latter deals with the man who inspired the author.

Conclusion

A glance at Telugu biographical and autobiographical writing shows that this type of literature developed in the first half of the 20th century and reflected the society of the last decade of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. Much of it not only dealt with facts and figures but had the human touch as well. Several biographical sketches and autobiographical writings were inspiring. Of them it could be said:

Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime
And departing leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time.

(H. W. Longfellow)

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Urdu

WAHAB ASHRAFI

Origin: The Commemorative Strain

In the strict sense of the term, Urdu biography begins with Altaf Husain Hali (1837–1914). But the tenets of the genre were present much before him. There are, in the Deccani Urdu, biographical writings of a sort dating back to the 13th century. Moiduddin Hasmi, a modern critic, holds that Firoz's *Tausif Nāmā* (1465) is the first biography in Urdu. A number of biographies were written to eulogize Abdul Qadir Jilani. Important among them are Fazl's *Mohīuddin Nāmā* (1640), Baqar Aagaah's *Mahbubul Qulub* (1792) and Shah Hussain Zauque's *Ghaus Nāmā* (1647).

Hagiography. The commemorative strain in Urdu, right from the beginning, mingles with the didactic—an equally rich source of biography. The life of Prophet Mohammad continues to be a fertile subject for Urdu biographers. Other 'Lives' dealt with are several Caliphs, the martyrs of the Karbala and the mystics. Such works as *Reyazul Jenān* (1792), *Tuhfatul Ahbāb* (1792) and *Jenānusiar* (1973) only go to prove that it was necessray to say 'good things of good men'. Hagiographies and martyrologies abounded, creating a tradition that extended well into the 20th century.

In the 17th century, a certain prudishness and gentility pervaded biographical works in the Deccani Urdu. Ishaque Momin Maisoori's *Isrār-E-Isq* (1681), Mulla Wajhi's *Qutub Mustari* (1609) and Misri's *Ali Nāmā* (1655) are about the ives of rulers. They are not didactic writers, but the truth is glossed over to meet the needs of respectability. These *Mathnavies* are more poetic than candid.

The genres *Mathnavi* (versified tales) and *Marthia* (elegies) have some biographical elements in them. The *Marthias* were specially composed to commemorate Hazrat Hussain and his companions, the martyrs of the Karbala. First written in the Deccan by Quli Qutub Shah (Śāh, 1565–1611) the Marthia established a tradition, which is alive even today. The well-known elegy writers are Anis (1801–74), Dabir (1803–75) and in a different, more mundane vein, Shad (Ṣad, 1846–1927), Chakbast (Cakbast, 1882–1926), Iqbal (1876–1938), Josh (Joṣ, b. 1894) and Jamil Mazhari (1905–80). The descriptions of courage and inevitable defeat are what strike readers most forcibly in these works. But the tragic gestures or thrusts are on too grand a scale to conform to the ways of the world.

Tazkiras. The commemorative and didactic strains come to a close with the *tazkiras*, a sort of biographical criticism, in the 18th century. The *tazkira* presents a short account of a poet's life and his works. Meer Taqi Meer's (1722–1810) *Nikatus Ṣorā* (1851) is the first *Tazkira*. In it, 102 Urdu poets have been discussed and at times portrayed. But the author's own feelings and predilections intrude; he is too confident of his own literary assessments. He is interested only in those aspects of character that reflect his own temperament.

The *tazkiras* were originally written in Persian, but a number of them are now available in Urdu. They are, indeed, the first steps towards a biographical account of poets. Among the better known *tazkiras* are Hamid Aurangabadi's *Gulsane Guftār* (1752), Fateh Ali Gardezi's *Tazkira-e-Rekhtā Ǵovān* (1753), Enaetullah's *Reyāz Hasnī* (1754), Lachmi Narayan Shafique's *Chamnistan-e-ṣōera*, Mir Hussain's *Tazkira-e-Ṣōera Urdu*, Syed Ghulam Hussain's *Tazkira-e-Soriṣ* (1779), Abul Hassan's *Mussrat Afzā* (1779), Gholam Hamdani Mushafi's *Tazkira-e-Hindi* (1824), Mustafa Khan Saifta's *Gulṣan-e-Bekhār* (1834), Nasir's *Khuṣ Mārka-e-Zaiba* (1845) and Karimuddin's *Tabqāt-e-Ṣora-e-Hindī* (1848).

Abe Hayat. The development of *tazkira* writing culminates in Mohammad Hussain Azad's (Mohammad Husain Azād, 1832–1910) *Abe Hayat* (Amrit, 1881). This prestigious work, which paved the way for a more detailed hsitory of Urdu literature and for biographical writings, shows Azad's astounding powers of observation and his gift for graphic description. Azad's ready wit and his wonderful ability to portray life and events lucidly have made him a legendary figure in Urdu literature. It has, however, been argued that Azad tends to exaggerate.

Abe Hayat, though not a biography of a particular individual and written as a fragment of literary history, is claimed to be a biography—the biography of an age. Azad, a contemporary and friend of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, shared Sir Syed's ideals. Deeply conscious of the passing of a glorious age rich in culture, he has tried in this work to capture, in all their colour and glory, the personalities of that bygone era. He presents in *Abe Hayat* thumbnail sketches of the important literary personalities of his time as well as of their predecessors. His memorable sketches of Mir and Insha, for instance, are unique biographical fragments which combine the pathos and dignity of the personalities.

Azad's description of poet Insha may not be factually correct, but it is a gem of a pen-portrait. He presents Insha

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as a poet-courtier serving Nawab Sadat Ali Khan of Lucknow. The Nawab gets angry with Insha and orders him to relate just one humorous anecdote which the Nawab had not heard before. The poet fails; his stock of humorous anecdotes is exhausted and he becomes insane and requests street urchins to narrate some new anecdote to him. On his last day, Insha arrives long before the start of a *muṣaira*. Ill-clad and oblivious of all others, he recites his poignant *ghazal* and, wrapped in his own thoughts, abruptly leaves the symposium.

The Chronicles of Shibli. The *tazkira* period is followed by the age of the Urdu chronicle. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's (1817–98) *Asarussanadid* (1857) is, in essence, chapter-length biographies of Delhi luminaries. The chronicle spirit continues with the achievements of Shibli N'umani (Śibli Numānī, 1857–1914). Though Shibli is generally considered one of the best biographers in Urdu, the fact remains that his *Al-māmun* (1889), *Siratun-N'uman* (1889), *Al-fāruq* (1898), *Al-Ghazāli* (1902), *Sawaneh Maulana Rūm* (1902) and *Sīrat-un-Nabi* (1901) are annals. Generally, biography disappears in the writing of annals. But Shibli handles the problem carefully, and history successfully blends with biography.

Al-māmun traces the history of the heroes of Islam. *Siratun-N'uman* deals with the life and achievements of Imam Abu Hanifa bin Sabit, but only a few pages are devoted to the mystic's life. The dust cover of *Al-fāruq* declares that the work is a biography of Hazrat Umer, but important events relating to his life are linked with the philosophy of history. *Al-Ghazāli* is on similar line, a major portion of the book being devoted to the hero's literary output and its evaluation. *Sawaneh Maulana Rūm* (Biography of Maulana Rum) is a work of a different nature. Here, Shibli is more a biographer than a historian. His powers of selection and arrangement and his fluent style make this a really picturesque work. *Sīrat-un-Nabi* (a biography of Prophet Mohammad) is perhaps the only really authentic biography of the Prophet of Islam, being based on original, first-hand sources. Shibli could complete only two volumes of this great project, to which his disciple Maulana Sulaiman Nadvi added four more volumes.

Hali the Biographer

Maulana Hali was, perhaps, the first Urdu writer to write a biography with intent rather than by accident. He had a sense of reverence, but it did not blind him; he was charitable, but it did not render him dull; he was accurate, but it did not make him pedantic. If the situation had been congenial, Hali would have been more judicious and discerning. He frankly confesses in the preface of his *Heyat-e-Jawaid* (1901):

> Time is not ripe to write a critical biography, taking into account both the merits and demerits of a person, his high thoughts as well as his lapses. In what I have written, with this end in view, about one or two lives, I generally covered their good points found in their works and lives; I have not laid bare the wounds. (tr.).

Hali wrote four full-length biographies, *Sawaneh Hākim Nāsir Khusrū* (1882), *Heyat-e-Sādi* (Life of Sadi, 1884), *Yādgar-e-Ghālib* (1896) and *Heyat-e-Jāwaid* (1901). *Heyate Sādi* endeavours to portray the famous Persian poet of the 13th century, Saadi, as an enlightened seer with outstanding literary achievements. This spirit does not allow Hali to be critical. The work, however, is considered by a section of Saadi's lovers to be one of the outstanding judgements on that august writer.

Hali, a pupil of Ghalib, had the advantage of seeing his master at close quarters. As a result, his *Yādgar-e-Ghālib* (Memoirs of Ghalib) is a vital contribution to understanding Ghalib, both as poet and as man. This biography is a remarkably discerning, penetrative achievement. Even Ghalib's limitations are recorded candidly. With this book, the art of Hali attained maturity. *Hayat-e-Jāwaid*, Hali's biography of Sir Syed Ahmad, another outstanding personality with whom Hali had been very close, not only includes a pen-portrait of Sir Syed but also captures the tumultuous period in which he lived and left his impact.

Shibli and Hali gave a definite shape to this genre and their accomplishments remain a perpetual source of inspiration and delight. But the art of biography-writing in Urdu has not matured, except in a few instances. Shad Azimabadi's (1846–1927) *Heyat-e-Firyad* (1927) is an interesting case in point. It is more fictional than factual. Shad Azimabadi, a pupil of Firyad, believes in the theory that the scholarship of a pupil is known to his tutor. With this in mind, he makes his character as grandiose as possible. But the greatness and sublimity bestowed upon the hero are hardly acceptable to a critical reader.

The damage done to the art has, however, been successfully mended by a genius of the Shibli school of thought. Syed Sulaiman Nadvi (Sayyed Sulaimān Nadvī, 1828–1962), in his colossal work, *Heyat-e-Śibli*, portrays his guru and his age meticulously. *Heyat-e-Śibli*, free from grotesqueness and fantasy, depicts Shibli not only as a scholar but also as a protector of noble values and a pathfinder in a diffident age. Syed Sulaiman Nadvi's other biographies are *Rahmate Ālam* (1916), *Heyat-e-Imam-Mālik* (1917) and *Sirate Aesa* (1940). These are all religious works and demonstrate a strong sense of morality and religiosity. Other examples of successful biographies after the Shibli-Hali period are Hussain Allahabadi's *Heyat-e-Sādi*, *Heyat-e-Zauque* and *Heyat-e-Sultan Ṣabuddin*, and Mirza Hairat Dehlvi's *Heyate Taiyaba*, *Heyate Firdosi* and *Sirate Mohammadiya*. To these might be added some highly

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individualistic books of a biographical nature, namely: Habibur Rahman's *Sirate Siddiq*, Molvi Ekramulls Nadvi's *Weqāre Heyat*, Molvi Iftekhar Alam's *Heyatun Nazir*, Saiyed Masud Hasan Rizvi's *Wājid Ali Ṣāh*, Molana A. Razzaq Malihabadi's *Zikre Āzad* and Rasid Ahmad Siddiqui's *Zakir Sāheb*.

Autobiography

J. A. Cuddon writes about the genre:

> In Dr. Johnson's opinion, no man was better qualified to write his life than himself, but this is debatable. Memory may be unreliable. Few can recall clear details of their early life and are therefore dependent on other people's impressions, of necessity equally unreliable. Moreover, everyone tends to remember what he wants to remember. Disagreeable facts are sometimes glossed over or repressed, truth may be distorted for the sake of convenience or harmony and occlusions of time may obscure as they reveal.

The facts so lucidly expressed are generally applicable to all Urdu autobiographies but a few. Most Urdu autobiographies are records of self-indulgence and forebearance.

Meer Taqui Meer's Persian autobiography, *Zikr-E-Mīr*, was the model for the writing of autobiography in Urdu. The first Urdu autobiography of any note is Sir Syed Reza Ali's *Āmal Nāmā*. The book is spread over 13 chapters, but instead of revealing himself and recording his experiences, he prefers discussing such philosophical questions as love, affection, fondness, patriotism etc.

How disagreeable facts have been glossed over or repressed and the truth distorted for the sake of convenience may be seen in Shad Azimabadi's *Ṣād Ki Kahāni Ṣād Ki Zabāni* (Story of Sad by Sad). It is an autobiography in the form of a biography. Shad conspired to write his own autobiography as a biography of his pupil, Muslim Azimabadi. The pupil, however, could not keep the 'deal' secret and published the work posthumously, stating in the preface that the work is Shad's account of his own life. The book, however, is replete with many irrational and unconvincing statements. Hakim Ahmad Suja's *Khūn Bahā* (Bloodshed) is a brief and interesting autobiography. The author does succeed in restricting excessive adulation but cannot prevent himself from painting his own life with a touch of vanity.

A widely read and discussed autobiography is Josh's *Yādon Ki Barāt* (A Train of Memories). The preface says that the author had destroyed three earlier drafts out of sheer disgust or dissatisfaction. The fourth draft too did not satisfy him, but old age had left him with no stamina to write it again, so he settled for publication. Josh writes about his love for poetry, for women, for learning and for humanity, and depicts himself as being in his day, a gallant, virile young man. He also narrates various anecdotes casting light on his relations with important national leaders such as Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

Khwaja Gholamus Syedain's (K. G. Saiyadain, 1903–71) *Mujhai Kahna Hai Kutch Apni Zaban Main* (I want to say something in my own tongue, 1974) is an altogether different kind of work, at once creditable and modest. Had it been a complete life-story, it would have added a new dimension to Urdu autobiography. But it remains unfinished, Saiyadain having been able to complete only three chapters before he died. From the fragment published posthumously, it is evident that the writer can stand examining and analysing himself.

A quite unusual autobiography is Kalimuddin Ahmad's *Apni Talāś Main* (In My Own Search, 1975). The method he adopts to recall the past is unfamiliar. He picks out minor incidents and expands them into major stories. He begins by quoting Andrew Marvell:

> But at my back I always hear
> Time's winged chariot hurrying near,
> And open all before me lie
> Vast deserts of eternity.

Then follows a 277-page account of his adolescence. He quotes profusely relevant verses and prose he had read during his childhood and still remembered. He is free and frank even while describing his father and uncle. He records his uncle's drunken behaviour as well as his father's love affairs with a German and then a Spanish girl. Such narration bears testimony to his devotion to truth. Though incomplete, Ahmad's autobiography is indeed a bold, perceptive and significant work. The account of the later years of the writer's life is yet to be published.

Another autobiography with a difference is Mushtaque Ahmad Yusufi's *Zar Guzaṣet*, 1976. Yusufi is a monarch of wit and his indulgence in buoyant descriptions of his life makes the book the most readable autobiography in Urdu. His satirical outbursts tinged with wit expose the ills of both man and society. Notable too is Maulana Abdul Majid Daryabadi's autobiography *Āp Bīti* (Self Story, 1978), in which he traces his life right from adolescence till the time of death. The book ends with a note by Hakim Abdul Qavi Daryabadi on Maulana's last days. Maulana spent a puritan's life and much of the book is a mere statement of facts. The glow of a living autobiography is missing. Stark objectivity pervades the whole book, making it lustreless.

Several other autobiographies have been published in the special issues of the *Naqūṣ Lahor* and *Nigar Karachi*. It seems to echo J. A. Cuddon, who says:

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....almost anyone who has achieved distinction of life —and many who have not—has written an account of his life....

Letters and Diaries

Latin rhetoricians made a convenient distinction between the private letter (*personalis*) and the letter of affairs (*negotialis*). A third kind is the open or general letter, addressed to an individual or a newspaper editor, and intended for publication. Almost any sort of letter may be of use to the biographer. A diary, the regular account of a person's own experiences, attitudes etc., is also of use to the biographer. These sources have constantly been exploited by Urdu biographers.

Ghalib's letters have proved a perpetual source for his biographers. Nizami Badayuni's *Nikat-e-Ghālib* is a case in point. It reveals Badayuni's keen sense of selection and establishes Ghalib's abnegation and austerity. Gholam Rasool Mehr's *Ghālib* is a more profound work that has been prepared using the same source. Mehr has been influenced by his poetry as well. The result is magnificent. Ghalib's lineage and its puissance, his suffering, his wit and humour, his playfulness and high spirits, his cravings, his scholarship and polymathy as well as his failures, discontent, uneasiness and disquietude are all encompassed.

A remarkable biography derived from a personal diary is Maulana Abdul Majid Daryabadi's (1892–1976) *Mohammad Alī* (1954). Maulana, who was in touch with Maulana Mohammad Ali Jawahar from 1912 to 1930, recollects major events and minor details and focusses attention on his subject's life and times. But he states in his preface thus:

> In the ensuing pages I have tried to recollect and record my experiences and impressions of those days. His regular biography is quite a different thing. None should consider this his full-length biography.

Sketches, Pen-Portraits, etc. Sketches and pen-portraits abound in Urdu literature. There is an increasing interest in the analysis of a character. Modern sketches and pen-portraits tend to be portrayals of individuals who have been studied both subjectively and objectively.

The origin of sketches and pen-portraits may be attributed to Insha Allah Khan Insha, whose *Darya-e-Latāfat* (River of Pleasure) introduces a few living characters. But interest in pen-portraits developed with the publication of Azad's *Abe Hayat*. This seminal work is the original source for the development of various genres.

The first major writer of pen-portraits and sketches is Farhatullah Beg, whose character studies are extraordinary, because they are based on psychological analyses of the kind prevralent in the 20th century. Beg was followed by a galaxy of good writers whose prime concern was to study a character in depth and encompass in their sketch all that was found substantial in their study. Such writers are Khaja Hassan Nezami, Maulana Mohammad Ali Jawhar, Abdul Haque, Maulana Abdul Razzaque Kanpuri, Agha Haider Dehlavi, Abdul Majid Daryabadi, Rashid Ahmad Siddiqui and Abdul Majeed Salik.

In Khaja Hasan Nezami's portraits, the biographical thread is slender. Though an interesting and picturesque stylist, he seems to have been swayed by his styles so much that he has lost sight of the character-portrayal. Maulana Md. Ali Jawhar wrote extensively. Of all his works *Bi Amman* and *Hakim Ajmal Khan* are the most brilliant. Maulvi Md. Abdur Razzaque Kanpuri's *Yāde Aiyam* (1946) is another commendable work. The best books of pen-pictures, however, are Rashid Ahmad Siddiqui's (?–1975) *Ganj haei Grammaya* (Treasures Invaluable) and *Ham Nafsane Rafta* (Bygone Friends). They are a constant source of inspiration for the new generation. His sketches come alive with his sureness of touch and perceptive analysis.

Since 1946 or so, several other distinguished writers have contributed to the development of sketch writing. Sardar Deewan Sing Maftoon's *Nāqablie Frāmoṣ* is refreshingly different, relating the anecdotes about characters with whom the writer had a skirmish in the princely states of pre-Partition India. Malik Ram's *Chand Ham Asr* is a gallery of pen-portraits of contemporary writers. Abdul Majid Salik's *Yāra-ne-Kohan* (1955), Tamkeen Kazmi's *Hyderabad Ki Chand Sakhsiatain*, Ejaz Hussain's *Mulkeadab ke Ṣahzāde*, Hasan Hasrat's *Merdume dīdā*, Sokat Thanwi's *Ṣīs Mahel* (Glass House) Saadet Hasan Mantu's *Ganje Friṣte* (The Bald Angels), Tufail's *Saheb and Jenab*, Abid Hussain's *Keya Khub Admitha*, Ali Jawad Zaidi's *Ap Sai Mileai* (Meet him), Saiyed Hasan's *Haft Akhter*, S. M. Hussain's *Bihar Ke Nau Chirāgh* (The Nine Lamps of Bihar) and Unwan Cisti's *Aksoṣkhs* are other works of this genre.

Sadat Hasan Mantu can, perhaps, be described as the finest pen-portrait writer. His pithy style, careful delineation of human character, abhorrence of unadulterated praise and his love for the gullibility of man—all depicted in the various characters he has written about—make his pen-portraits things of lasting beauty.

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Section 10

LITERARY CRITICISM

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Introduction

C. D. NARASIMHAIAH

Indian tradition has given an honoured place to criticism. Great poets themselves recognized the importance of criticism to their work as practitioners and went so far as to concede: poets, there are many, but good critics, very rare indeed. The poet and the critic were considered the two eyes of the Muse of Poetry; hence the critic was the *Sahṛdaya*. It is interesting to note that the period covering the 'Dark Ages of Europe' was the most creative period in Indian criticism with names like Bharata, Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Vāmana, Ānandavardhana, Kuntaka, Abhinavagupta and Kṣemendra—all in the first millennium of the Christian era. It should not sound jingoistic to claim that the New Criticism of America has a long way to go before it can catch up with India's yesterdays in criticism.

But what of today? As in other things creativity may have dried up and we have lost touch with the past of India in a vital way. For, while the great works of criticism, which gave us valuable concepts like *rasa*, *guṇa*, *rīti*, *vakrokti*, *dhvani*, *rasa-dhvani* and *aucitya* were translated into almost every Indian language which had a literature, and scholars knew of them, criticism was seldom pursued as an important activity. Was it because culture nourished a tiny minority which *shared* certain assumptions which in their turn were related to the acknowledged scheme of values, viz. *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, *mokṣa*? The minority was not committed to demonstrating how the critcal concepts were actually realized in works of art. Instead, various simplified popular versions of great works of art were made available to the people at large. Perhaps that is the way a *mahākāvya* became a *dharmaśāstra*. Consequently masses of people were concerned not with *how* a work of art was *realized* by the poet but, by and large, with *what* it *meant* to them. Its meaning was largely in the guidance it provided for a working conduct of good life. At that level, for levels were recognized in that hierarchical society, joy was in 'widest commonalty spread'.

Things have not of course changed for the better even in this democratic age of ours. While masses of people do not still participate in imaginative and intellectual activity there are surely opportunities for those who care to get admittance into the charmed circle—the reason why the critic of today feels obliged to *demonstrate* the *how* and *why* of things.

Now this is something which came from the empirical West. Even there it became a pervasive activity only during the past hundred years or so. Small wonder, then, that all our literatures (except perhaps Tamil, which produced a notable work of criticism in *Tolkāppiyam*, which is said to be a contemporary of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* and embodied poetics of an advanced kind but which suffered the same fate as the Sanskrit work), which have derived their poetics from Sanskrit without actually *practising* them in their day-to-day literary activity have been attracted to western criticism. It is seen from a reading of the essays in this volume that criticism, as we understand today, is almost wholly a European, to be precise British, phenomenon. It came to us with English

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education about 150 years ago and gathered momentum in the past few decades of our Independence.

One can hazard the charge that literary criticism in our own languages, attempted by scholars, most of whom are no friends of English, has nevertheless been very English in its tone, tenor, mode of analysis and even valuation. We have, no doubt, a great deal to learn from the analytical approach of Anglo-American criticism but that our criticism should be grounded in Anglo-American values and embodied in those concepts is very disturbing indeed, because the literatures in question are products of Indian society, a society which, while changing fast, is beyond doubt still rooted in the past.

Is it because our literatures have, in the past 200 years, been greatly influenced by English poetry, fiction and drama? For, in music which has largely maintained its purity, our critical approaches are still indigenous. It is interesting that in discussions of music, regardless of our sophistication or commonalty, we still use the term 'experience', not 'enjoy' or 'criticize'. The *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* are meant to evoke different *rasas*. *Rasa* is the end in view. One sometimes surmises that by simply substituting *rasa*, *rasika*, *rasikata*, in place of delight, critic, critical we shall not only avoid distortion of experience but eliminate much medicority which does not deserve to be called literary or artistic. It goes to the credit of Susan Langer to have pointed out that 'the pleasures in love and the great happiness in Heaven do not deserve to equal a tithe of this bliss' as though she knew the Upanishadic ancestry of *rasa* in the concept *raso vai sah* (He Himself is Rasa). This in its turn can, if practised in literary criticism, release its associates, *vakrokti*, *dhvani*, *aucitya* and their effects, *tallīnatā*, *chittavistāra*, *lokottara*, *vāsanā*, *samvega*, *samskāra*, *prayojana*, *puruṣārtha*, etc. We have, especially in the criticism written in English today, imported Europe's quarrels and of its yesterday and the day before, too. What relevance have terms like 'realism', 'alienation', 'existential', 'commitment', 'art for art's sake', even 'art and morality' for the Indian context? Our history and destiny, both deny their relevance, except in metropolitan drawing-rooms which echo scattered bits of the pseudo-intellectual talk picked up in adolescent Anglo-American circles or their periodicals. If criticism is not to be a cerebral exercise but is to be aimed at our very salvation it is time we recovered the truth of concepts like 'Art is layman's yoga' or even '*rasānada* is *brahmānandasahodara*'. For Art in this country has never been a means of escape or cerebration but a serious activity like religion, for our people often associated it with religion and intended it, like philosophy, to liberate us from the egocentric predicament (*avidyā-kāma-karma*). It is strange that Aristotle, 'the father of all that know' who formulated his concepts of 'pity' and 'fear' (as if these are the only two that must figure) in discussions of tragedy made no mention either of the mystery of life or of God's ways, so abundant in Greek tragedies. For such a one, plot can well be the 'soul of Tragedy' and *Oedipus Tyrannus* known for its *construction* could also be an ideal tragedy. But that Indians, for whom *rasa* is the soul of *kāvya* (work of art), should still be echoing Aristotle and the neo-Aristotelians, to the exclusion of their own valued inheritance, is depressing in the extreme.

One hastens to add that this is no plea to erect impenetrable nationalistic walls across the Indian borders nor a plea for revivalism. We should continue to be true to the concepts of *swadeśo bhuvanatrayam*, 'my country, all the three worlds!' but say with Gandhi 'Let all the winds of all the lands blow over my house but I shall refuse to be blown off my feet'. Obviously we need all the awareness of the scientific temper of the West, its great thought movements, its attention to concrete particulars; but to lose the benefit of our own past, when even a country like America with its slogan 'Make it New' believes in 'going forward to the past', is an incalculable loss. It is the American Eliot who spoke emphatically of the value of 'tradition', the pastness of the present, and the presence of the past.

All the scholars in this volume have spoken of their respective literatures as parts of Indian literature. Even writers in English speak of their genre as Indian literature. But what evidence of Indianness does one find in Indian-English criticism other than the

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names of authors? It is so much more deplorable if literary criticism in our own languages should occasion jibes of that kind.

It is time literary criticism in our languages developed an intense sense of place and time and a sense of history in life as well as literature; a sense of the continuity of one's own literature in any given language and simultaneously with it a fine awareness of the continuity of other literatures of India so as to feel that all Indian literatures including what is written in English by Indians is one literature. In other words, the term 'Indian' has to be loaded and should evoke in us the multifaceted personality of India. This will obviously include the old Indian concept of the oneness of all creation,—man, animal and vegetable—a concept different from that of the 'global village'.

It is time, too, our literary criticism learnt to analyse and evaluate; and learnt *how* to do these and *what* to do these for (for, criticism must have an end in view, and not because Eliot said so). We should continually win attention to great works of art in each of our languages, great in relation to the whole of the literature in that language, the whole of the literature in all the languages and in comparison with the best of their kind, elsewhere in the world. Vyasa, Valmiki and Kalidasa are great, but our duty is not to return to their celebration but to invoke their aid to go beyond, certainly to identify comparable achievement *today*.

In the past our critics seldom attempted analysis of a *whole* work of art but were content to formulate theories and give a couple of examples which were in the nature of Matthew Arnold's 'touchstone'. Today we need to *elucidate* works of art in the attempt to seek corroboration from likeminded people, the *sahṛdayas*, so that in case of disagreements we can try and minimize differences and achieve a consensus. Differences, there will always be, though greater the work, fewer are the differences. But once we make known why we say what we do, others will understand our position. In this endeavour we should turn our attention from the poet to the poem. But we should also realize that the poem did not fall from heaven; it is a product of certain historical forces which shaped a society and the values a people lived by. The critic should therefore try and understand the work in the light of these and articulate how he arrived at his judgement so that others can see and have a proper appreciation of his stand. That makes for culture, the alternative is gossip, ill-will and prejudice.

We have a great deal to profit by the work of Johnson, Coleridge, Matthew Arnold, I. A. Richards, T. S. Eliot and F. R. Leavis in the West. It will be seen that some of them were themselves poets who made revaluation of established works of art possible as much by their own practice as writers of verse, as by what they said in criticism. Unfortunately very few of *our* poets and novelists have attempted criticism of works of art, their own or those of their contemporaries or predecessors. It is not good form but often pusillanimity that seems to have dictated their unwillingness to criticize. We have a great deal to learn here from Coleridge's criticism of Wordsworth's poetry.

We also need to take a warning from the West. If critics of the time had won attention to the poetry of Hopkins in England and Emily Dickinson in America, Anglo-American poetry might well have taken a new course in the late 19th century and modern poetry would not have had to wait till T. S. Eliot appeared on the scene. Again, if Indian writers and critics had had first-hand contact with the French symbolists, the modern poetic movement might have begun in India earlier than it did in England or America.

Indian criticism today has a great deal to learn from the literatures of the Commonwealth as well. Critics in our languages today should endeavour to gain inwardness with *at least* two literatures, one *like* our own, the other *unlike* our own. England has for long ceased to give a lead in matters of art and literature. Even the little suspected African novelists may have more to offer us than the more celebrated novelists of America. Again, it will be adolescent to look for affinities in other literatures. We may learn more from differences and so have to learn to appreciate differences, which is to create a climate of criticism. And India has always had it. The sages of the Upanishads

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found fault with the makers of Vedic hymns. And the Buddha rebelled against both. Sankara and Ramanuja were arch-rebels. The Cārvakas, it seems, were invited to preach godlessness from the precincts of our temples. Gandhi and Nehru criticized each other in public and yet no two men were more attached to each other. They were both interested in a cause and a goal rather than in themselves or each other.

Do our critics today shy away from such a responsibility? There are more ills around us today than ever before which our literature must come to terms with and none of us with a concern can afford to be indifferent. It is also good to remember, that where there is no responsible criticism there is no great literature. The creation of any literature needs a current of fresh and invigorating ideas; and this, criticism can supply in great abundance.

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Assamese

LALIT KUMAR BARUA

The tradition of written literature in Assamese, which had started with the literary works of Madhav Kandali (Mādhav Kaṇḍali) of the 14th century, came to acquire a fully developed form and a firm basis through the literary achievements of Sankaradeva (Śaṅkaradeva, 1449–1568) and Madhavadeva (Mādhavadeva, 1489–1596). Although they did not write any literary criticism (*samālocana*), their attitude towards the function of literature may be discovered in an implicit way in their creative works as well as in a few occasional comments on one or two of their predecessors or contemporaries, such as Sankaradeva's critical comments on the poetry of Pitambar, his contemporary. The historically significant trait of this attitude was a sense that even vernacular languages like the Assamese were capable of acquiring sanctity which had till then been associated only with Sanskrit. For them their written words in Assamese became a matter of serious spiritual import, and by stressing particularly the necessity of listening to *Śravaṇa* and chanting *Kīrtana* of their written words they indirectly helped foster an awareness of the seriousness of the tradition of written literature in Assamese. Consequently, they worked against a tendency towards an unfettered expression of the *Laukika* (popular) passions and emotions in Assamese literature, merely for the sake of entertainment, without being elevated and sublimated by the philosophical quest and the *Sāttvika* (spiritual) meditation on life. Thus these two Vaishnava Saints of Assam of the 15th and 16th centuries, whose outstanding creative contributions brought about a significant cultural improvement of the Assamese way of life and touched every aspect of this way, also made the tradition of Assamese literature acquire a spiritual seriousness and almost a certain centrality in the evolving pattern of Assamese culture, and indirectly offered to the Assamese readers a sense of the difference between the mainly entertaining and the spiritually edifying or the serious in literature.

Beginning of Literary Criticism

Towards the last decades of the 19th century the creative developments marking the Bengal Renaissance were having a decisive impact on the Assamese sensibility. Assamese readers were becoming very familiar with the writings of Michael Madhusudhan Dutta (1824–73), Bankim Chandra Chatterji (1838–94) and Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941). And a new literary journal called *Jonākī* published in 1889 by a group of writers ultimately marked the beginning of a new age in Assamese literature. In the pages of this journal, a new kind of poetry and a few literary genres started on its way. It was during this period that a movement towards the development of literary criticism in Assamese could be seen for the first time. Lakshminath Bezbarua (Lakṣmīnāth Bezbaruvā, 1868–1938), the foremost Assamese writer for about half a century till the thirties, turned out short stories, dramas, poetry and a novel and also wrote extensively on Assam's past history, religion, culture and language. He laid stress on the importance of what he called a national literature, nation, of course denoting the organic community with a cultural and linguistic identity. He also emphasised freedom and spontaneity as the basis of true literature. (See *Asamīyā Bhāṣā Āne Sāhitya*, p. 244.)

It was with reference to the logic of the poetic imagination that Bezbarua sought to explain the quality of literary experience and the function of language in poetry. Bezbarua also referred to the 'Celtic element' in his presidential address of the Asom Sahitya Sabha compiled in *Asamīyā Bhāṣā arū Sāhitya* (pp. 318–26) edited by Atul Chandra Hazarika (1968) and he felt it in the great romantic poets and that one contemporary Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore. Bezbarua was not a disciplined critic and was sometimes carried away by enthusiasm for the subject but his concept of national literature, the nature of poetic imagination, the function of language in poetry had a strong influence on the subsequent developments of literary criticism in Assamese till the forties.

The First Phase

Development During the First Half of the Century. Unlike

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Bezbaroa, Bāṇikanta Kākati (Vaṇikaṇṭa Kakati, 1894–1952) was no creative writer but one who distinguished himself wholly through his contributions as a linguist, scholar and literary critic. In point of established fame and respectability, Banikanta Kakati is still regarded by many as the foremost critic in Assamese. Apart from his wide and intimate acquaintance with the literary traditions of India as well as the West, Kakati's sensibility and discipline helped him well in arriving at balanced judgements on many of the subjects he chose to write on. Kakati's *Purāṇī Asamīyā, Sāhitya* (Old Assamese Literature, 1940), a slim volume of essays on certain aspects of early Assamese literature, especially has a classic stature. His *Sāhitya Arū Prem* (Literature and the Theme of Love, 1950), another slim volume of essays, is also a stimulating and scholarly treatment of certain recurring and universal themes in creative literature. Though of less significance, his evaluative writings on two major poets Raghunath Choudhary and Ambikagiri Ray Choudhury had a lasting influence on subsequent discussion on Assamese romantic poetry. Kakati was, no doubt, familiar with the tradition of Sanskrit poetics but in his general approach and method, he was mainly influenced by English critics.

S. K. Bhuyan, an emiment historian, a contemporary of Banikanta Kakati and a professor of English literature, like him wrote a few articles which bore the stamp of critical approach and K. K. Handiqui, a profound scholar, also wrote a few critical articles in Assamese on Greek, Spanish and other European literatures and expanded the horizon of Assamese literary criticism during its formative period.

However, after Banikanta Kakati, the most devoted critic is Dimbeswar Neog (Diṁbeśvar Neog, 1900–68). Although Neog established himself as a critic almost at the same time as Banikanta Kakati, it is as a literary historian that his prominent position and status has come to be recognized. One of his most significant contributions is the pioneering *Asamīyā Sāhityar Burañjī* (History of Assamese Literature, 1957) combining as it does historical research, painstaking scholarship and flashes of insight into great creative works. Dimbeswar Neog brought to light some of the important and precious things in the Assamese literary tradition. Yet Neog was somewhat narrow in his sympathies: he failed to recognize some of the merits of the poetry of Ambikagiri Roy Choudhury or the value of such a fine novel as the *Jīvanar Batat* (1945) which Kakati quickly pronounced a classic. His approach to early Assamese literature was, similarly, at times more adulatory than critical.

Lakshminath Bezbarua, Banikanta Kakati and Dimbeswar Neog between themselves established the contours of Assamese literary criticism upto the end of the fourth decade of the present century. They may be described as belonging to a single critical tradition, which started with Bezbarua and developed in the wake of the creative writings, covering a period of nearly half a century. There were a few other critics, who made minor, but not insignificant contributions in the same critical tradition. Kaliram Medhi made a pioneering contribution towards the evaluation of the *Aṅkia* plays and the *Bargīts* (devotional songs set to tune in the Indian *rāgas* by the two great poets) of Sankardeva and Madhavdeva. Ratnakanta Barkakati (Ratnakānta Barkakati, 1897–1963) was influenced by Rabindranath Tagore in his critical writings. The interest in a national culture evinced by Bezbarua and in a somewhat restricted sense by Dimbeswar Neog was given a new interpretation through a set of powerful ideas in the writings of Jyotiprasad Agarwalla (1900–50) thereby giving fresh insight into the literary achievements and realities in the realm of Assamese literature. As a result, the evaluation of Sankardeva and Madhavdeva and the writers of the modern period like Bezbarua and Chandrakumar as attempted by Jyotiprasad in his essay entitled 'Bezbaruvā Pratibhā (The Talent of Bezbarua) was strikingly original even though he was not a systematic critic. Jajneswar Sarma who compiled and edited *Śatapatra*, an anthology of Assamese romantic poetry, revealed a sensitive critical mind regarding romantic poetry. Tirthanath Sarma (Tīrthanāth Śarma, b. 1910) wrote some sensitive and intelligent criticism, which was published in *Pañcapuṣpa*, a book of criticism which included an evaluation of the poetry of Madhavdeva and the romantic poets Jatindranath Dowera and Raghunath Choudhury. Had he devoted more time to criticism, his stature as an important critic would have been more readily recognized. One can see this from the fine prose that he writes and his insight into the basic qualities of good poetry. Trailukyanath Goswami (Trailūkyanāth Gosvāmī, b. 1922) has shown familiarity with the Indian *Rasavāda* doctrine as well as with the theories of English criticism right from the 18th century upto the present time dominated by contemporaries like I. A. Richards and Empson. Trailukyanath Goswami's interests were wide-ranging; he has shown a grasp of critical ideas both Indian and western; and his aim has been to achieve a comprehensive approach based on these broad streams of thought in evaluating individual works or writers. His account of the development of the short story in Assamese entitled *Ādhunik Galpa Sāhitya* (The Modern Short Story, 1968) is an important work of the present period.

Birinchikumar Barua (Biriñcikumār Baruvā, 1910–64), the distinguished novelist, also wrote on a wide range of subjects including folklore and cultural history apart from literary criticism. One such collection of his essays is *Asamīyā Bhāṣā arū Saṅskṛti* (Assamese Language and Culture, 1957). But he wrote very little criticism that could be called evaluative in the real sense. His chief contribution has been the development of the historical approach, which highlights periods and influences rather than formulate

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judgements on particular writings. It is significant that substantial benefit was derived from this approach in the growth of historical and academic criticism in Assamese, which led to an impressive volume of textual criticism in the form of editing texts of early literature by a few devoted critics in the line like Maheswar Neog (Mahēśvar Neog, b. 1918) and Satyendranath Sarma (b. 1917). Maheswar Neog made an important contribution mainly to the neo-Vaishnavite Assamese literature through his definitive work on the life and times of Sankardeva and produced what may be called the academically best edited *Kīrtana* and the *Uṣāpariṇaya* by Pitambar Kavi, a contemporary of Sankardeva. Satyendranath Sarma cultivated the historical approach and the descriptive method often adopted by him which is more suited to an exposition and interpretation in historical terms of the literary works rather than any sustained or probing evaluation. However, he has written an important evaluative account of the drama and novel in Assamese and the discerning reader will certainly find considerable merit in his early critical work on the plays of Jyotiprasad Agarwalla. Satyendranath Sarma's account of the development of the Assamese novel is certainly a pioneering work in the field hitherto neglected by literary historians and critics and should help future readers and critics in formulating individual viewpoints with regard to the development of this important genre as part of an evolving cultural history.

Profulla Dutta Goswami's *Sāhitya Arū Jīvan* (Literature and Life), despite its ambitious title, has succeeded only in treating certain topics such as the poetry of Rilke and that too in an unconvincing manner. His earlier book *Asamīyā Jana Sāhitya* (Assamese Folk Literature, 1948) is a more valuable work which is purely on Assamese folk literature. Of the younger critics who adopted a historical and academic approach, Upendranath Goswami, who wrote *Bhāṣā Arū Sāhitya* (Language and Literature, 1956), is certainly more dependable.

However, one may mention that interest in critical theory or the principles of literary criticism does not appear in the critical writings already mentioned except as peripheral. Umakanta Sarma's *Kāvya-bhūmi* (1948), and Manoranjan Sastri's *Sāhitya-Darśan* (Theory of Literature, 1961) may be regarded as the most important works in Assamese dealing with the theories and principles of literary criticism, the latter being chiefly an academic discussion on the principles of Sanskrit poetics.

Mukunda Madhava Sarma's recent *Upamā Kālidāsasya* (1972) is an important work on the aspects of ancient Indian poetry which has definite relevance to our understanding of the critical concepts and ideas of the older Indian tradition.

Post-War Developments: New Critical Trends. During the Second World War, i.e. around the early forties of this century, the literary situation in Assam changed under a new pressure and there were important developments such as a radical departure from tradition in the matter of writing poetry. Poets like Amulya Barua, Bhabananda Dutta, Hem Barua, Maheswar Neog and Syed Abdul Malik came to adopt prose rhythm or free verse in their poetry. Writers and readers alike felt drawn towards the changes in form and content which marked the early phases of modernity in English literature, sometime after the First World War in Europe. Apart from the new idiom of the post-Georgian English poetry, the substantial achievements of modern Bengali poetry, also spurred the Assamese poets along the new path. Much of what was written in journals like the *Pacova* (The West Wind) and *Ramdhenu* (The Rainbow) of the fifties was experimental and lacked true depth of feeling but undeniably the whole ethos of literature and the world of writing have undergone a change. There was, however, an avoidable confusion in critical standards as the leading writers sought to yoke together the basic insights of T. S. Eliot, W. B. Yeats or Ezra Pound with such new-fangled notions of progress and realism as were current during the day. The critic who wielded considerable influence on the impressionable young writers was Hem Barua (Hem Baruvā, 1915–76). Hem Barua's *Ādhunik Sāhitya* (Modern Literature, 1950), informative but superficial, was a representative work of the period. It reveals, if anything, that Barua is not as responsible a critic as Banikanta Kakati was in another period. However, Hem Barua's writings helped in putting across a set of new ideas emerging from the post-war European literature to the Assamese reader.

Bhabananda Dutta (Bhabānanda Dutta, 1919–59) approached the critic's task with much greater responsibility. Of his two posthumous publications *Asamīyā Kavitār Kāhini* (The Story of Assamese Poetry, 1957), despite several oversimplifications, is the first attempt to relate Assamese romantic poetry to its social background, from an avowedly Marxist standpoint. However, his more mature work is *Dṛṣṭi Arū Darśan* (Philosophy and Insight, 1959) showing as it does a deeply philosophical approach to the understanding of the interrelated values of religion, philosophy and creative literature. It has also to be mentioned that Bhabananda Dutta was deeply influenced by Rabindranath in his overall view of life and literature, although his earlier recognition of the relevance of the Marxist approach was never totally discarded.

By and large, the period from the beginning of the Second World War up to the fifties of the present century, which shows a great change in subject-matter and style in Assamese poetry, had a poor record in so far as serious literary criticism is concerned. Unlike the modern poets like Eliot, the best Assamese poets of this period showed little or no interest in criticism. However, Homen Borgohain (Homen Borgohāin, b. 1931) wrote one penetrating article

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titled 'Jandiak Asamīyā Kavi' (A Few Assamese Poets) on the modern Assamese poets against the prevailing opinion —the account published in the Assamese periodical *Ramdhenu* is still valid today—but Borgohain never fulfilled his early promise as a critic. Of the others, one can mention Birendra Kumar Bhattacharyya (b. 1924) who wrote on literature in a general way but always with a deep sense of involvement; he did not, however, evaluate specific works in his criticism.

Mahendra Bora who edited an anthology of modern Assamese poetry is, however, better known for his book *Asamīyā Kavitār Canda* (The Rhyme in Assamese Verse, 1962), a discussion on the metre in Assamese poetry. Dilip Barua also wrote a few articles on the modern movement.

Recent Trends. Hiren Gohain (Hiren Gohāin, b. 1939) started to write towards the end of 6th decade; his was a powerful critical voice which made itself heard immediately. If literary criticism since the forties suffered from thinness of content, Gohain's writings exhibited a familiarity with a whole range of concepts and ideas, embracing contemporary intellectual developments in general and modern literature in particular. Gohain's criticism falls distinctly into the mid-sixties culminating in the publication of the volume of critical essays called *Sāhityar Satya* (Literature and Truth, 1970). In these articles was undertaken a revaluation of the literary tradition by a reader and a critic with an awareness of the liberal and humanist values—and the tradition, thus evaluated, included such diverse writers as T. S. Eliot, D. H. Lawrence, Rabindranath Tagore, Lakshminath Bezbarua and Ambikagiri Raychoudhary. Gohain's forte at least in these articles is not critical analysis but a kind of discursive and interpretative criticism interlinking ideas over a wide field leading him to value judgements outside literature. Some of the articles like those on Ambikagiri Raychoudhury, Jyotiprasad Agarwalla and Rabindranath Tagore will stand the test of time.

The Second Phase

The second phase of Gohain's criticism starts from his repudiation of the insight and critical perceptions manifest in the *Sāhityar Satya* and his acceptance of a rigid, if not doctrinaire, Marxist position in his critical work. During this period, Gohain was less than fair to the merits of writers whose standing before the reader was no less built up by his earlier and more convincing criticism. The later essays published in several, quickly compiled volumes, most important of which is *Sāhitya Arū Cetana* (Literature and Consciousness, 1973), even while providing some insight into social realities do suffer from an obvious limitation; the critic did not care much for achieving critical balance or the responsible awareness of the purity of the literary or creative experience. This kind of elevation of the Marxist criteria to a position of infallibility is a mark of change coming over many readers since the sixties. Lacking in discipline as most readers already are, the import of a whole host of doctrinaire notions has encouraged shallowness or even irresponsibility.

Bhaben Barua (Bhaben Baruvā, b. 1941) in his early criticism has exposed the inanities of much writing during the fifties and since then he has always been waging a lone battle against irresponsibility. Bhaben Barua has as great a feeling for language or verbal structure as the best of modern poets have, and one feels that the directing force of his criticism is not unlike that of a modern poet-critic like Allan Tate. It is obvious that Barua had learnt a great deal from the new critics, particularly in the development of his critical method, which establishes the merits of particular poems through a process of sustained analysis—a process in which the sensitive reader is called on to participate. It is due to this unique endowment as a poet-critic with an unerring sense of what is of value in the various poetical traditions, that Bhaben Barua could write the most sensitive and also wide-ranging criticism on poetry in Assamese. For that matter he has written with as much thoroughness on the symbolism of Garcia Lorca's poetry or on Japanese or Chinese poetry. His critical articles are still to be published in the form of a book. The important articles were published in *Asamīyā*, a periodical now defunct (on the poetry of Chandrakumar), in the literary anthology entitled *Soṅglap* (Dialogue), particularly on Spanish poetry and Japanese poetry and in his critical prefaces to two important modern poets, viz. Nilamani Phukan and Nirmal Prabha Bordoloi.

The upshot of Bhaben Barua's criticism has been to indicate to the reader the main stream of creative vitality in the Assamese language. Since the focus of this critic is always on the creative mind, the recurring elements of strength and vitality in it, his criticism of early romantic poets like Chandrakumar Agarwalla and Hem Chandra Goswami has crucial relevance. Perhaps, the most important part of his criticism relates to his assessment of the poetry of significant Assamese modern poets like Ajit Malla Barua, Nilamani Phukan, Nirmal Prabha Bordoloi and Hiren Bhattacharyya and he offered analysis of the rich, symbolic and intricately suggestive language of the best modern poets.

In a situation in which critics are too prone to apply external standards, Bhaben Barua has stressed the inwardness of the creative process, the integrity and wholeness of the literary experience, as no other critic has done before him.

It will not be proper to say that we have something like a living critical tradition in Assamese and this, no doubt, is surprising since criticism at certain stages and in a few individual critics discussed here, did attain a mature development. One has to recount individual names in review-

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ing the history of Assamese criticism. This is largely due to the fact that trends or movements are not carried over a stretch of time and major premises of important critics are not taken up by succeeding critics or readers as happens naturally in a healthy critical tradition. With the spread of commercialized culture in the educated middle class, the clamour of the many who care less for values, the critical tradition has become further attenuated. The lack of a philosophical core of ideas and perceptions, which, remaining in the background, gives depth and cogency to literary criticism, is nowhere felt more deeply than in the present state of Assamese literature.

NOTES

1. Bezbarua, who was a keen student of English literature, saw all the vitality and creativity of a truly 'national' literature in the great literary Renaissance of the Elizabethan period in England. Bezbarua writes: 'Freedom is the real characteristic of true literature, literature which is not imbued with the urge for freedom, the boundlessness of the mind and free flow of spontaneity is bound to languish. The real genius of such a literature is unrealized. Human life has great variety. A true literature has this characteristic.'
2. (A) *Aṅkia* plays have a religious content and are modelled to some extent on the ancient Sanskrit drama but also modified by the adoption of elements of the indigenous tradition. The predominance of song and elements of the traditional puppet-play show its links with the folk tradition in Assam.

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Bengali

NABANEETA DEV SEN

The present Bengali term for literary criticism, *Samālocan*, was used for the first time in *Vividhārtha Saṁgraha* (ed. Rajendralal Mitra, 1822–91) in 1851. That may be counted as the date of birth of a new genre in Bengali, as Sanskrit classical tradition had not handed down to us the genre of literary criticism as we understand it today. What existed in the form of (a) *Alaṁkāra Śāstra* and (b) *ṭīkā*, was rather literary theory, rhetoric, and textual annotation; one dealing with the content, and the other with the grammatical analysis of the words, leading to an explication of the text; this latter mainly helped the *alaṁkārikās* to identify and categorize the literary pieces according to the codes of Sanskrit poetics. At the dawn of Bengali literature these ancient codes were applied but they failed to supply the critical standards by which the new literature could be properly evaluated. Modern Bengali literature was a product of a colonial, mercantile civilization. It was neither court literature in the Sanskrit style, nor folk, or religious literature in the early Bengali style, but a new urban middle-class literature, produced by the new English educated class, showing all the signs of a changing society. The creative literature was a combination of the traditional learning and the new. Hence it needed an evaluating machinery which could gauge both. Until then Bengali critical commentary merely consisted of *Kavi Praśasti* (Tribute to the Poet) and *Pūrvasūrī-Vandanā* (In Praise of Ancient Scholars), which sometimes was ironical and sarcastic about the predecessors, instead of being flattering, e.g. Bijay Gupta's *Maṅasā Maṅgal*, 'Purvasuri Vandana'.

Four Main Periods

One can divide Bengali Criticism into roughly four phases, the pre-Bankim Chandra period (up to 1865), the Bankim period (Bankim Chandra and his contemporaries, up to 1901), the Tagore period (Tagore and his various contemporaries up to 1941) and the post-Tagorean period, since 1941.

The pre-Bankim period was a formative period, when the field was divided into two extremes. But during the Bankim period, there was already a stable trend where the western and the eastern codes were both being used, selectively, to suit the purpose of the critic, in order to illuminate the creative writing better. The foremost quality that strikes the reader is that the general trend of Bengali literary criticism is comparative. And secondly, the literary critics were always grouped around periodicals like *Tattvabodhinī Patrikā* (1843), *Somaprakāś* (1858), *Baṅgadarśan* (in three phases), *Bhāratī* (1877), *Bāndhav* (1874), *Sāhitya* (1890), *Nārāyaṇ* (1914), *Sabuj Patra* (1914), *Kallol* (1923), *Śanibārer Ciṭhi* (1924), *Paricay* (1931), *Caturaṅga* (1938), *Kabitā* (1935), etc.

First Steps. With the beginning of Bengali prose there was a wider social involvement in literature; the periodicals sprang up along with new literary genres and with these began the first stage of Bengali criticism. Ishwar Chandra Gupta (1812–59), who stands at the crossroads of the ancient and the modern phase of Bengali literature, wrote the first prose pieces dealing with poets, called *Kavi-Jīvanī* (Lives of Poets), where he glorified the past, having collected the lives and works of various oral poets of Bengal and of other literary predecessors like Bharat Chandra Ray (1712–60) and Ramprassad Sen (1720–80). These came out in the daily *Sambāda-Probhākara* (est. 1831), between 1853 and 1855. Although eulogistic, it shows a basic literary judgement in the selection of the poets, and the discussions often bring out literary analyses and critical comments. The fact that he felt the old oral songs ought to be collected and poets' biographies preserved unravels a new understanding of literature. Ishwar Gupta belonged to the old school, as he showed no direct western influence in his writings, but the new values were already in the air. As it grew, there appeared a new type of writing in Bengal which tried to define and describe the nature of this new literature in terms which suited it better than the borrowed garments of Sanskrit poetics. This was *Samālocan* (criticism), *samyak ālocanā* (proper examination, in-depth discussion) of the creative writings. It did not mean borrowing the literary values from Aristotle, in the place of Sanskrit. The newfangled critics, headed by creative writers, shared their intellectual character, and combined the East and the West whenever the situation demanded it.

Two Schools in the Pre-Bankim Period. There were two main schools of intellectual thought in Calcutta: (a) the traditionalists belonging to Sanskrit College, who were conservative, and (b) the modern Anglicists of the Hindu College, who ultimately brought about all the important changes.

Kaliprasanna Sinha (1840–70), editor of *Vividhārtha Saṁgraha* after R. L. Mitra, explained the aims and objectives of the book reviews as follows: Never to attack the writer but to illuminate the writing, no personal feelings

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being involved. Neither the lure of riches nor that of fame should tempt the reviewer to flatter the undeserving. The one and only aim of the book reviews should be, he declared, the welfare of Indian books and their authors. A close look at the reviews published in *Vividhārtha* shows that the history of modern Bengali poetry and that of modern Bengali criticism started at the same point, before the birth of Bengali novel. Michael Madhusudan Dutt's (1824–73) Bengali plays *Śharmiṣṭhā* and *Padmāvatī*, his long poems, *Tilottamā Sambhav Kāvya*, *Meghnād Badh Kāvya* and *Brajāṅganā Kāvya*, Rangalal Banerjee's poem *Padminī Upākhyān* were all reviewed in *Vividhārtha* immediately after their publication (1858–61). The trend of literary criticism set by *Vividhārtha* was taken up soon afterwards by journals like *Rahasya Sandarbha* (1863), *Sarvārtha Saṁgraha* (1866), *Mitra Prakāś* (published from Dacca), etc., until Bankim Chandra Chatterji (Chattopadhyay, 1838–94) launched his *Baṅgadarśan* (1872) when another phase of Bengali literary criticism began.

Madhusudan and his Contemporaries: Weltanschaung. But before *Baṅgadarśan*, there existed a lively atmosphere of literary criticism among the newly English educated young men, who discussed each other's literary attempts in letters, often in English. Already the new trend is clearly visible, the modern cosmopolitan mind is at work. The letters of Michael Madhusudan Dutt to Raj Narain Bose (1826–99) are the most illuminating. About the western influence on his works, Madhusudan wrote: 'If the language be not ungrammatical, if the thoughts be just and glowing, the plot interesting, the characters well-maintained, what care you if there be a foreign air about the thing?... It is my intention to throw off the fetters forged by us by a servile admiration of everything Sanskrit' (to Gourdas Bysac, 1859). Obviously the Sanskrit scholars did not strike the new school as productive or useful. Even about Bharatchandra Madhusudan comments 'the father of a very vile school of poetry, though himself a man of elegant genius' (ibid.). He expresses himself very clearly, about his dramatic ideals: 'I shall not allow myself to be bound down by the dicta of Mr. Viswanath of the *Sāhityadarpaṇ*. I shall look to the great dramatists of Europe for models. That would be founding a real national theatre' (to Raj Narain Bose, 1860). When requesting his friend for a review of his own work, he categorically points out: 'You must send me a regular Aristotelian letter about the fable, the characters, the sentiments, and the language. You must review it... as to initiate our countrymen into the mysteries of a just and enlightened criticism. What a vast field our country now presents for literary enterprise! Poetry, Drama, Criticism, Romance...I wish you whould take up the subject of criticism. Aristotle, Longinus, Quintilian, the *Sāhitya Darpaṇ*, Burke, Kames, Alison, Addison, Dryden, ... not forgetting old Blair's lectures or the German Schlegel. If you don't read Sanskrit with ease, get a pandit to work under your direction' (ibid.).

How the critical standards changed from day to day can be well judged by an example. Hemchandra Banerji (Hemcandra Bandyopādhyāy, 1838–1903), who wrote a foreword to Madhusudan's *Meghnādbadh Kāvya*, second edition (1862), was a follower of Bharatchandra and so unable to appreciate the new school. Twelve years later he changed his opinion about both of them and wrote a new introduction praising Madhusudan as a genius unequalled in Bengali literature (1874).

Though Hemchandra had himself become an admirer of Madhusudan, his own poetry belonged to the older Sanskrit tradition and one can enjoy the peculiarity of the literary scene of Bengal from Bankimchandra's review of Hemchandra's epic poem, *Vṛtrasaṁhāra Kāvya* (1874–78). Bankim praises Hemchandra for his traditionalism, in varying his metre and the rhythm in each section of the epic and criticises Madhusudan for following the western convention of using a single metrical pattern throughout, and also disapproves of the blank verse. (*Baṅgadarśan*, 1874).

The Moderates. But Raj Narain Bose, who was neither a strict anglicist like Madhusudan nor a staunch traditionalist like their other colleague Bhudeb Mukherji (Bhudeb Mukhopādhyāya, 1827–94), made a detailed criticism of *Megnādbadh Kāvya* first in a letter in English, and then in a Bengali translation of the latter (1877), where he placed Madhusudan in the context of world literature, comparing him as a poet to Homer, Virgil, Valmiki, Milton, Dante and Goethe in different aspects of his talent. He has pointed out clear parallels, and hailed it as the offspring of eastern and western cultural fusion, where the Hindu cultural shape is maintained along with western taste and decorum. The imitations of great western poets in various sections of the epic, have been approved by the new Bengali critic as a fresh-water channel for revitalizing Bengali literature. But he has criticised the epic for its length, for some untraditional intrusions, and for its lack of epigrammatic statements that have become part of the culture. (The last criticism was too early, for time has proved that the poem has in fact given Bengali language a number of proverbial usages.)

Bankim Chandra praised the criticism as an ideal piece, well balanced, analytical and comparative, with the whole spectrum of world literature visualized by the critic. The path was paved, the stage was set for comparative literature studies, with the very first serious criticism of the first important piece of modern Bengali poetry, where the poet experimented with the language, the subject matter, the rhyming, the rhythm, the metrical pattern and even grammatical usages.

The history of Bengali literary criticism, from its very

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inception, has been one of comparative literature studies, with European literature and Sanskrit literature on either side supplying the critical standards to judge Bengali literature by.

The Orientalists. The Sanskritists held their sway through critics like Prem Chand Tarkabagish (1806–67) associated with Sanskrit College, and periodicals like the *Saṁbād-Prabhākar* which criticized him for murders on the stage, for descriptions of war, and vulgar language, which harmed decorum and taste according to classical Sanskrit poetics as well. There was Ramgati Nyayaratna (1831–94), who, with great common sense, tried to establish the traditional point of view in his work *Bāṅgālā Bhāṣā O Sāhitya Viṣayak Prastāb* (1872–73), and had a mentionable impact upon the new writers of Bengal, trying to protect Bengali literature from corruption through English education.

Early Controversies. On the other hand, Harachandra Dutta read an English essay on the underdeveloped state of Bengali poetry, at the Bethune Society, asserting that a nation under foreign rule cannot produce true literary talent. To counteract it Rangalal read a Bengali essay (1852), called *Bāṅgla Kabitā Biṣayak Prabandha*. Reverend Long stamps it in his list of Bengali books as the *Defence of Bengali Poetry*, which in fact it was. Rangalal shows that poets like Mukundaram (c. 1547) and Bharatchandra were successful artists, for they painted the social picture of their times accurately and the *rasas* are also adequately displayed. The awareness of a social historical background in literature is obviously a western quality (probably borrowed from Comte), whereas the discussion of the *rasas* is inherited from the Sanskrit background. Hence in this critical piece Rangalal compares Bharatchandra with Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, which does not seem forced at all. He supported the idea of borrowing freely from various cultures, absorbing the material properly to produce new art forms in our freshly developing Bengali literature. He refers to Virgil and Milton as successful borrowers who enriched their literature.

Others. One of the very first Sanskrit Pandits to learn English literature well was Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar (Īśvarcandra Vidyāsāgar, 1820–91). Though a pioneer of Bengali prose, he did not contribute much to literary criticism. But his essay on Sanskrit studies, 'Saṁskrita Bhāṣa O Saṁskrita Sāhitya Viṣayak Prastāb' (1853) expresses a fresh approach to Sanskrit classics. He derides the so-called beauty of *atiśayokti*, and suggests economy of words and naturalness as the true sources of artistic pleasure. He points out that the modern mind is not impressed by the supernatural, the marvellous element in art any more; lucidity and simplicity are what man needs along with noble ideas. This sounds like Horace and Longinus, on the sublime, the lucid, the precise. Though the context was Sanskrit literature, the essay was in Bengali and it pointed out a new direction in the development of literary taste. The parallelism with the western neo-classical canons of literary criticism is most interesting though no definite influence can be traced.

Duality. Duality was the stamp of Bankim's times; the duality between Sanskrit and English had not died down when the duality between the (western) scientific-analytical and the (Indian) religious-moral approach sprang up. Along with the typical Logic and Faith controversy, came another between emotion and intellect, between the social reformer and the artist. Full 20 years did Bankim Chandra (1872–92) try to cope with these, after which he retired. His literary criticism can be divided into three basic approaches: the semi-classical, analytical; the semi-romantic, impressionistic; and the semi-religious-moral-didactic. The first phase coincides in time and nature with the last leg of neo-classical criticism in Europe, the second corresponds to the beginning of the European romantic revival, and the third, the Hindu-revivalist stage, is comparable to Tolstoy's later phase of Christian consciousness. Historically, the first phase grew around *Baṅgadarśan*, when Madhusudan and Bankim were practising progressive writing under clear western influence; the second phase developed around *Bhārati* when the young Tagore had already established the romantic trend in Bengali literature; and the third was encouraged by journals like *Pracār*, *Nabajīban*, *Baṅgabāsī*, etc.

The first two phases are the most important ones from the literary point of view. Bankim's classical phases already contained seeds of a romantic approach. As Horace ruled, one should write either to instruct, or to delight, or to do both. Bankim similarly advised the younger generation of writers that they should write simply, lucidly, and have as their aim 'either the welfare of mankind, or the creation of beauty' (*Pracār*, 1885). Even his romantic criticism contained a definite strand of classical restraint and economy of words. *Uttararāmacarita* (*Baṅgadarśan*, 1872) is an excellent example of the first stage, where an urge to emulate the classics as well as to create beauty is expressed. His articles on 'Śakuntalā, Miranda O Desdemona' (1875), 'Gītikāvya' (1873), 'Vidyāpati O Jayadeva' (1873) also fall into this category, where he is highly analytical of the literary qualities, and runs around the world in search of good examples. But his biographical pieces on Dinabandhu Mitra (1875), and Ishwar Chandra Gupta (1885) fall into the second phase of his development, and 'Dharma ebaṅg Sāhitya' (1885) probably presents the last phase best, when he wrote several pieces on literature and morality. But, as the dates show, these three strains often co-existed, and different ideas surfaced under different circumstances. Bankim wanted to bring literary criticism within

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a scientific, historical, socio-anthropological framework, establishing the relationship between literature and life, the race, the milieu, and time factors, as Taine had preached. His writings also show a deep impact of Comte's positivistic thought, and the logical analytical approach of the British empiricists. He demanded that literature should be (a) simple, lucid and without excess, (b) there should be a moral import, for art is for the welfare of all, (c) the Sanskrit literary theories are outdated and ought to be totally rejected; the nine *rasas* are too crude and too constricted to hold the whole wide and varying span of human emotions and experiences; hence literature must free itself from the clutches of the *ālaṁkārikas* and *ṭīkākāras* of old. But unfortunately, while trying to react against the anglophiles on the one hand, and the Sanskrit rhetoricians on the other, Bankim fell into the pit of neo-Hindu revivalism, and left a permanent impact on Bengali criticism.

Two Groups of Followers. From Bankim Chandra grew the two opposing schools of criticism, two dissimilar literary attitudes: (a) the broad, cosmopolitan mind that thinks of Sakuntala and remembers Desdemona and Miranda, and appreciates Miranda and Desdemona more than our own Sakuntala, and (b) the Hindu revivalist mind that criticized Tagore for being too westernized, too international in spirit and accused him of deviating from the traditional norms of ancient Indian thought.

Among Bankim's contemporaries Haraprasad Shastri (1853–1931), from a Sanskrit Pandit family with an English education, had an original mind. In his article 'Baṅgīya Jubak O Tin Kavi' (*Baṅgadarśan*, 1878), he discusses Kalidasa, Byron and Bankim Chandra explaining why these three poets have made the greatest impression upon him. In this connection, he denies the relevance of Sanskrit literature to modern Bengali social system and declares that the epics, Mahabharata and Ramayana, preached conformity, intended to continue the status quo, and are incapable of showing new directions to a developing society of a different nature and economy. Purna Chandra Bose, on the other hand, writes against the terrible lack of taste in European tragedies where murders take place on the stage, or are announced. In Sanskrit such vulgarization of art and degradation of words are not allowed in a *driśya kāvya*. Bengali Drama must not learn such corrupt practices from the West. Kaliprasanna Ghosh (1843–1910), who began a club (1877) called Sāhitya Samālocanā Sabhā, posed exactly the opposite view that tragi-comedy, the melodramatic comedy in Sanskrit, is weak and feminine, whereas the great Greek tragedies and Shakespearian tragedies are more powerful and closer to reality. Bengali plays are not learning the masculine technique, but weeping like Bhavabhuti. Chandranath Bose (1844–1910), Akhshay Chandra Sarkar (1846–1917) and Bireshwar Pande (1842–1911) were the most important figures in Bankim's Neo-Hindu phase (see Brajendranath Seal, *New Essays in Criticism*, p. 88). Chandranath Bose's criticism of Śakuntala from the Hindu social-moral point of view is a far cry from Bankim's own piece on Śakuntala or that of Haraprasad Shastri on Śakuntala or the essay by Tagore. These critics had unleashed a new trend of conservative moralistic criticism of all literature, which was a definite step against progress. Among the more balanced followers of Bankim were Chandrasekhar Mukherji (1849–1922), Lalitkumar Banerji (1868–1929), Panchkori Banerji (1866–1923), Prafullachandra Banerji (1849–1900) and Thakurdas Mukherji (1851–1903). They had absorbed the best of English education and had enough respect for Indian culture, to be able to bring about a proper intellectual union of the two in their literary attitudes.

Extrinsic Approach of Literary Critics. Around this period, men from other disciplines took up the task of literary criticism in Bengal. Historians like Sir Jadunath Sarkar (1870–1955), Radhakamal Mukherji (1890–1968), Bipinchandra Pal (1858–1932), Brajendranath Seal (1868–1938), Rameshchandra Dutt (1848–1909), scientists like Sir Jagadischandra Bose (1859–1937), philosophers like Surendranath Dasgupta, lawyers like Atulchandra Gupta (1884–1961), Pramatha Chowdhury (1868–1946) and Chittaranjan Das (1870–1925) occupied crucial positions as literary critics. Bengali literary criticism has thus been a central and integral part of Bengal's cultural, intellectual development embracing brilliant minds from all spheres of life.

Tagore and His Contemporaries

Luckily the greatest creating minds in Bengal have also been the greatest critical forces in literary history. Madhusudan, Bankim Chandra and Tagore are the three great turning points in creating literature, as well as in literary criticism.

As early as 1883 Tagore was congratulated by Bankim as the greatest talent of the next generation though the young Rabindranath rose as an ardent opponent of both the western neo-classical temperament on the one hand and the oriental neo-Hindu moralist school on the other, holding high the flag of European romanticism as well as Indian cultural traditionalism. The spirit of nationalism as distinguised from religious dogmatism, or the rigidity of Sanskrit poetics was clear to his mind, while the Bankim-followers confused patriotism with neo-Hindu revivalism. They labelled cosmopolitanism and liberal western ideas as anti-patriotic and thus became an anti-progressive force. Bankim's near-neo-classical approach to art (that it should please and preach) had little effect on Tagore. He did not show much interest in other literary theorists of the West either; neither Aristotle nor Anandavardhana was his ideal. Here he differed from Madhusudan and others. Tagore

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combined the East and the West in his literary attitude in a manner completely alien to his predecessors.

The main oriental influence on his literary theory was that of the Upanishadic philosophy, and the two greatest western impacts were (a) that of the English romantic poets, their philosophy of art and nature and (b) that of the anthropological school. Fraser's *Golden Bough* left a permanent impression on his literary theory and personal philosophy regarding the relationship between nature and man, between the seasonal cycle and art.

Tagore's very first piece of literary criticism, at the age of 15 (1876), expounded his theory of art, claiming that the lyric is for oneself, and the epic for the world; he also claimed that the lyric is the form of the day, and the epic a thing of the past. The first period of his criticism began in 1876 and spread up to the publication of *Prabhāt-Sangīt* (Morning Song, 1883). After a gap of eight years he again wrote literary criticism for another spurt of nearly fifteen years, till the publication of *Naivedya* (1901), and *Kheya* (1906). Later he may seem to have lost interest in formal literary criticism, but continued to make literary evaluations in his letters till the last years of his life. Numberwise, both Bankim and Rabindranath wrote very few pieces of literary criticism, compared to their total output. The quality, however, mattered so deeply as to set the critical trends for the times. They had become institutions by themselves and influenced the nature of Bengali literary criticism.

Tagore, unlike Bankim, started out by being a great romantic impressionist, who was against all classical norms (be it eastern or western) and in general a staunch Indian traditionalist against European values in a rather defensive way.

By the time *Ādhunik Sāhitya* was published (1907) Tagore had grown more tolerant of western ideas, and managed to develop an original critical approach of his own, which was to be followed by a number of younger critics afterwards. This was less impressionistic and more analytical, and also had a historical-sociological awareness. Between the early *Samālocanā* (1888), and later *Sāhityer Swarūp* (1941), Tagore had produced altogether only about a hundred odd critical pieces and Bankim wrote not more than 22.

Tagore's main contribution as a critic comes to us in two forms: as a discoverer of the greatness and beauty of the past classics, to see their relevance to all times, i.e. a revaluation of the older literary tradition (*Prācīn Sāhitya*); (b) to discover the inner significance of the hitherto unnoticed and neglected areas of folk literature. Tagore's original and single-handed efforts in these lines (collecting *Baul* songs, *Kavigān*, Women's rhymes, etc.), (*Lok Sāhitya*, 1907) were unchallenged in his times.

Tagore-Criticism. Tagore set a standard for literary criticism in Bengali literature. Besides, his own writings inspired many critics of different outlooks to write books on him. In fact, the main bulk of Bengali literary criticism today consists of Tagoreana. Ajitkumar Chakravarti (1886–1918), Pramathanath Bisi (b. 1901), Prabodh Chandra Sen (1897–1906), Abu Sayeed Ayyub (1906–1981) and Shankha Ghosh (b. 1932) are acclaimed Tagore experts. It is very difficult to name even one literary critic in Bengali who has not written on Tagore. Further, the bulk of Tagore-criticism in Bengali is published outside India, from Dacca.

Tagore was criticized harshly by his contemporaries and his successors, but his immediate predecessors were generous enough to appreciate his talents at the very outset of his career. Bankim garlanded him, Bhudebchandra Mukherji (1887–94) praised *Prabhāt Sangīt*, Kaliprasanna Ghosh (ed. *Bāndhab*) praised *Kavi-Kāhinī*, Indranath Banerji (1849–1911) praised *Vālmīkī Pratibhā*, Chandranath Bose (1844–1910) praised *Kṣaṇikā*, and so on. But unlike Bankim Chandra, who had an unalloyed admiration from his contemporaries, Tagore faced a good deal of tough hostility. There were the older conservatives like Kaliprasanna Kavyavisarad (1861–1907) parodying *Kadi O Komal* (1886), Nitya Krishna Bose objecting to *Raja O Rani* on moral and artistic grounds (1865–1900), but the younger generation showed a conservative strain as well.

Controversies. Some chastized Tagore for alleged immorality: Jatindra Mohan Sinha for *Chokher Bali*, Dwijendra Lal Roy for *Citrāṅgadā*, Suresh Chandra Samajpati, (1870–1921), in his periodical, *Sāhitya*, Sajanikanta Das in his weekly *Śanibārer Chiṭhi* (Saturday's Letter), Hemendra Prasad Ghosh in *Dāsī*. Tagore was accused of his ambiguity and obscurity, as also for his informal conversational language, which went against the literary conventions of the day. Both Marxist and non-Marxist critics attacked him for one alleged fault or another. His ardent supporters included critics like Mohit Chandra Sen (1870–1906), Priyanath Sen (1854–1916), Ajit Kumar Chakravarty (1886–1918) and Pramatha Chowdhury (1868–1946).

Post-Tagorean Period

Pramatha Chowdhury, the editor of *Sabuj Patra*, had introduced a new literary movement of the younger writers of Bengal, advising them not to resist the western cultural influence, but to utilize it for the advancement and improvement of Bengali literature and language. He had declared that (1) Bengali literature must adjust itself to the new social situation; (2) literature must not be didactic, as it has much more to offer than mere social utility; (3) precision, lucidity, economy of words should be seriously practised—since good literature needs hard work; (4) there is nothing unpatriotic in treating western education as a liberating agent; and (5) the language of literature must be simple and conversational in order to be lively.

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In the early twenties Bengali literary criticism was boiling with the question of morality and realism in literature. Jatindra Mohan Sinha developed an absurd thesis from this controversy and demanded that 'Health Precautions' should be taken in literature; the moral degradation was so horrifying. Bankim, Tagore and Sarat Chandra were all to be blamed for introducing anti-social love-relations (e.g. pre-marital, extramarital, and post-widowhood love) in literature. This was another aspect or element of the old Hindu revivalism, a distinct strain of which has always remained among the critics, but has never gained a stranglehold over Bengali literature. (Incidentally, nor did the leftist political extremists quite succeed in firmly establishing extra-literary values in Bengali literary criticism.)

A band of new, ambitious and powerful writers, who were also literary theorists and critics of the new generation, arrived with the advent of *Kallol*, *Kālikālam* and *Pragati*. Dacca began to produce a new set of literary critics centred mainly around Dacca University, Mohitlal Majumdar, Sushil Kumar De (1890–1968), Nirad C. Chaudhuri (b. 1897) of *Śanibārer Chiṭhi*, Amalendu Bose, Buddhadeva Bose, and Ajit Dutta, (the last two of *Pragati*), who declared that the Tagore era was over. Controversies continued between the moderns and the ultra-moderns about the limits of literature, about the unwritten boundary line between realism and indecency, between modernity and immaturity. Once more Tagore took up the cause of universal literature. Earlier, when he was arguing with the *Nārāyaṇa* and '*Sāhitya*' group of writers, he was on the side of the moderns, but now he challenged the modernity of the ultra-moderns and demanded an account of the modernizations in form and ideas that they themselves have invented (not borrowed from the West). There was a concerted attack on Tagore from different quarters including the Marxist. Group identity, as opposed to individual identity, gained prominence. The new style was to act in a group—a number of minds working together needed to usher in a new era to counteract Tagorean influence. Since then it has been the literary tradition of Bengal.

Mohitlal Majumdar, a declared Arnoldian, held a great deal of original ideas but was unable to organize them properly. Mohitlal had followed neither the Sanskrit nor the western critical tenets, but claimed that one should know ancient Sanskrit literature, medieval Bengali poetry and 19th-century English poetry well in order to understand Tagore, which shows his comprehensive vision. He believed Tagore had borrowed western forms to express Indian ideas. He was more adept in attacking established ideas, than creating a new critical school.

Atul Chandra Gupta and Surendranath Dasgupta along with Sushil Kumar De need special mentioning. All three were closely acquainted with the Sanskrit critical codes as well as with western criticism. This combined knowledge gave them a comparative approach. A. C. Gupta's *Kāvya Jijñāsā* (The Question of Poetics, 1926) presents the Sanskrit theories of *rasa* to the Bengali readership. Here for the first time, Croce's aestheticism has been compared with Abhinavagupta's. While deciding the literary categories, he freely draws his examples from world literature—from Shakespeare, Tolstoy and Romain Rolland, from Dante, Keats and Tagore. S. N. Dasgupta's *Kāvyabicār* (Poetic Judgement) is another great work of comprehensive and comparative literary critical theories in Bengali. Here he has presented a wonderful survey of all the Sanskrit literary theorists' basic points along with the basic points of western literary theories from Longinus to I. A. Richards. Pramatha Chowdhury in a foreword to it calls this book a short encyclopaedia of literary theory. His knowledge of European languages and original quotations make his next book *Sāhitya Paricay* a most interesting example of comparative literature studies. Rajshekhar Bose (1880–1960), a chemist by profession, and a great artist in Bengali prose, also wrote two important volumes on literary criticism. Although the poet-critics have held a most important position in moulding the trends of Bengali criticism and Bengali literary theories in the years following Tagore, there arose a group of 'academic critics', who dealt seriously with various aspects of Bengali literature (mostly from the historical point of view). Priyaranjan Sen (1893–1967), Srikumar Banerji (1892–1970), Kazi Abdul Wadud (1896–1970), Sasibhushan Dasgupta (1911–68), Subodh Chandra Sengupta (b. 1902), Sudhir Kumar Dasgupta (1895–1952), Amalendu Bose (b. 1909), R. K. Dasgupta (b. 1915) Pramathanath Bisi (b. 1902) and Jagadish Bhattacharya belong to this category. These critics did not work as a group, but applied their knowledge of 19th-century English critical tenets to analyze Bengali lietrature. Dinesh Chandra Sen (1866–1939) and Sukumar Sen are important names as chroniclers of the history of Bengali literature. Both of them have used their wide knowledge of linguistics and shown a deep interest in literary modes, also in the history of Bengali culture. Both have worked with the epics, folk tales and oral literature of Bengal. Suniti Kumar Chatterji (1890–1977) did some comparative literary criticism, though his major contribution was elsewhere.

Jogesh Chandra Bagal (1903–72) and Brajendranath Banerji (1891–1952) have done a great deal of valuable critical research in Bengali literature. One significant series of monographs started by Brajendranath and continued by Bagal is the *Sāhitya-Sādhak Caritmālā*. Each monograph contains a critical survey of the life and work of an important contributor to Bengali literature. This most useful series is still being continued by the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat (Bengali Academy).

Poet-Critics

Among the poet-critics, Buddhadeva Bose (1908–74),

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Bishnu Dey (b. 1909), Sudhindranath Dutta (1901–60), Amiya Chakravarty (b. 1901), and Jibananda Das (1899–1954) have all written individual books on literary theory and criticism but none really succeeded in building a critical school, except perhaps Buddhadeva, through his school of comparative literature. Sudhindranath Dutta edited *Paricay*, a leading intellectual literary journal with a rare combination of left as well as right-wing ideas. After he left the journal gave birth to a new school of Marxist critics. But the Marxist criticism in Bengali tastes a bit strange, since Bishnu Dey, a great Marxist poet, is also a follower of T. S. Eliot in his poetry and literary theories in general. Similarly, Sudhindranath Dutta, a follower of M. N. Roy, is also a follower of Mallarme in his poetry and literary theories. Whether these can coexist, and produce a tenable literary theory, is for the future critics to decide.

Among the contemporary poet-critics Haraprasad Mitra (b. 1917), Nirendranath Chakravarty (b. 1924), Shankha Ghosh and Alokeranjan Das Gupta (b. 1933) have dealt widely with world literature. Among the Marxist critics, Bhabani Sen (1909–72), Gopal Haldar (b. 1903), Nirendranath Roy (1896–1966), Saroj Acharjya (1905–68), Hirendranath Dutta (b. 1908) and Hirendranath Mukherji (b. 1905) need special mention for their valuable contributions in setting a new trend of Marxist criticism in Bengali. Satyendranath Roy, Saroj Bandyopadhyay, Ashok Sen and Ashok Mitra also belong to this trend. Another interesting name in Bengali literary criticism is the radical scholar Shibnarayan Ray (b. 1921). Freud has had an effect on literary criticism in Bengal. Naresh Chandra Sengupta (1882–1964) was a great exponent of psychological criticism. Buddhadeva Bose, in his *Mahābhārater Kathā* applied psychological criticism to the ancient epics.

One significant critic who started with the *Paricay*-group, later moved far away from the Marxist ideals of literary criticism and adopted a rather aesthetic and philosophical approach, is Abu Sayeed Ayyub. Apart from his pioneering work on Tagore, another of his main contributions happens to be introducing modern Bengali poetry to a wider audience.

Strangely enough, very few women have contributed to Bengali criticism, and those few include Swarna Kumari Debi (1835–1932), Anurupa Debi (1882–1958) and Radharani Debi (b. 1904), all of whom are creative writers as well.

Conclusion

(a) Though Bengali literary criticism is not big in bulk, it is a mature and well established intellectual tradition in Bengal, as it started along with the beginning of the modern phase in Bengali literature.

(b) Because it developed under the colonial impact, it had a cosmopolitan outlook from the very start—working on the dual standards of Oriental and European critical theories, trying to bring about a balance by making comparative studies of world literature.

(c) Critics clustered around literary journals and developed new theories, and journals always grew around a few important creative writers. Hence the trend of the poet-critic became common in Bengal.

(d) Professional men from non-literary fields have also made substantial contributions to literary criticism in Bengal.

(e) Neither the religious (or communal) elements, nor the political extremists have ever gained control of Bengali criticism; hence extra-literary considerations have never got the better of literary judgement.

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Gujarati

RAMANLAL JOSHI

The function of criticism is to discern beauty and discuss it in a more or less scientific language, and thereby to produce and promote an aesthetic value, and by implication cultural and spiritual values. In India literary criticism in the western style, as an activity consciously performing these functions, is only a little more than a century old. It was born in the middle of the last century as a by-product of what is called the Indian Renaissance. The universities created an intellectual awareness, especially about the best in the western culture, and produced a galaxy of brilliant scholars. The theories of literature propounded by Sanskrit poeticians were accepted by critics in Gujarati as in other languages. Even the moderns who made use of the western approaches were considerably influenced by Indian traditions.

The Pioneers

Narmad (Narmad, 1833–86) was the first Gujarati author to be exposed to the new spirit of western literature and culture, and therefore should be considered the pioneer in Gujarati criticism. Like all pioneers he suffers from some limitations. Though criticism and literary creation were yoked to the task of social reform during his nascent times, Narmad as a literary critic, apart from evaluating his predecessors as well as contemporaries, elucidated some of the fundamental elements of poetry. But his criticism stops at the stage of stray thoughts, as by temperament he was not given to working out a proposition in all its logical ramifications.

As Vishnuprasad Trivedi, a well-known critic of recent times, has observed, Narmad probably borrowed the terms 'passion' and 'imagination' from Hazlitt and translated them respectively as 'josso' and 'tarka' in Gujarati. He attributed to enthusiasm or spiritedness (josso) the central role in poetry, the very soul of a poem, while sometimes also describing 'josso' as pain ('dard'). Viswanath Bhatt has called it 'unreal lyricism'. In modern Gujarati usage 'josso' and 'tarka' would approximate to enthusiasm and reason. The modern Gujarati equivalent for 'imagination' is 'kalpana', and hence the Sanskrit word 'tarka' (reason) would be considered wide off the mark.

He coined the term 'gītkavita' for lyric. He classified poetry into three types: pastoral, didactic and descriptive. He illustrated his critical principles in his critical writings. Needless to say, his classification would hardly be acceptable today. On the whole Narmad's critical work lacks depth but it does have an important quality of a pioneer, namely, variety.

Navalram Pandya (Navalrām Pāṇḍyā, 1836–88). Though, historically speaking, Narmad was the first Gujarati critic, Navalram Pandya is the first accomplished critic of Gujarati, possessing nearly all the necessary virtues of a critic. By profession he was a teacher, and during his 22 year-long (1867–88) literary career he also edited the *Gujarāt Śāḷāpatra* (The Gujarati School Journal) for 18 years, presenting his mature views on writers of the past and present, as well as on the issues of Gujarati language and script. The insight, maturity and balance of his judgement have rarely been equalled ever since in the widely cultivated field of criticism and book-reviews.

His taste and sensibility are cultivated and subtle, always well-tuned to the spirit and rhythm of the work, and he can describe his aesthetic pleasure with detachment in spite of his complete involvement in it. In short he personifies the ideal *Sahṛdaya* (empathetic) critic whose empathy has been enriched and refined by his study of the classics, as well as by his wide-ranging interests like social reform, religion, education, language, standardization of spelling, script, etc. which do not deflect him from his task of a literary critic.

If the various literary forms in Gujarati developed under the influence of English literature—resulting from our contact with the West—Gujarati criticism was shaped by the writings of Navalram. Narasinhrao Divetia, another

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stalwart, has aptly said: 'There was no critic prior to Navalram, and the influence of his work as a critic has been far-reaching and widespread. And therefore I believe that it would be unanimously agreed that his position in the history of Gujarati literature is unique' (from *Manōmukur*, vol. I, 1924).

The philosophical and aesthetic orientation of Navalram's intellect is reflected in his critical writings. The quality of equanimity or high seriousness is the most distinctive mark of Navalram's criticism. But this olympian seriousness does not hamper or curb his aesthetic relish. Like a perfect recording apparatus his sensitivity enables him to record the subtlest nuances of beauty, and almost nothing can escape it.

His criticism is always shaped by a definite viewpoint, and consequently while discussing the work under review he is able to throw new light on some issues of aesthetics or life. Owing to his sense of proportion and propriety (*aucitya*) his criticism remains literary in spite of being reflective. His critical writings are collected in the volume, *Naval Granthāvali*.

As a critic he was never stagnant, but was always developing and growing, modifying and refining his judgement of three great Gujarati poets, Narmad, Dalpatram and Premanand, and ultimately he settled at the correct position. A youthful row had erupted between the young, enthusiastic Navalram and Narmad, the hero of his Surat-days. On migrating to Ahmedabad from Surat and with his views maturing with age he was able to arrive at a more correct and proper evaluation of Narmad.

His real talent seems to flower more in applied criticism than in the discussion of abstract aesthetic principles. Narsinharao has noted the probable influence of the method of Gervinus's Shakespearean criticism in Navalram's criticism of Manilal's play *Kāntā* (1882).

He has written on subjects like humour, *adbhut rasa*, Kāvyaśāstra (Poetics) and *deśi piṅgal* (Gujarati prosody), but his real strength is to be seen in his essays on works like *Karaṅghēlō* (1866), *Kāntā*, *Sṛvaṇpitṛubhakti nāṭak* (1919) and *Buddhi ane Rudhini Kathā* (1919).

Govardhanram. Navalram was followed by Govardhanram Tripathi (Gōvardhanrām, 1855–1907), the author of the great novel *Sarasvatīcandra* (1887–1901). He was also a distinguished critic. What sets Govardhanram apart from all other critics is his predominant concern for viewing literature in the context of life, i.e. in the social, cultural, religious and educational contexts, though it could be said that the spirit of the Indian Renaissance was so pervasive in his time that didacticism was a common trait of many other writers and critics. He represented the writer as thinker, though he was second to none in his equipment and standard of taste and judgement. His aim as a critic is to illumine not only what he examines, but life as well.

In *Sākṣarjīvan* he develops his ideal of a man of letters. Being a thinker and philosopher, a writer would contemplate the currents of life, its ebb and flow and watch from the banks. A critic is a *lakṣaṇ-dṛaṣṭa*, a seer of characteristics and patterns. Govardhanram's purpose here is to give a complete chart of the life of a poet, a scholar, and a man of letters.

In his preface to a biography of Navalram, he says that the aim of a critic is to arrange for a 'feast of joy'. And for this, the critic must have an intimate knowledge of the creative process and the metaphysics of aesthetic pleasure. He thinks that a critic's experience shapes his critical outlook, as in the case of Navalram changing his opinion on Narmada.

Govardhanram's other works like *Kavi Dayarām no Akṣardeh* (1908), which deals with classical poets of Gujarat and their influence on society and morals, and *Gujarātnā prācin Sāhityanūn Digdarśan* (A Bird's-eye View of Gujarat's Ancient Literature) also show (Sahityanum Digdarsan) that for him history of literature or culture primarily meant a history of thought. He is to be found at his best in his evaluation of Narsinh, Meera, Akho, Premanand, Dayaram and especially Samal—all classical poets of distinction.

In his presidential address to the first convention of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad in 1905 he said that poets like Shelley and Wordsworth should be emulated in Gujarat so as to benefit the whole of Gujarati literature, as against only a few Gujarati writers being able to appreciate such English poets. He could clearly see the limitations of the poetry of Narmad and Dalpat, resulting from their zeal or contemporaneity. His survey of Gujarati drama is in the light of Sanskrit and Shakespearean dramas, and he laments the absence of a single play that would satisfy the critics and suit the theatre alike. His views on the novel form are to be found mainly in his prefaces to the four volumes of his epic novel *Sarasvatīcandra*, in which he divides his readers into three categories: those who would read it (a) for beauty, (b) for moral and spiritual instruction, and (c) just for the pleasure of the story. A novelist therefore should try to satisfy all of them, following the dictates of good taste. A writer committed to the moral and spiritual uplift of his people should 'help his countrymen in groping their way out of darkness into some kind of light'. For this he ought to put the plot at the centre. These comments were obviously written with reference to his own novel.

His views on poetry emphasize observation, contemplation, reflection and objectivity though not denying the importance of *rasa* or sentiment.

His comments on humour were occasioned by his review of a humorous play, adapted by Navalram from Moliere. He thought humour at its best was difficult to achieve, though it is not one of the higher sentiments. He thought

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rather strangely that the people of North Gujarat lacked a sense of humour.

Manilal Nabhubhai Dwivedi (Maṇilāl Nabhubhāi Dvivēdī, 1858–98) was a very learned contemporary of Govardhanram Tripathi, and a specialist in Sanskrit and Indian philosophy. It was but natural that Manilal's main contribution to literary criticism was to popualrize Sanskrit poetics *rasamīmāṁsa* and to provide a philosophical basis of poetry. Though he was a poet and a playwright in his own right, he wrote many reviews, which were later collected in *Sudarśan Gadyāvali* (1909).

His prejudice against the West, and his preference for Aryan culture and everything Indian led him to receive Narsinharao Divetia's new lyrical poetry, modelled on Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*, rather coldly. He believed in spontaneity in literature, and in the major preoccupation of the age (the Dalpat-Narmad controversy) his preference was for Narmad.

Ramanbhai Nilkanth (Ramaṇbhāi Nīlkaṇṭh, 1868–1928) was another contemporary. As a critic he was the exact opposite of Manilal. He tried to synthesize the Indian tradition with the western, i.e., the English tradition. He emphasized, perhaps over-emphasized, subjectivity and lyricism—the romantic attitude in literature. The four volumes of *Kavitā Ane Sāhitya*, vols. i–iv (1927), contain essays on the historical development of literature, book-reviews and discussion of some fundamental problems of literature. He was a social reformer, and was more influenced by the West in his literary as well as social thinking.

Narsinhrao Divetia (Narsinhrāv Diveṭīā, 1859–1937), who was quoted earlier, was a seminal critic as well as a poet and a linguist. His *Manōmukur* (vols. i–iv, 1924–38) contains lengthy essays, prefaces and studies of particular works. He is a scholarly critic and, being a philologist, he also takes into account the linguistic aspect of the works under review.

Anandshankar Dhruv (Ānandśaṅkar Dhruv, 1869–1942) was the doyen of the literature of his day. Through his work as the editor of the periodical *Vasant* for 36 years (1902–37), Anandshankar has left an indelible stamp of his thought and personality on the literary and cultural life of Gujarat. Out of the five volumes of collected articles selected from his writings in *Vasant*, *Kāvya Tatvavicār* (1939) contains his articles on poetics, and *Sāhitya Vicār* (1941) on applied criticism. His extensive reading in religion, philosophy, history, politics, education and literature was comparable only to that of Govardhanram.

He has been aptly described as 'the synthesizer, the discoverer of the gentle, sweet, and benign in life and art'. He was rightly called 'Madhudarśi Samanvayakār' (the honey-seeking synthesizer) by Vishnuprasad Trivedi. Concepts like synthesis, the golden mean and eclecticism moulded his thinking. Unhampered by the weight of his scholarship, his criticism is written in a lucid style, reflecting his deep understanding, judiciousness and empathy. His brief essay titled 'Kavita', wherein he describes poetry as 'the art of the soul' is a gem of Gujarati criticism. About his *Kāvya Tatvavicār*, Sundaram (b. 1908), the well-known poet and critic, while summarising C. Day Lewis', 'Enjoying Poetry' in Gujarati, has said that a fresh student of poetry would get most of his education in the essentials of poetry from this single book. One of the two editors of his collected works, Ramnarayan Pathak (1887–1955) has rightly observed that Anandshankar's criticism is serene, dispassionate, profound, poised, clean and wholesome, while his style has a happy felicity.

Balvantrai Thakore. Prof. Balvantrai Thakore's (Balvantrāi Tākōr, 1869–1950) work both as a poet and as a critic has been a powerful influence in Gujarati poetry since the twenties of this century. He was a powerful personality, with a strong sense of individuality, independence, and frankness. Characteristically he has said of himself: 'Just as my run-on lines and free verse were a new departure in prosody, it is my modest claim that this concrete method of mine in criticism is a new path consciously carved out by me for practical education in criticism in Gujarati literature' (see *Kavitāśikṣan*, 2nd ed., 1946).

As against rhetoric, sonority and verbosity, he advocated a pregnant poetic expression aiming at richness of meaning, content and economy, in free, flowing metres. Balvantrai did for Gujarati verse what Michael Madhusudan Dutt had done for Bengali. He liberated the Gujarati metres from their straitjacket and set them flowing.

As Umashankar Joshi has said, 'Prof. Thakore's prithvi metre is a gift to Gujarati poetry, as valuable as a volume of poems.' The sonnet form and the prithvi metre will always be associated with Balvantrai. In the three volumes of *Vividh Vyākhyānō* (Diverse Lectures, 1945–56) and *Navīn Kavita Vise Vyākhyānō* (Lectures on New Poetry, 1943) he has given a detailed and minute analysis of some of the poems of modern poets, and has thus done a great service to Gujarati criticism by engaging himself in his chosen task of poetry-education. His *Kavitā Śikṣan* (1924) is also remarkable.

Other noteworthy critics who were working during this period are Kavi Nanalal, Khabardar, Sanjana, Keshav H. Dhruv and Uttamlal Trivedi.

Ramnarayan V. Pathak (Rāmnārāyan Pāṭhak, 1887–1955). Coming to a more recent period, the first name that strikes us is that of Ramnarayan V. Pathak. He is one of the finest products of the Gandhi era in Gujarati literature. In terms of merit the name of Ramnarayan Pathak comes immediately after Navalram, Anandshankar and Balwantrai. He lent his support to the new poetic style of Balvantrai through the long years of his editorship of *Prasthan* maga-

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zine and his work as a teacher of language and literature at the Gujarat Vidyapeeth in Ahmedabad. His first critical essay was 'A True Poet of the Latter Half of Last Century' in which he introduced the poet Balashankar. Similarly he edited the first collection of a great poet Kant, *Pūrvālāp* (1923), with a fine introduction bringing out the artistry of the poet and thus contributed to strengthening Kant's reputation.

His method was mainly analytical and like Balvantrai he also played a significant role in the making of a new generation of poets, though in a different vein. As a critic he always remained free from personal prejudices and was motivated by his pure love for literature. He was a poet of no mean repute and that contributed to his subtle understanding of poetry. His solid scholarship and breadth of vision are to be seen in his critical works like *Kāvyāni Śakti* (1939), *Sāhitya Vimarśa* (1939), *Arvācīn Kāvyasāhityanan Vaheṇo* (1938) and *Ākalan* (1964). His *Bṛhad Piṅgal* (1955) is a masterpiece of Gujarati prosody.

During the Gandhian era critics like K. M. Munshi, Jhaverchand Meghani, Rasiklal C. Parikh, Kaka Kalelkar, Nagindas Parekh, Darshak and Chunilal V. Shah have also done valuable work, and only limitations of space prevent us from looking at their work in detail.

Another noteworthy name is Vijayrai Vaidya (Vijayrāi Vaidya, 1897–1974), considered to be a pioneer of modern criticism and literary journalism. He was the editor of *Kaumudi* and *Mansi* for many years and inspired many new faces to take to criticism, notable among whom are Vishnuprasad Trivedi and Vishwanath Bhatt. His impressionistic and romantic criticism is to be seen in his collections like *Jūī Anē Kētakī* (1939), *Nilam Anē Pokharāj* (1962) and *Gat Sataknun Sāhitya* (The Literature of the Last Century, 1959).

Vishwanath Bhatt (1898–1968) is notable for his comprehensive and facile pen. He is frank and fearless but not free from prejudices.

Vishnuprasad Trivedi (Viṣṇuprasād Trivēdī, b. 1899) is an heir to Anandshankar, both in style and in substance. His critical writings reach the level of creativity due to his style, which reflects his delicate sensibility, refined taste and intellectuality firmly grounded in the classics of the East and West. His works are: *Vivēcanā* (1939), *Pariśīlan* (1949), *Arvācīn Cintanātmak Gadya* (1950), *Upāyan* (1961), and *Govardhanrām: Cintak Anē Sarjak* (1962). In spirit, though not chronologically, he reminds us of the Pandit Yuga (the period 1887–1920 when the main writers were great pandits as well).

Later in the period came more contemporary names, of whom Mansukhlal Jhaveri (Mansukhlal Jhavērī, 1907–81) is a critic of the first order in the tradition of poet-critics in Gujarati. He is an original and frank but sympathetic critic. His works like *Thoda Vivechan Lekho Paryeṣaṇa, Abhigam, Kāvyavimarś* and *Draṣṭikon* are worth mentioning.

Anantrai Raval (Anantrāy Rāvaḷ, b. 1912) has given us about half a dozen books of criticism. He tends to give an exhaustive study of the book under review, including a summary of the opinions of other critics, but he is rarely original. The late Navalram Trivedi has also written extensively on his contemporary writers.

The two leading poets, Sundaram (pseud. of Tribhuvandās Luhār, b. 1908) and Umashankar (Umāśaṅkar Jōśī, b. 1911) of the Gandhian era are also good critics. Sundaram's *Arvācīn Kavitā* (1946) is a monumental work. It is a critical history of Gujarati poetry between 1845 and 1945. His other critical works include *Avalokana* (1965) and *Sāhityacintan* (1978). Sundaram as a critic is always original, thought-provoking, perspicacious and illuminating. He always reaches the root of the problem in hand, and with his subtle sensibility arrives at a judgement that finds wide acceptance.

Umashankar Joshi is a poet-critic who reminds us of T. S. Eliot. Many of his critical writings have appeared in the monthly, *Sanskriti* edited by him since 1947. Being a practising poet, he knows the intricacies of poetry as well as other forms of literature, and with unfailing accuracy he can detect the distinctive element of the work under review. He is well-versed in both modern and ancient world-literature, and his lucid prose spreads its aroma throughout. He has described criticism as 'an event of cognition or revelation through enjoyment and appreciation', and the best examples of this aphorism are perhaps his own critical writings. (cf. *Pratiśabda*—collection of critical essays, 1967). He remains in the forefront of modern poetry, and in criticism too the modern age begins with him. His profound knowledge of Gujarati literature, his keen sensibility, and his lucid prose—all this has made his criticism a part of the Gujarati literary heritage.

In the tradition of poet-critics the name of Sundarji Betai (b. 1905), the author of *Suvarṇamēgh* (1964) and *Āmod* (1978) should also be mentioned.

Among the short-story writers and playwrights, Jayanti Dalal (1909–70), Chunilal Madia (1922–68) and Gulabdas Broker (b. 1909) are noteworthy in this field too. Dalal's reviews of short stories and dramas and Madia's appreciative and critical introductions to western works are rich in insight and illuminating. Gulabdas Broker's lucid writings on the short story, plays and some basic issues of literature will always be read with interest. Vishnuprasad Trivedi has recently acclaimed his critical work *Sāhitya Tatva anē Tantra* (1977). Among the other critics of the Gandhian era, Dolarrai Mankad, Ranprasad Baxi, Bhrigurai Anjaria, and Yashwant Shukla have made valuable contributions. Apart from their other critical writings Dolarrai Mankad and Ramprasad Baxi have done some work of fundamental and lasting importance in the field of Sanskrit poetics in their treatises like *Naivedya* (1962) and *Vangmayavimarś* (1963) respectively.

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In the criticism of the post-Gandhian era two currents are clearly discernible: the traditional criticism and the new criticism.

In the new current of criticism Suresh Joshi (Surēś Jōśī b. 1921) has the widest appeal. He clarified literary concepts, emphasized the formal aspect of a literary work, insisted on practical-textual criticism (as against a socio-cultural frame of reference), and conducted a campaign for removing the ambiguity in critical terminology. He is a formalist critic of eminence. He conducted a re-examination of established opinions and evaluation, like a true rebel in the world of Gujarati criticism. His critical writings on the short story are particularly noteworthy.

The best example of traditional criticism being written today is that by Niranjan Bhagat (Nirañjan Bhagat, b. 1926). He is a well-equipped scholar-critic, reminding us of Balvantrai Thakore. Other critics in this tradition are Jayant Pathak, 'Ushanas', Heeraben Pathak, C. N. Patel, Ramanlal Joshi, Bholabhai Patel, Raghuvir Chaudhari, Chandrakant Sheth, Jayant Kothari, Suresh Dalal, Harindra Dave and Pramodkumar Patel.

Among the followers of the new criticism, we should mention Radheshyam Sharma, Sitanshu Yashaschandra, Suman Shah, Chandrakant Topiwala, Yashwant Trivedi and Aniruddha Brahmabhatt. Among these Suman Shah and Chandrakant Topiwala have been emphasizing the structural approach in criticism.

In the fields of philosophy and linguistics the late Prabodh Pandit, Harivallabh Bhayani, Shantibhai Acharya, Dayashankar Joshi and Yogendra Vyas are notable. In the field of editing the texts of medieval literature, K. K. Shastri, the late Ramlal Modi, Bhogilal Sandesara, K. B. Vyas, Ramanlal C. Shah and others have done valuable work.

Periodicals like *Sanskriti*, *Granth*, *Buddhiprakash* and *Forbes Sabha Trimāsik* (quarterly) have been actively engaged in literary criticism. Ramanlal Joshi, besides his own books of criticism, is editing the 'Gujarati Men of Letters Series', of which 35 monographs have been published so far.

And thus in the course of a century we have tried different critical methods: sociological, philosophical, aesthetic, subjective, objective, practical and analytical. Articles on aesthetics are published from time to time, but aesthetics is a branch of philosophy. After intensely studying aesthetic principles, one has to apply them to different artistic situations. What is important is practical criticism or applied criticism. Balvantrai Thakore and Umashankar Joshi have given good examples of practical criticism in Gujarati. A critic after proper equipment has to turn to a work of art and give his intellectually convincing report of the aesthetic pleasure derived from a particular work. With the spread of higher education during the last two decades—1960s and 1970s—many new talents have entered the field of literary criticism.

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Hindi

R. C. PRASAD

The Beginnings

It is generally taken for granted that literary criticism in Hindi really began at an early date with a certain Puṇḍa or Puṣya, the actual history of whose life and works is almost a blank. This assumption, it must be admitted, has no justification except that the spirit of inquiry into the creative process has been a live tradition in India. Moreover, there is the fact that if, as is surely the case, selecting a suitable idiom and imagery implies a critical attitude to poetry, then there has been no lack of the critical temper during any period of Hindi literature. From the 10th

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century onwards creative writing in Hindi appears and reappears in the works of the Siddhas and the Nathas and in works like *Khumān Rāso*, *Pṛthvīrāja Rāso*, etc.

At the same time there are considerations which suggest that it is the reflection on literary problems found in the works of the poets of the Bhakti school (mid-14th–mid-17th century) that represent the first feeble beginnings of this genre and imply the existence of some amount of literary theorizing as the inevitable accompaniment of medieval efforts at literary creation. Kṛpā Rāma's *Hita Taraṅgiṇi* appeared in 1541 with a detailed analysis of *rasa* as expounded by Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*, and with a classification of heroines as listed in both Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* and Bhānudatta's *Rasamañjarī*. Suradasa's *Sāhitya Laharī* (1550) is yet another illuminating work on poetics and rhetoric written in the age of medieval devotionalism. The beginning of the 17th century witnessed the appearance of Nandadasa's (1533–83) *Rasamañjarī*, which is closely modelled on Bhanudatta's earlier treatise bearing the same title. Like his predecessor Bhanudatta, Nandadasa too critically catalogues different types of heroines and offers what is now regarded by scholars as a 'cleverish' work. Of considerable interest, but less known as contributions to rhetorical studies, are Mohanlal Misra's (c. 1589) *Śṛṅgāra Sāgara*, Gopa's (c. 1716) *Rāmabhūṣaṇa* and *Alaṅkāracandrikā*, Karanesa's (b. 1554) *Karṇābharaṇa*, *Śrutibhūṣaṇa* and *Bhūpabhūṣaṇa*. None of these works, however, gives any evidence of original thinking or of the author's critical awareness of the poetic art, but each of these works is of great value as an important link in the chain of the history of literary criticism.

Although the poets of the Bhakti school evince no interest whatsoever in the writing of separate critical treatises, there is evidence to believe that, as for ancient Greeks, the critical faculty for them too was one of the poet's primary endowments, an instinct before it was a science, a practice before it was a theory. The numerous rewarding references to the end and purpose of poetry or to the use of poetic ornaments, metre and versification found in works like Tulasidas' *Rāmacaritamānasa* (1574) provide a suitable point of entry to medieval Hindi criticism in general and make it clear that such poets as Tulasidas were also well-versed in the rules of metrical composition. One can, therefore, form some idea of the beginnings and gradual evolution of literary criticism in Hindi from these poetic reflections of the Bhakta poets.

The poets of the *Rīti* school (1600–1850) made a fresh beginning when they, inspired by the ancient Indian Ācāryas, began to offer their rhetorical speculations and continued the old classical traditions of Sanskrit poetics which had their origin in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The most significant exposition of the *Rīti* tradition is found in the works of Kesavadasa (1561–1621), a great classical scholar, who traces his lineage from a family of illustrious Sanskrit pandits. Three of Kesava's books—*Rasikapriyā* (1591), *Kavipriyā* (1601) and *Chandamālā*—deal with the nine *rasas*, literary embellishment and versification respectively and are, in fact, a mere restatement and repetition of topics discussed in classical poetics. In his dogmatic insistence that even the best poetry, devoid of embellishment, can have neither grace nor appeal to the reader's heart, Kesava shows his preference for the so-called *Alaṅkāra* school of Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa, and Rudraṭa, and seems to be more orthodox in his views than the later Sanskrit scholars who have subsequently discarded this school of thought. *Kavipriyā*, which introduces us to two broad categories of *Alaṅkāras*, the general and the special, and then subdivides the latter into 37 different figures, is rather a vernacular rendering of Dandin's *Kāvyādarśa*. Aesthetic pleasure, according to Kesava, is derived only when a permanent mood, or *sthāyibhāva*, is induced through three elements, viz. the *bhāva*, the *anubhāva* and the *sañcārībhāva* (also called the *vyabhicārībhāva*). Instead of subscribing to Bharata's view that there are, in all, eight *rasas*, Kesava has listed the following nine: *śṛṅgāra* (love), *hāsya* (humour), *karuṇā* (compassion), *raudra* (terror), *vīra* (heroism), *bhayānaka* (fear), *bībhatsa* (aversion), *adbhuta* (astonishment) and *śānta* (peace).

Indebtedness to Sanskrit

This preoccupation with the theory of *rasa* in general and that of *śṛṅgāra* (love) in particular led many a critic of the *Rīti* school to offer a detailed classification of different kinds of heroes and heroines. Besides *Rasikapriyā* by Kesava, there are scores of outstanding works dealing with this element in their poetics, such as Deva's (b. 1673) *Bhāvavilāsa* (1689), *Rasavilāsa* (1726), *Prematarańga*, and *Premacandrikā*; Bhikhari Das' (c. 1725–60) *Rasasārāmśa* (1734) and *Śṛṅgāra Nirṇaya* (1750); Padmakara's (1753–1833) *Jagadvinoda* (1811); Beni Pravina's *Navarasa Taraṅga* (1817) and *Śṛṅgāra Bhūṣaṇa*, Toṣanidhi's *Sudhānidhi* (1734), Rasalina's (1689) *Aṅgadarpaṇa* (1737); and Matirama's (1603) *Rasarāja* (c. 1643). It is due to this universal craze for the treatment of the erotic motif that Ramachandra Shukla, the well-known Hindi critic, designates the age as the *Śṛṅgāra* Age in literature. This obsession with *rasa* was perhaps a historical inevitability and had an inherent psychological validity in the contemporary feudal set-up, the unrestrained sexual indulgence of the ruling overlords and the system of patronage to the poets and writers contributing to the popularity of such a literary fashion.

Hardly less important was the treatment of *alaṅkāra* and *rasa* theories during this period. Here again we find two different streams of development flowing directly from classical poetics. One of these follows the tradition handed down by Bhamaha, Dandin and Vamana of early anti-

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quity, while the other from Mammata and Viswanatha Kaviraja of later times. It is interesting to note that while Kesava took the works of Bhamaha, Dandin and Vamana as his model, Mammata's *Kāvyaprakāśa* and Viswanatha's *Sāhityadarpaṇa* emerged as the most dominant influence on the Cintāmaṇi brothers and their host of followers. Of the works truly illustrative of the second stream of development, the most noteworthy are Cintāmaṇi's *Kavikulakalpataru*, *Kāvya-viveka* and *Kāvyaprakāśa*, Senāpati's (c. 1650) *Kāvyakalpadruma*, Deva's *Śabdarasāyana* (1743), Sūrati Miśra's *Kāvya-siddhānta*, Kulapati Miśra's *Rasa-Rahasya* (1670), Śrīpati's *Kāvyasaroja*, Somanatha's *Rasa-Pīyūṣa-Nidhi* (1737), Bhikhārī Das' *Kāvya-nirṇaya* (1746) and Pratāp Sāhī's *Kāvya Vilāsa* (1830). In all these works the authors seem to be steeped in traditional culture and draw freely on Mammata and Viswanatha—a fact that provides eloquent testimony of their indebtedness to earlier classical poeticians. The works of Kulapati Misra and Somanatha are no exceptions either, as they are full of echoes from Mammata in their treatment of poetic blemishes and, consequently, have much in common.

The excessive predominance of the *Alaṅkāra* school led to the emergence of the *Dhvani* school headed by Anandavardhana. It was Mammata, however, who established the authority of the theory of *Dhvani* with a characteristic thoroughness and masterly exposition in his *Kāvyaprakāśa*. If the poet-critics of the *Rīti* school looked upon Mammata as their model, that was primarily because the success of Mammata was complete and his synthetic approach to the entire problem of rhetorical theorizing had become a part of their accepted contemporary creed. In an age lacking in original thinking, when modern prejudices against the authority of the ancients had not poisoned the critic's mind, it was natural for Chintamani and others to regard *Dhvani* poetry as the only great poetry and to introduce only some very minute divisions and subdivisions into such literary creativity. If the *Riti* books of the medieval Hindi poets are mostly of a derivative kind, being drawn almost wholly from or inspired by the earlier Indian Ācāryas, the main reason is that the learned elite in the 18th century had retained the same love and reverence for classical Sanskrit which their ancestors had. One of the most important historical reasons why the poet-critics of the *Riti* school drew freely on the Sanskrit masters lies in the fact that Pali, Prakrit, Apabhramsa and many other vernacular dialects were still in an extremely undeveloped state and had not built up a rich tradition of their own.

The Western Impact

For the earliest definite traces of independent, modern, one might even say national, elements in the discussion of literary matters, we must turn to the last three decades of the 19th century when a break, more or less definite, was made with the *Riti* school and with the medieval conceptions of literature and the literary art. With the inspiration now coming not only from ancient Indian poetics but also from western literary theorizing, efforts began to be made by Hindi critics to apply their knowledge of English literature to their own literary evaluations and analyses. The contact with the West led not only to certain prejudices against the native language, in favour of English, but also to the beginning of a period of general enlightenment in which new ideas flooded the North in the wake of the New Learning, accompanied by a fresh vision of things and an altogether new spirit of nationalism. Although a kind of alien culture was now communicated to the conquered people, including those doctrines characteristic of English critical studies, there are grounds for thinking that English education on the whole fostered a critical spirit in the country and brought the Hindi writer out into the cultural stream of Western Europe.

Bharatendu Harischandra. Bharatendu Harischandra (1850–85) exemplifies the very quintessence of the new spirit of synthesis that came into being at the beginning of the modern era in Hindi literature. In his plays he combined the western technique of dramatic construction with classical rules formulated by Sanskrit poets and dramatists. He was also the first to write in Hindi a modern critical essay on the drama. Although his work, called the *Nāṭaka* (1883), is a slender volume of theories and ideas derived from both eastern and western sources, namely, *Daśarūpaka*, *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, *Kāvyaprakāśa*, Wilson's *Hindu Theatre*, *Life of the Eminent Persons*, *Dramatists and Novelists*, etc., its originality is reflected in the pregnancy of its style and in the exposition of certain postulates which are relevant to Hindi plays. It is as a practising dramatist, and not as an academic theorizer, that Bharatendu's views on the drama are to be viewed. We are told that the playwright must always take into account the changing taste of the playgoers and construct his work strictly in conformity with the classical principles of propriety and artlessness, assiduously avoiding errors of taste and defects of proportion and dialogue. Bharatendu distinguishes auditory poetry from poetry that is visual and shows the importance in dramatic literature of what is called aesthetic evocativeness, of the elements of contemporaneity, of erotic, humorous and miraculous events as well as sentiments of patriotism and social reform. A progressive outlook is displayed when he asserts that literature should be built upon the synthesis of the old and the new.

Other Stalwarts. Amongst those who contributed to the widening critical activities at this time were critics such as Badari Narayana Chaudhary 'Premaghana' (1855–1922), Balakrishna Bhatta (1844–1914), Ganga Prasada Agni-

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hotri (1870–1931) and Balamukunda Gupta (1865–1907), who were founders of various newspapers and magazines which are still of considerable historical importance. Bharatendu started at least three popular magazines, namely *Kavi Vacana Sudha* (1867), *Hariścandra Magazine* (later called *Hariścandracandrikā* and rechristened *Navoditā* in 1884), and *Bālabodhinī* (1883). Some of the journals brought out by others proved to be vehicles of intellectual regeneration as well as of critical expertise, especially *Ānanda Kādambinī*, and *Nāgarī Nīrada* of 'Premaghana', *Hindī Pradīpa* of Balakrishna Bhatta, *Brāhmaṇa* of Pratapa Narayana Misra (1856–95), *Dainika Hindustāna*, *Hindī Baṅgavāsī*, and *Bhārata Mitra* under the editorship of Balamukunda Gupta. In these is to be found many a gem of true-to-life description and narration, certainly suggestive of strong western influence mingled with Indian elements. The predilection evinced by certain authors for using words from English and for new coinages of technical Hindi words is of considerable linguistic significance. For the full significance of this critical revival, however, we must turn to the very elementary but robust reviews published in *Hindī Pradīpa* and *Sārasudhānidhi*. Their emergence in the last quarter of the 19th century was fruitful and momentous in that they introduced a new critical idiom, coloured with irony and sarcasm, replacing the erotic-rhetoricism of the *Riti* poet-critics by prose criticism in Khariboli. This heralded the beginning of modern Hindi criticism.

A Reassessment of Values

The 19th century is thus a seminal period, comparable to the 16th and contrasting vividly with the relatively static character of the *Riti* period. The beginning of the modern era coincided with the emergence of a large number of reviewers and critics who were eager in their pursuit of literary activities; and while criticism was chiefly practical and rather superficial, the spirit with which it was instinct went far beyond the reviewing of books and introduction of western standards. What these activities engendered was the demand for logical analysis, decorum and realism, an inquisitive and critical attitude, and a willingness to correct time-honoured prejudices. Thus a reassessment of values took place almost on all sides. Those who came to be steeped in western culture introduced theories of life and literature different from the reigning orthodoxies.

Premaghana's reviews of Srinivasa Dasa's *Samyogitā Svayamvara* and of Gadadhara Singh's translation of *Baṅga Vijetā* are often erroneously regarded as the starting point of modern Hindi criticism. It is not with these reviews published in *Ānanda Kādambinī* but with *Sāhitya* and *Hindī Bhāṣā* (1879) published in *Sārasudhānidhi* that the tradition of modern literary criticism in the true sense of the term was inaugurated. The author of *Sāhitya* adopts—and sustains—an essentially modern attitude to language. He attempts to inspire his countrymen to enrich their native tongue. The portrait of Bharatendu Harischandra in *Sārasudhānidhi* (19 May 1879) is, in the main, a tribute to the 'Father of Modern Hindi Literature', to his scholarship and literary achievements. The review of *Dhātrī Śikṣā* in the same journal of 4 August 1879 is hardly a review in the present sense.

Owing to the growing demand for logical analysis—a new factor in the critical movement—*Saccī Samālocanā* (1886) by Balakrishna Bhatta strikes a new note and becomes significantly meaningful. In this review of Lala Srinivasa Dasa's *Samyogitā Svayamvara*, Bhatta assumes throughout that nature and propriety should be the ultimate guide for the dramatist, who should strive to be realistic and make his fiction not too wildly improbable. The review displays a mingling of Indian as well as foreign standards of judgement. Apart from a few essays and book reviews, Bhatta never wrote an independent book of criticism, theoretical or practical. Most of his critical writings are in the form of editorial comments in which he never hesitates to voice his opinion.

Another critic who stands at the source of the Hindi Renaissance is Pandit Ganga Prasada Agnihotri, whose critical essay *Samālocanā* appeared in *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā* in 1896. This is not only an objective catalogue of what seemed to him to be the most glaring delinquencies of the contemporary critics, but also an arraignment, an effort to free literary judgement from the anarchy of ignorance. For Agnihotri the four factors essential for a good critic are: first-hand acquaintance with the text, love of truth, a quiet and unruffled mind and a poetic sensibility. One of his most important critical observations defines the critic's duty as an attempt neither to depreciate nor to deify, but to anatomize and then discover and piece together gems of lasting value. He who is destitute of creative sensibility develops, according to Agnihotri, a warped myopic vision and becomes a mere theorizer of dull precepts.

Balamukunda Gupta's critical corpus betrays a trend so unlike the characteristic note found in Agnihotri. The editor of *Bhārata Mitra* was a crusader preoccupied mainly with the questions of India's national and official language, national script, and grammatical complexities. His biographical sketches of Hindi writers as well as of western thinkers—such as Herbert Spencer and Max Muller—testify not only to the writer's interest in the background of certain eminent authors, but also to the eclectic approach of one who believed in assimilating the critical norms of the West. Gupta's *Hindī Bhāṣā* exemplifies his mode of word-analysis and expository technique which were destined to grow popular with later historians of Hindi literature.

The famous editorial war between Balamukunda Gupta

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and Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi was one of the most sensational literary episodes of the time. It was Dwivedi's essay *Bhāṣā aur Vyākaraṇa* (Language and Grammar), in which he castigated certain grammatical lapses in the works of Bharatendu Harischandra and Raja Siva Prasad 'Sitarehind', that triggered the chain of spiteful attacks and counter-attacks. Balamukunda Gupta began a series of bitter attacks on Dwivedi in *Bhārata Mitra* under the pseudonym of 'Ātmārāma', provoking the latter to retaliate with a no less personal recrimination in his *Ātmārāma kī Ṭaiṅ-Ṭaiṅ* (The Jabbering of Atmarama). The whole episode, it seems, was regrettable as it made a mountain of a molehill and forced the rivals to throw all canons of taste and decency to the winds.

Although the *Rīti* tradition yielded to modern trends, books on prosody, rhetorical figures, *rasa* and poetics continued to be written all through the age of Bharatendu and included such works as Umrao Singh's *Chanda Mahodadhi* (1878), Jagannath Prasad Bhanu's (1859–1945) *Chanda Prabhākara* (1894) and Jagannath Das Ratnakara's *Ghanākṣarī Niyama Ratnākara* (Ghanakshari Rules —The Ocean of, 1897). The last two decades of the 19th century also saw the appearance of a few other rhetorical studies, such as Lachirama's *Ravaṇesvara Kalpataru* (1892), Biharilal's *Alaṅkārādarśa* (1897) and Muraridan Kaviraja's *Yaśavantayaśobhūṣaṇa* (The Ornament of Yaswanta's Fame, 1897). Contributions to the story of *rasa* made at this time include Krishnalal's (1835) *Rasabandhu Vilāsa* (1883), Sahab Prasada Singh's *Rasa-rahasya* (1887) and Pratap Narayan Singh's *Rasakusumākara* (1894). Two notable contributions to the history of literature came from Siva Singh Sengar (1833–78) and George Grierson, viz. *Śiva Simha Saroja* (1878) and *The Modern Vernacular Literature of Northern Hindustan* (1889).

The New Age

Hindi literary criticism entered a new age with the advent of Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi (1864–1938). In 1901, in an article published in the *Sarasvatī*, he defines the duties of the poet: 'Consider the taste of the people. Compose your poems in a readable and delightful style, so that even moderately educated persons may feel tempted to read, not only the old, but also the new poets.' He was convinced that the poet must express only what he genuinely feels and that poetry must move. The rules of versification are but gyves that hinder the poet in his natural flights. Dwivedi is the true father of that literary idealism which came of age in the works of Premchand, Maithili Saran Gupta and Hariaudh. His critical comments and formulation of a new code of literary beauty, as well as the unlimited help he proffered to new aspirants by correcting and publishing their articles, ensure him a secure place among the pathfinders of Hindi criticism.

A new and more active phase in modern Hindi criticism becomes perceptible with the Misra brothers—Syamabihari Misra (1873–1947) and Sukadevabihari Misra (1878–1951) —and Padmasingh Sharma (1876–1932), Lala Bhagawanadina (1866–1903) and Pandit Krishna Bihari Misra (1890–1963). The Misra brothers made a cooperative attempt to collect material for the compilation of a comprehensive history of Hindi literature. It is obvious from their historical writings that the ideal of scholarly research for them was indispensable as was the development of the historical sense. Love of the Hindi language and all that it implied was for them the very breath of life. They are without doubt the spiritual heirs of the *Rīti* period which nourished their taste. So steeped in the *Rīti* poet Deva were they that they placed him alongside the greatest of the Hindi poets, Tulasidas and Surdas. Although their *Miśrabandhu Vinoda* (1913) is a work of considerable intrinsic and historical value, it is surprising that as perceptive a historian as Ramachandra Shukla should belittle it by describing it as a mere collection of facts about poets.

Another critic who analyzed the relative excellence of Deva and Bihari and came to the conclusion that Deva is a greater poet than Bihari, is Krishnabihari Misra. Padmasingh Sharma and Lala Bhagawandina are other evaluative critics skilled in the use of the comparative method as a device for determining degrees of excellence. Pandit Sharma's searching analysis of poetic excellence is embodied in his critique of *Bihārī-Satsaī*, a work in which one comes across passages of impressionistic criticism at its best. His partiality for Bihari makes him speak of the poet with gusto, even warmth, and not without freshness and acumen. The prefaces to the works he edited are mainly examples of informed theortical and scholarly criticism, presented in an impressionistic and evaluative manner.

Five Kinds of Critical Works

In the first decades of the 20th century we have as many as five distinct kinds of critical works in Hindi. The traditional kind of theoretical study is found in Jagannath Prasad Bhanu's *Kāvya Prabhākara* (The Sun of Poetry, 1905) and *Chanda Sārāvali* (The Essence of Metre, 1917), and in Lala Bhagawanadina's *Alaṅkāra Mañjūṣā* (1916). What is called comparative criticism makes its appearance in 1907 with Padmasingh Sharma's estimates of Bihari and Sadi, in Misrabandhu's *Hindī Navaratna* (1910). Scholarly and historical literature in Hindi is enriched by the journals, especially by the *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā*. The study of literary history and ancient manuscripts is associated with Shyamasundar Das, Radhakrishna Das, Jagannath Das Ratnakar and Sudhakar Dwivedi, all of whom were associated with this journal. Descriptive and introductory criticism had its spokesman in Mahavira Prasada Dwivedi himself, although the critics of the age of Bhara-

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tendu were the first to practise this mode. Interpretative criticism in Hindi began early with Premaghana's review of Srinivasa Dasa's *Samyogitā Svayamvara*.

Synthetic School: Ramachandra Shukla

The new Synthetic School founded by Bharatendu and Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi had its triumph in Shyamsundar Das (1875–1945) and his *Sāhityālocana* (1922), a work that draws on a large number of books, Indian and European. By virtue of all the details which go to make it—theories drawn from Hudson's *An Introduction to the Study of Literature* and from Worsfold, from the Romantics and the Victorians, and from the writings of the Sanskrit Ācāryas—it is a work of an eclectic nature into which enter, one might say, all the elements of Victorian morality and Romantic humanism.

It was in Ramachandra Shukla (1884–1940), however, that the new Synthetic School found its most active partisan. His principal critical achievements—*Gosvāmī Tulasīdāsa* (1923), *Jāyasī Granthāvalī Kī Bhūmikā* (1924), *Bhramaragītasāra kī Bhūmikā* (1925), *Hindī Sāhitya kā Itihāsa* (1929), *Kāvya Meṁ Rahasyavāda* (1929), *Cintāmaṇi* (vol. I, 1939; vol. II, 1945), *Sūradāsa* (1943), and *Rasa Mīmāmsā* (1949)—provide evidence of wide erudition, of a subtle, many-sided talent, and a singular versatility. He owes his place in Hindi literature to his *Hindī Sāhitya kā Itihāsa* (History of Hindi Literature), *Rasa Mīmāmsā* and his studies of Jayasi, Tulasidas, and Suradas. Of these works, it is assuredly his *Itihāsa* that set a pattern of concentrated, critical analysis, governed by a careful sense of truth and objectivity. Possessed, as Shukla was, of an assimilative, synthetic temperament, he welcomed from the start the lessons of the ancients, the theories of *rasa* propounded in classical antiquity as well as the new theoretical findings of the western psychologists. He is thus able to interpret the ancient *sāhitya śāstra* in a new light and to impart fresh meaning to the theory of *rasa* on the basis of a synthesis of eastern and western poetics. Temperamentally and instinctively akin to the ancients, he ranks poetry with *Karmayoga* and *Jñānayoga* and believes that it is not merely a source of entertainment, but *Bhāvayoga*, a unique discipline which can bring about a sort of spiritual liberation. Like the European critics of the Renaissance, Shukla also feels the spell of narrative and heroic poetry which, according to him, is superior to the lyrical.

While the critics of the Synthetic School were engaged in accelerating the pace of certain changes that were taking place in the intellectual atmosphere, a host of others like Jagannath Prasad Bhanu and Bhagawanadina were still busy paying lip-service to the classical tradition of Bhamaha, Mammata and Jagannatha. Gradually, however, the new interest in Aristotle, Longinus, Locke, the English Romantics, etc. led to the breaking down of the old insularity. Some of those who restated western literary theories did yeoman service by introducing new modes and topics into Hindi literary criticism. The synthesis of the two cultures, Indian and European, brought about by Gulab Rai (*Navarasa*, 1920), Lakshmi Narayan Sudhamsu (*Kāvya meṁ Abhivyañjanāvāda*; Expressionism in Poetry, 1936), Ram Sankar Sukla Rasala (*Ālocanādarśa*, The Ideal of Criticism, 1938), and Ram Kumar Varma (*Sāhitya Samālocanā*, 1929) is an event of more than passing interest. These writers stand at the head of a group of critics who strove to explain the nature of literature and the literary art. Of them all, Dr. Gulab Rai was most thoroughly conversant with the literary cross-currents which had become prominent since the time of Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi. It was in Krishna Shankar Shukla, however, that the critical spirit of Ramachandra Shukla was once again seen emerging. Two of his books, *Keśava kī Kāvyakalā* (1934) and *Kavivara Ratnākara* (1935), did much to further an understanding of the poets with whom they deal. Others who were inspired by Ramachandra Shukla's *modus criticus* were Brajaratnadas (*Hindī Nāṭya Sāhitya*, 1930), Janardan Misra (*Vidyāpati*, 1932), Krishnananda Gupta (*Prasādjī ke do Nāṭaka*, 1933), Akhauri Ganga Prasada (*Padmākara kī Kāvyasādhanā*, 1934) and Ramanatha Sumana (*Prasād kī Kāvyakalā*: Poetic Art of Prasad, 1938). But neither in depth of matter nor in deftness of analysis does any of these writers approach the greatness of the master. But they succeed in their own way, even if that way is so unlike Acharya Shukla's.

Ramakrishna Shukla Shilimukh, though not a sociological critic, is deeply preoccupied with the social function of criticism and dubs Premchand an outright propagandist. Ramadahin Misra (1886–1952) belongs to a school of critics who have been least influenced by the critical formulations of the West. While granting that Indian *kāvyaśāstra* needs a new orientation he, nevertheless, believes that the total neglect of the classical Sanskrit tradition and the slavish imitation of western norms can never help us achieve our objective. In like manner, Pandit Viswanath Prasad Misra (b. 1906), another critic of the post-Shukla period, has summarily rejected the new experimental and synthetic approach. His writings, so out of tune with the spirit of the new age, reveal how irresistibly he has been drawn to those aspects of Acharya Shukla which appeal to his orthodox temperament. Padumlal Punnalal Bakhsi (b. 1894) is pre-eminently an essayist who, in his capacity as editor of *Sarasvatī* and *Chāyā*, has taken upon himself the task of educating the taste of his readers and brought to it a style which is the product of his creative imagination and of his acquaintance with English literature and Rabindranath Tagore.

Less far-reaching in its effects, though interesting historically, is Pitambar Datta Badathvala's (b. 1902) contribution to Hindi criticism. The two important critical works

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on which his fame rests are *Hindī Kāvya meṁ Nirguṇa Sampradāya* (The Nirguna Cult in Hindi Poetry, 1934) and *Makaranda*. Lakshmi Narayan Sudhamsu (1908–74) has expounded in his *Kāvya meṁ Abhivyañjanāvāda* (1938) Croce's expressionistic theory of art and shown his discriminating judgment in the process. His other work, *Jīvan ke Tattva aur Kāvya ke Siddhānta* (The Elements of Life and the Principles of Poetry, 1963), embodies his views on life and literature, poetic inspiration, rhythm and diction, etc. The perusal of these views reveals that they lean heavily on the Romantic conception of the 19th-century European writers.

Significant both in substance and style are the critical pronouncements of the major poets of the *Chāyāvāda* school. Even the minor or not-so-major poet-critics of this school cherished romantic ideas of Nature, spiritual beauty and the aesthetic function of poetry. One such critic is Shantipriya Dwivedi (b. 1906), whose poetic prose is bathed in sentimentality and who is an eloquent defender of the impressionistic mode of critical evaluation. This accounts for the stress laid in his theorizing on the transmission of the critic's own deeply felt response. The works that reveal Dwivedi at his best and are the most typical of his critical contribution are *Hamāre Sāhitya Nirmātā* (1934), *Kavi aur Kāvya* (1936), *Sañcāriṇī* (The Moving Maiden, 1939), *Sāmayikī* (The Contemporary, 1944) and *Jyotivihaga* (1951). Among the main contributors to the romantic-subjective theory of literature, the most noteworthy is Ram Kumar Varma (b. 1905), who wrote a critical history of Hindi literature (1939). His other works include *Sāhitya Samālocanā* (1929), *Kabīr Kā Rahasyavāda* (1930) and *Sāhitya Śāstra* (1956). In his *Kabīr kā Rahasyavāda* he not only gives an authentic account of Kabir's life, but also seeks to present an illuminating *examen* of his mysticism, spiritual marriage, *haṭhayoga*, and mystical sufism.

Various efforts have been made at critical theorizing by the major poet-critics of the *Chāyāvāda* School. Jaya Shankara Prasad (1889–1937) has expounded his views in the only book of criticism he has written, viz. *Kāvya aur Kalā tathā Anya Nibandha* (Poetry and Art, and Other Essays, 1939). More important than Prasad as a critic, however, was Nirala (1896–1961), one of the greatest of the *Chāyāvāda* poets whose *Pant aur Pallava* (Pant and His *Pallava*, 1948), *Ravīndra Kavitā Kānana, Sangraha* (A Collection from the Garden of Rabindra's Poetry, 1963), and *Cābuk* (The Whip, 1962) are of special interest in that they remind one of Whitman and D. H. Lawrence, of Wordsworth and Shelley. Sumitra Nandan Pant's (1900–77) reflections on art, culture and romanticism are embodied in the introductions to his collections of poems and in his *Kalā aur Samskṛti* (1965) and *Chāyāvāda kā Punarmūlyāṅkana* (A Re-evaluation of Chayavada, 1965). Mahadevi Varma's (b. 1907) prefaces to *Yāmā* (1939), *Dīpaśikhā* (The Torch, 1940), *Sāndhyagīta* (1936) and *Ādhunik Kavi* (Modern Poet), along with her essays in *Cāṁd* reveal, first, the typical expounder of mystico-romantic aesthetics that she has been, and, secondly, a critic highly conscious of the bonds that link the poet's soul with the dark realm inside him. The synthetic spirit of which Ramachandra Shukla was the greatest exponent is embodied also in the critical writings of Ramadhari Singh 'Dinakar' (1908–74) which betray the influence of Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot. The most representative of these are *Kāvya Kī Bhūmikā* (An Introduction to Poetry, 1958), *Pant, Prasād aur Maithilīśaraṇ* (1958), and *Śuddha Kavitā kī Khoj* (The Search for Pure Poetry, 1966).

Critical Approach Matures

It is in Nanda Dulare Vajpeyi (1906–67), Hazari Prasad Dwivedi (1907–79), Nagendra (b. 1915) and Devaraja (b. 1917), however, that the synthetic spirit of the present century becomes most clearly apparent. With them literary criticism in Hindi attains its maturity. Vajpeyi's works, *Hindī Sāhitya: Bīsvīṁ Śatābdī* (1945), *Ādhunik Sāhitya* (1950), *Nayā Sāhitya: Naye Praśna* (1955), *Jayaśaṅkar Prasād* (2nd ed., 1966), *Kavi Nirālā* (1965) and *Mahākavi Sūradāsa* (1952) are suffused with the critical temper, a temper reminiscent of the Shukla tradition, yet so bold, flexible and dispassionate. He is seen in these books advancing from the cramping rhetoric of the ancients and the *Rīti* poets to the *Chāyāvāda* school, undeterred by the views entertained by Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi and Ramachandra Shukla. His liberality of views and powerful arguments expressed in a vigorous style rank him very high as a synthesizer, while his clairvoyance in poetic discrimination makes him one of the best critics in Hindi.

Hazari Prasad Dwivedi's most substantial contribution to literary criticism is found in his *Hindī Sāhitya Kī Bhūmikā* (1940), *Kabīr* (1942), *Nātha Sampradāya* (1950) and *Hindī Sāhitya Kā Ādikāla* (1952)—all of which reveal his profound erudition and deep humanistic liberalism that emanated from his keen sense of religion and morality. Entirely indifferent to the transitory fashions of the day, he is the supreme example of the writer who has had a first-hand acquaintance with the classical past, possessing at the same time a tremendous capacity to assimilate the romantic present. His European counterparts are Matthew Arnold, even Saintsbury and W. P. Ker. The most important quality, indeed the very *sine qua non* of his manner and style, is the classical economy with which he expounds a theory or analyses a subject in such works as *Sāhitya Kā Marma* (The Essence of Literature, 1952) and *Kālidāsa kī Lālitya Yojanā* (Kalidasa's Portrayal of Beauty, 1965).

Of outstanding importance in the history of Hindi literary criticism is the contribution made by Dr Nagendra. His interests, which have throughout been scholarly and

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aesthetic, have not substantially altered with the successive stages of his output, and it is now clear that the theory of *rasa* to him is not merely a theoretical formulation of classical antiquity, but a universal aesthetic principle transcending all limitations of time and space. From the first it is clear that the concept of literature set forth in his works is that of a Maritain, who believed that art is the creation of beauty defined in terms of pleasure, of a Eugene Veron, according to whom art expresses the whole gamut of human emotions, and of a Longinus, who maintained that great art is the echo of a great soul. Nothing is more striking about Nagendra's critical corpus than the ardent enthusiasm with which he commends the theory of *rasa*. Of the limited sympathies of Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi, who inveighed against the poets of the *Chāyāvāda* School, or of Ramachandra Shukla, who railed at *Rīti* poetry and against modern poetic movements, there is practically no trace in Nagendra's works. To him *Rīti* literature has been more sinned against than sinning; literature has a very important function to perform, to give pleasure, and the merit of a work of art can be gauged by determining whether the artist has completely merged his personality into it or not. It is as the outcome of the writer's own experience that he commends literature on account of its pleasure-giving element and in several passages states categorically that all writings are useless except in so far as they give delight—the *delectare* of Horace—and immerse the reader's soul in pure aesthetic *rasa*.

It is no wonder that Nagendra pursues the theme of *rasa* further in his *Rasa Siddhānta* (1964) and maintains that on the touchstone of *rasa* one can test not only the purity of classical poetry but all literature, ancient, medieval or contemporary. Equally interesting are the contributions of Nagendra as the editor of works like *Hindī Dhvanyāloka* (1952), *Kāvyālaṅkāra-Sūtra* (1954), *Vakrokti-Jīvita* (1955), *Abhinavabhāratī* (1960), *Bhāratīya Kāvya-Śāstra kī Paramparā* (Parts I & II), *Hindī Sāhitya kā Itihāsa* (1973), *Literary Criticism in India* (1976) and *Sūradāsa: A Revaluation* (1979). Apart from these, his original critical works include, besides *Rasa Siddhānta*, *Ālocaka kī Āsthā* (The Commitment of a Critic, 1966), *Kāvya-Bimba* (1967), *Nayī Samīkṣā: Naye Sandarbha* (New Criticism: New Contexts, 1971), *Bhāratīya Saundarya-Śāstra kī Bhūmikā* (1976), *Mithak aur Sāhitya* (Myths and Literature, 1979), etc. all of which have enriched Hindi literary criticism by importing into it certain western theories, concepts and norms of evaluation, and by bringing about a perfect synthesis of the two traditions.

Dr Devaraja's (b. 1917) critical essays in *Sāhitya Cintā* (1950), *Ādhunika Samīkṣā* (1954) and *Pratikriyāyeṁ* (Responses, 1966) are an astonishing exhibition of his erudition, patience and candour and appear to be akin in spirit to the critical reflections embodied in the writings of the synthetic critics. His style and attitude, however, have their own tinge, though his critical thought attracts the reader, being provocative and profoundly influenced by Acharya Ramachandra Shukla, T. S. Eliot and Irving Babbitt, all of whom he never tires of praising. Leavis, Lukacs and Goethe form, as it were, another set of standard guides whose names he invokes from time to time, very often to little purpose. At one time his popularity rested on his tirade against the *Chāyāvāda* poets, which, by its ruthlessness, had stupefied his readers.

Contributions to linguistic, philological and historical studies made by Dr Dhirendra Varma (b. 1897) have become an inseparable part of critical history and reveal the range of his learning. He has edited *Hindī Sāhitya Kośa*, a monumental dictionary of Hindi literature in two volumes. Baladeva Upadhyaya (b. 1899) nowhere shows any original insight into literary problems or standards, but three of his books, *Samskṛta-Kavi-Carcā* (1932), *Kavi aur Kāvya* (1947) and *Bhāratīya Sāhityaśāstra* (1950) give the best possible idea of his comparative approach and critical achievement. Dina Dayal Gupta (b. 1905) (*Aṣṭa Chāp aur Vallabha Sampradāya*) and Bhagiratha Misra (b. 1915) (*Kalā, Sāhitya aur Samīkṣā*; Art, Literature and Criticism, 1963) have genuine talent of a minor kind. Their critical contributions, made in the sixties, have no doubt been impressive, but it is Vasudeva Sharana Agrawal (b. 1904), Mata Prasad Gupta (b. 1909) and Pandit Viswanath Prasad Misra (b. 1906) who have maintained and advanced the tradition of scholarship and textual criticism. Lakshmisagara Varshneya (b. 1914) and Shrikrishna Lal (b. 1912) belong to the tradition of those who have collected, sorted out, arranged and rearranged material for the study of the history of Hindi literature.

Progressivism is one of the most marked phenomena in the development of Hindi criticism. Rooted as it is in realism, and announced in the present century by a long series of symptoms, it most nearly approximates the quality of a thorough change, bringing with it a principle of complete renovation. The exponents of *Pragativāda*—Sivadan Singh Chauhan (b. 1918) and Ram Bilas Sharma (b. 1912), for instance—believe that literature must have a social responsibility and that it must reach all sections of the community, the haves and the have-nots. Prakasha Chandra Gupta (b. 1908), who occupies a leading place in progressive Hindi literary criticism, owes his impressiveness largely to his Marxist views and his ability to impart to his subject a politically topical touch. For the application of his sociological canons and treatment of literature as an instrument of social significance, his *Nayā Hindī Sāhitya* (1939), *Ādhunik Hindī Sāhitya: Ek Dṛṣṭi* (Modern Hindi Literature. A Perspective, 1952), *Hindī Sāhitya Kī Janavādī Parampārā* (Folk Tradition of Hindi Literature, 1953) and *Sāhitya-Dhārā* (The Stream of Literature, 1956) are especially noteworthy. The view of literature as an analysis and expression of the feelings of the people pervades his critical essays on the

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three major *Bhakta* poets-Kabir, Tulasidas, and Suradas. Dr Ram Bilas Sharma, the most vigorous exponent of the Marxist tradition, interprets literary works as social documents and, like Plekhanov, Trotsky and Caudwell, points out the modern writer's isolation from reality and insists on his participation in the revolutionary battle against the private proprietor. In his book *Svādhīnatā aur Rāṣṭrīya Sāhitya* (1956) he adopts the stance of a Marxist sociologist and avers that literary values are neither independent nor absolute, being both relevant to and dependent upon the milieu and the moment. Amrit Rai, Narendra Sharma, Rangeya Raghava and Muktibodha are some of the other notable exponents of the new humanistic and social philosophy of art.

Namawar Singh (b. 1927) has made an assiduous study of Apabhramsa literature as well as of the writings of the Siddhas and is one of the recognized critics whose principal achievements are in the field of literary history. Works which offer the quintessence of his thought and genius are *Chāyāvāda, Itihāsa aur Ālocanā* (History and Criticism, 1962), *Ādhunika Sāhitya kī Pravṛttiyaṁ* (The Trends of Modern Literature, rev. ed. 1962), *Kahānī: Naī Kahānī* (Story: The New Story, 1966) and *Kavitā ke Naye Pratimāna* (The New Standards of Poetry, 1968). He accounts for the emergence of experimentalism in Hindi literature by tracing it to a deep disenchantment with the traditional modes of expression, a disenchantment that is born of a conscious reaction against the mawkishness of the *Chāyāvāda* poets. He recognizes the importance of contemporary literature and believes that the critic who writes only on ancient literature soon becomes effete.

The psycho-analytical school of modern Hindi criticism is represented by the works of Ajneya (b. 1911) and Ilachandra Joshi (b. 1902), though none of the critics has confined himself to this species of critical writing alone. Freudian literary criticism and surrealistic literature are two of the undeveloped species of Hindi literary history. In his critical works, *Sāhitya Sarjanā* (Literary Creation, 1938), *Vivecana* (Exposition, 1943), *Viśleṣaṇa* (Analysis, 1953), *Sāhitya Cintana* (Literary Thoughts, 1954) and *Dekhā-Parakhā* (Seen and Tested, 1957), Ilachandra Joshi has demonstrated the inadequacy of the Marxist approach to literature and emphasized the vital role played by the artist's subconscious. He sees glimpses of repressed sexual feelings in the writings of the classical Sanskrit poets as well as in those of the poets of Devotion and of Erotic-Rhetoricism. S. H. Vatsyayana 'Ajneya' may be classed with the critics of the psycho-analytical school, but he is more a rebel than a votary of any literary circle or school. His affinities are to T. S. Eliot, D. Thompson and F. R. Leavis. Instances of the influence of Eliot are numerous, as are those of modern western literature in general, this being evident in his volume of essays, *Ātmanepada* (1960).

It is difficult to make a guess about the future of *Nayī Ālocanā* (New Criticism) in Hindi. The new movement and those who are associated with it have succeeded in commending themselves to some circles, especially to the elite and to all the crazy lovers of new-fangled movements. Some of the 'new' men are determined to make war on the doctrines of the ancient Ācāryas and to propagate, though they do not say so, the novelty of the most recent western literary movements. Those who want to be regarded as apostles and reformers are nothing but mere spokesmen of certain western influences. The critical writings of Muktibodha, Ajneya, Dharmavira Bharati, Girija Kumar Mathur and Raghuvamsa live as the pregnant tokens of this influence.

The problem of assessing the value of all that passess today under the name of Hindi criticism is at once serious and difficult. Most of the contemporary critical writings in Hindi look like hybrids of ancient *Kāvyaśāstra* and modern western poetics and rhetoric. The first impression is strange and not altogether pleasant. But then there are critics like Nagendra who are fully aware of their responsibility and of the real nature of the critic's task. As a formative influence on generations of young men it is these critics who will continue to be stimulating and be read for their intellectual honesty, clear-sightedness and energy, with which they have synthesized the best of the West with the most enduring of the East in their literary theorizing.

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Kannada

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Background

Literary criticism, as it is understood today, as a separate and distinct discipline devoted to the analysis and judgement of literary works is a modern concept and in Kannada it has developed during this century. Earlier writers were interested in poetics and rhetoric and not in the interpretation of individual works of art. They generally followed the lead given to them by Sanskrit writers on poetics, but the best of them, Nripatunga (Nṛpatuṅga) who wrote *Kavirājamārga* (9th century) and Nagavarma I (Nāgavarma), the author of *Candōmbudhi* (10th century), for example, showed a clear understanding of the difference between the geniuses of Sanskrit and Kannada and identified it in terms of diction, metrical forms and other areas. *Kavirājamārga*, a work which bears a clear imprint of Dandin's *Kāvyādarśa*, dealt chiefly with *Śabdālaṅkāra* and *Arthālaṅkāra* (figures of speech), but its uniqueness in the context of Kannada poetics lies in its recognition of *upamā* (simile) as the *alaṅkāra* most suited to the genius of Kannada and in its argument that the observance of *yati* (metrical pause) was not essential for the Kannada poet. Nagavarma's *Candōmbudhi* describes, for the first time, metrical forms like *ṣaṭpadi*, *tripadi* and *sāṅgatya* peculiar to Kannada poetry. Other works which deserve mention in this context are those of Nagavarma II, the author of *Kāvyāvalōkana* (12th century), Udayaditya's *Udayādityālaṅkāra* and Kavikamadeva's *Sṛṅgāraratnākara* of the 13th century. As early as the 9th century, Kannada had a developed language and literature, and inquiry into the nature and function of poetry and art had already begun, but the history of literary criticism begins only in the 20th century.

The Navodaya Age

The evolution of modern Kannada literature shows four distinct, though by no means exclusive, phases: (1) *Navōdaya* (New Awakening) from the beginning of the 20th century to the close of the third decade; (2) *Pragatiśīla* (Progressive), the years between 1940 and 1950; (3) *Navya* (Modern), from 1950 to 1970; and (4) The Post-Modern, from 1970 onwards, for which a satisfactory label is yet to be found. A feature common to the first three phases is that, though they are integral parts of our cultural history, they derived their main inspiration in varying degrees from the West. The forces behind the fourth movement are of a more complex nature. They originated from Leftist movements within the country and outside and derived some of their strength from the caste-struggle. The movement, however, is still in an incipient stage and its form and features are not clear enough for identification.

The *Navōdaya*, also referred to as Renaissance, was an age of creation rather than an age of criticism. Nevertheless, there was a good deal of critical activity directed towards specific ends: (1) a redefinition of the nature and function of literature in terms of western concepts; (2) the rediscovery of the literature of the past—Sanskrit as well as Kannada; (3) the widening of the literary horizons of the Kannada readers through an exploration of foreign literatures and literatures of other Indian languages, particularly Bengali and Marathi; and (4) the evaluation of contemporary Kannada writing. The age produced men who combined in themselves the roles of the public critic and the scholarly critic. The task of a public critic, as Northrop Frye sees it, is ' to exemplify how a man of taste uses and evaluates literature, and thus shows how literature is to be absorbed into society' (Northrop, Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism*, 1957, p. 8).

B. M. Srikantaiah. The most eminent of these was B. M. Srikantaiah (Śrīkaṇṭhayya, 1884–1946), popularly known as Śrī, who, as poet, critic and propagandist, did pioneering work in initiating a cultural and literary renaissance which enabled the Kannada people to recover their lost identity. His greatest contribution was in the field of poetry. *Iṅgliś Gītegaḷu* (English Lyrics, 1921), apparently a collection of adaptations from the English romantic poets, effected a complete break from the older forms of Kannada poetry which had either fallen into disuse or were being practised mechanically. Srikantaiah's experiments with rhythm and metre on the one hand and with the language of poetry on the other opened out new modes of expression which the poetic generation of his time seized eagerly. As critic, Srikantaiah's main achievement was the rediscovery of the older Kannada poets through his valuable contribution to *Kannaḍa Kaipiḍi*, vol. II (A Handbook of Kannada, 1947) and speeches and articles, later collected in *Kannaḍigarige Oḷleya Sāhitya* (Good Literature for the Kannada People, 1948). Srikantaiah was at his best when he wrote on the poets he liked most, like Pampa, Ranna and Kumaravyasa, though his demonstration of their greatness and comparative merits was through chosen lines and passages rather than through a total consideration of the literary work as a whole. A professor of English, his thorough grounding in

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the literatures of the West provided him with comparative contexts in which he could view the work of the older Kannada poets. His preoccupation with Greek and Elizabethan tragedy enabled him to discover tragic elements in the work of poets like Ranna and Nagachandra. In the absence of a native critical tradition, the procedure that Srikantaiah adopted, with all its pitfalls, proved to be useful. This was perhaps the only way open to him of seeing the literature of the past in his language as a living literature. Srikantaiah's criticism of contemporary literature is limited to comments on modern literary forms.

A. R. Krishna Shastry. B. M. Srikantaiah's pioneering work was followed up by several of his students, the most distinguished of whom were: A. R. Krishna Shastry (Kṛṣṇa Śāstri, 1890–1968); T. N. Srikantaiah (Śrīkaṇṭhayya, 1906–66); K. V. Puttappa (Puṭṭappa, b. 1904); and S. V. Ranganna (Raṅgaṇṇa, b. 1898). Krishna Shastry was a man of immense learning, with a highly developed and mature taste. More firmly rooted in his own culture than B. M. Srikantia, he wrote authoritatively on Sanskrit as well Kannada. His *Sanskṛta Nāṭaka* (Sanskrit Drama, 1937) and *Bhāsa Kavi* (1933) still remain the finest introductions to these areas in the Kannada language. His work on Bankim Chandra and Hari Narayan Apte, two of the most powerful influences that shaped the Kannada novel in its earlier stages, is full of insights. His approach to the older poets in Kannada shows the healthy spirit of criticism. In demonstrating the literary merits of works like Ranna's *Sāhasa-Bhīmavijaya*, for example, he is not overawed by their reputation and does not hesitate to ridicule their faults. But perhaps the true dimensions of Krishna Shastry's stature as critic are seen in his responses to contemporary literature. It is amazing to see that a man whose taste was formed by Sanskrit drama could recognize with unerring judgement the new experiments of the writers of his time in realistic drama, the short story and the novel, forms which were derived from western literature. For real insight and sympathy it is difficult to match his review of T. P. Kailasam's *Toḷḷu Gaṭṭi* (The Hollow and the Sound) in *Prabuddha Karṇāṭaka*, a journal which he edited with distinction. Though basically Krishna Shastry was not in favour of realism in art and did not fully grasp the significance of Kailasam's use of spoken language in his plays, he was all praise for their purposefulness and the quality of humour in them. Krishna Shastry's criticism of fiction as exemplified by his statements on *Pūrnakalā* and Masti Venkatesa Iyengar's short stories is highly perceptive and shows an awareness of the distinctive qualities of these genres which were new to Kannada. Krishna Shastry's strength as critic lay in his catholic taste, capacity for sound evaluation and openness to new experiments.

T. N. Srikantaiah. Like Krishna Shastry, T. N. Srikantaiah too was deeply versed in Sanskrit literature and Sanskrit poetics. His well-known book, *Bhāratīya Kāvyamīmāmse* (Indian Poetics, 1953) is perhaps the best handbook on Indian poetics in Kannada; it is certainly the most readable. Srikantaiah's analysis of the functions of language and his exposition of the concepts of *rasa*, *bhāva*, *rīti*, *guṇa* and *alaṅkāra*, with the aptest of examples, are marked by unusual clarity and a sense of proportion. Ironically, however, the critical framework that Srikantaiah adopts for his studies of Kalidasa's plays included in his *Kāvyasamīkṣe* (1947) is perceptibly western and the questions he raises such as those of the suitability of the ending in *Vikramōrvaśiya* or the absence of tragedy in Sanskrit drama, are obviously prompted by his exposure to criticism of English drama. It may, perhaps, be useful to recall here that the study of English literature formed a very important part of university education in Srikantaiah's times. Srikantaiah is at his best when he writes on the technical aspects of poetry. His essay on B. M. Srikantaiah's metrical experiments in *Iṅgliś Gītegaḷu*, his perceptive criticism of Bendre's *Gari* (Feathers) and *Sakhīgīta* (Lover's Song), his analysis of rhythm and metre in contemporary poetry—all of which appear in *Samālōkana* (1958), could be quoted as examples. One can see a connecting link between Srikantaiah's writings and the work of the early rhetoricians like Nagavarma.

K. V. Puttappa. K. V. Puttappa's greatness as a writer is based on his poetry, his magnum opus *Rāmāyaṇadarśana* and his two novels, *Kānūru Subbamma Heggaḍiti* and *Malegaḷalli Madumagaḷu*. Yet, he has produced a large body of criticism in which he develops, from a variety of sources, Indian as well as western, a poetics which goes a long way in helping readers to understand his poetry and its kind. His main preoccupation as a critic seems to have been the endeavour to resolve the contradiction between pure aesthetic experience and the vision of the writer whose business as poet is self-realization (*ātmasākṣātkāra*). Puttappa argues in *Tapōnandana* (Asectic Joy, 1954) that it is essential for the critic to possess a total vision, since what is primary in a poet, in his view, is vision. Puttappa's poetics are developed around three important concepts, *Darśana* (vision) *Pūrṇadṛṣṭi* (The Total View), by which Puttappa meant the poet's consciousness of Time as a whole, and *Pratimā* (image), the medium of the poet's vision which manifests itself in art but which is not limited to it. Puttappa's writings on poets like Ranna, Lakshmisa, Raghavanka and Kumaravyasa have sought to clarify these concepts which are of vital importance for him.

S. V. Ranganna. Like B. M. Srikantaiah, S. V. Ranganna was a professor of English. He brought to the study of Sanskrit and Kannada literatures a more western approach than is found in his contemporaries. His main concern was with style and in the three volumes of *Śaili* (Style, 1944, 1968,

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1971) he painstakingly expounds western theories of style and applies them to several major Kannada poets of the past like Pampa, Ranna, Harihara and Lakshmisa. Though Ranganna's criticism of these writers is one-sided and incomplete, his definite point of view and the adoption of a uniform criterion yield sharp judgements. His later collection *Honnaśūla* (Golden Gallows, 1959) is less satisfactory for various reasons. The writings of T. N. Srikantia and A. R. Krishna Shastry impress us by their readability, but Ranganna is tough reading. Though a specialist in style his own style lacks some of its elementary requirements like clarity. Perhaps the process of thinking in English and writing in Kannada, which has been the bane of some of the Kannada critics, particularly those who also happen to be teachers of English, began with him.

Gundappa and Masti. D. V. Gundappa (Guṇḍappa, 1889–1975) and Masti Venkatesa Iyengar (Māsti Vēṅkaṭēśa Ayyaṅgār, b. 1891) were not primarily critics. Gundappa was a noted poet of the time and his interests went far beyond literature and covered politics, sociology, and journalism. He was, however, deeply interested in the problems of literature, as he saw the connections between literature and society more clearly than others. In fact, his lecture 'Sāhitya Mattu Janajīvana' (1920) is the first detailed consideration in the Age of Renaissance of the relationship between life and literature. His two books, *Jīvana Saundarya Mattu Sāhitya* (Beauty of life and Literature, 1932) and *Sāhityaśakti* (Power of Literature, 1950) have been widely read. A liberal in politics, Gundappa openly welcomed western literary theories and techniques, and declared: 'There is nothing like a Swadesi cult in the field of literature' (D. V. Gundappa, *Sahitya Mattu Jivana Saundarya*, 1962, p. 16). Gundappa's modernity of outlook can be seen in all his essays. He was, however, more of a propagandist than a literary critic and contented himself with generalizations. Masti's is a great name in the field of the short story to which he gave the status of a major form in Kannada. He has also published a good deal of criticism which has been collected in four volumes under the title *Vimarśe* (Criticism, 1926–33). (His *Sāhityadalli Vimarśeya Kārya* [1925] was the first serious consideration of the functions of literary criticism.) Masti wrote theoretical as well as applied criticism, and his studies are not confined to Kannada literature. The wide range of writers he discusses in his books varies from Goethe to Hafiz. He wrote a book on Rabindranath Tagore as well. With Masti, criticism is appreciation and his critical terminology, as was pointed out by A. R. Krishna Shastry in his review of *Sāhitya*, lacks precision and clarity. Masti and Gundappa were more interested in the Arnoldian task of creating a proper climate for creative writing by propagating ideas and popularizing the literature they valued rather than in analysis and evaluation.

D. R. Bendre. As K. D. Kurtakoti (Kurtakōṭi, b. 1928) has demonstrated in his recent book on D. R. Bendre (Bēndre, 1896–1981), *Bhṛṅgada Bennēri* (1975), an understanding of Bendre's thought on the nature and making of poetry, expressed through some of the poems themselves as also in his two books, *Sāhitya Hāgu Vimarśe* (Literature and Criticism, 1937) and *Sāhityasamśōdhana* (Literary Research, 1940) and his seminal article 'Kavyōdyōga' published in the first volume of *Manvantara* is essential for an adequate appreciation of his poetry. Bendre had a highly original mind which does not accept any poetic theory, Indian or western, at its face value. He had a real insight into Sanskrit poetics and sought to make it relevant to the criticism of modern literature by redefining its key concepts like *Rasa* and *Bhāva*. He argued, for example, that *Bhāva* became as important a value as *Rasa* in the context of modern lyrical poetry. His intuitions about the creative process itself are most valuable and deserve more detailed attention than they have received so far. Bendre's criticism of individual writers like Ranna, Nagacandra, Kumaravyasa and Lakshmisa are full of new insights. Bendre's preference for devotional poets like the *Vacanakāras* over secular poets of Pampa's eminence is a striking example of his boldness as a critic. His aphoristic and metaphorical style at times poses problems of interpretation, but the effort the reader puts in is always amply rewarded. If Kannada literary criticism had followed the way shown by Bendre, it would have perhaps retained its Indian identity even after absorbing western influences.

R. S. Mugali. R. S. Mugali's (Mugaḷi, b. 1906) monumental histories of Kannada literature, *Sāhityacaritre* and *Kannaḍa Sāhityada Itihāsa*, appeared in 1953 and 1963 respectively. They represent a cultivated critic's industry of a lifetime. Mugali consolidated the scholarly and critical gains of his generation and presented, for the first time, a systematic and balanced account of the development of Kannada literature through the ages. His literary histories pay as much attention to the evaluation of the work of individual writers as to the definition of literary tradition in terms of continuity and change. His deep study of Kannada culture in its various stages of evolution enabled him to see his subject in a historical and sociological perspective. Mugali's other books of criticism, *Rannana Kṛtiratna* (1946), *Sāhityōpāsane* (1955), and *Tavanidhi* (1957) are also characterized by the same qualities of sound scholarship and sense of proportion. He was, however, understandably hesitant in assessing the work of contemporaries and often resorted to description and platitude.

K. D. Kurtakoti. K. D. Kurtakōṭi is a younger critic belonging to a later generation of critics, but his name must be mentioned along with Mugali's. The publication of his *Yugadharma Hāgu Sāhityadarśana* (The Spirit of the Age

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and the Manifestation of Literature), which consists of extensive critical essays on various forms of modern Kannada literature, in 1962, was as important a literary event as the publication of Mugali's *Sāhityacaritre* in 1953. Unlike Mugali, Kurtakoti does not pay much attention to what others have written about the subject, but trusts his own vast experience of literature and rich literary insights. What he lacks in scholarship he makes up in critical passion and brilliance of language. His main intention in writing this critical history was, as he has himself said, to study the development of the literary forms in modern Kannada. Evaluation for him was a secondary object. The book, however, is full of personal judgements. The best part is the one that deals with poetry. He is particularly good in his writing on Bendre, and his full-length study of Bendre, *Bhṛṅgada Bennēri*, is easily the best book on this great poet. Though he has written perceptively about Adiga's poetry in his literary history and elsewhere, his assessment of the *Navya* writing as a whole is not very satisfactory. This may be because, like Gokak and others, he too failed to see the vital connections between the *Navya* movement and the changed sensibility operating on younger writers. Not the least important of Kurtakoti's achievements as a critic is the development of a language capable of articulating subtle critical discriminations and varied literary experience without sacrificing clarity or readability. Kurtakoti's criticism is as readable as fiction.

V. Seetaramaiah. V. Seetaramaiah (Sītārāmaiā, 1899–1983) belongs to the *Navōdaya* generation of writers, but he is the odd man out in their company, at least as a critic. One of the most widely read of critics, he is fascinated by new ideas and new experiments in literature, particularly those coming from the West. He raises fundamental questions relating to art and aesthetic experience in his valuable books, *Kavi-Kāvya-Dṛṣṭi* (1955) and *Kalānubhava* (Art Experience, 1976). In *Sāhitya: Sampradāya Mattu Hosamārga* (Tradition and the New Directions, 1967) he takes up the question of tradition and experiment in Kannada literature. Seetharamaiah (V. Si. as he was popularly known) does not accept the view put forth by the modernists that older poetry was not responsive to the changing environment. In this book and elsewhere Seetharamaiah argues, fairly convincingly, that the *Navōdaya* poetry was never fully Romantic. He has been hostile to certain aspects of *Navya* poetry because he thinks it lacks intensity and experience and is obsessed with technique. Seetharamaiah's is a strange case, because he does not fit into any category. In relation to the *Navōdaya* writers he is a modernist; in relation to the *Navya* writers, he takes up *Navōdaya* positions.

Pioneering work in salvaging old and musty manuscripts and editing them for publication has been one of the major scholarly activities from the beginning of this century, and Kannada has been fortunate in having had the services of scholars of the eminence of R. Narasimhachar, T. S. Venkannayya, P. G. Halakatti, S. C. Nandimath, S. S. Basavanal, K. G. Kundangar, Cannappa Uttangi, M. Govinda Pai, D. L. Narasimhachar, Muliya Timmappayya, S. S. Malwad, R. C. Hiremath, M. V. Seetharamiah and A. N. Upadhye for this hard work.

The Pragatiśīla Age

The Progressive Movement which gathered force after the outbreak of the Second World War, with its philosophy of humanistic realism brought about important changes in the field of literature and criticism. The Progressive writers rebelled against the Establishment and its cultural and literary values which in their opinion were romantic and transcendental. But they were not happy with the new state of affairs either. The socialization of literature which they welcomed had resulted in the transfer of power to a number of plebeian organs which did not always use it with discrimination. A. N. Krishnarao (Kṛṣṇarāvu), at that time a leading Progressive writer, openly complained that literature had fallen into the hands of people who lacked experience and scholarship.

The Progressive Movement marked the first important shift in sensibility after *Navōdaya* and though it was strong only in the field of fiction, it affected poets and dramatists as well. The shift, caused by the influence of Marxist ideology and writers like Gorky, was pronouncedly in the direction of realism.

The Progressives had their own theoretical and practical problems in literature, as can be seen by the writings of Krishnarao. One of them was how the Indian Progressive writer was to be a revolutionary and yet retain his Indian identity. Krishnarao solved the problem for himself rather facilely by arguing that Indian culture had its roots in humanism and could be easily reconciled to Marxism. The Progressives attacked individualism, and their own values were: sympathy, revolution, socialism, freedom from fear and easy communication. The Progressive writers could not hold the field long but they did make an impact, though short-lived. They widened the sensibilities of their readers, and loosened the magic hold of transcendentalism and romanticism. In the end they were defeated by the narrowness of their own faith. The Progressive Movement which introduced new values in literature did not produce able critics or theoreticians. It has now achieved new significance in the context of the post-modern Leftist developments in the Kannada literature of the seventies.

The Navya Period

One of the major tasks towards which critical activity has been directed after 1950 is the enunciation of the Modernist

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or *Navya* ideology from the cultural and literary points of view.

V. K. Gokak. The first statement of this kind came from V. K. Gokak (Gōkāk, b. 1909) who declared in 1950: 'The age of Renaissance is about to end and the Modern age is about to begin'; and, 'when a tradition reaches its perfection language can achieve completeness and charm only when a new tradition takes its place' (tr. V. K. Gokak, *Navyate hāgu Kāvyajīvana*, 1955, pp. 24–25). Gokak, a prominent member of the Bendre circle, had earlier acted as a spokesman of the *Navōdaya* literature in *Indina Kāvyada Gottu Gurigaḷu* (The Nature and Aims of Present-day Poetry, 1946). Now, inspired by modern English poets like T. S. Eliot, he issued a manifesto of the *Navya* Movement. Gokak's conception of *Navya* was highly idiosyncratic as can be seen by the values he associates with this concept, viz. freedom, harmony and metaphysical concern (*daivikate*). This typical Gokakian formula bears no relation to the values which Adiga and others associated with the *Navya* movement later. For Gokak *Navya* poetry meant an experiment and not a revolution in sensibility. 'Modernity', he wrote ' is a technique and anybody can use it ' (tr. V. K. Gokak, ed., *Navyadhvani*, 1956). In his recent book, *Kavanagaḷalli Sankīrṇate* (Complexity in Poems, 1978) Gokak has argued that the values which have been claimed for *Navya* poetry like complexity are not its monopoly. He has moved towards an eclectic conception of literature.

Adiga. *Navya* poetry found its true leader in M. Gopalkrishna Adiga (Aḍiga, b. 1918) who had passed through the *Navōdaya* phase and had modernized himself with the help of English poets like Eliot. ' The source of modernity,' Adiga rightly said, ' is in the awareness of the change in the times, the environment and the attitudes' (tr. M. G. Adiga, *Maṇṇina Vāsane*, 1966, p. 5). Adiga emphasized the inalienable relationship between the contemporaneous and the universal and the need for the poet to be aware of the *ārṣa* tradition of India. His rejection of the *Navōdaya* ideology was complete and categorical. Adiga's lead, however, has been through his poetry and not through his criticism, though some of the introductions he wrote to the works of younger writers like P. Lankesh, Yashawanta Cittal and S. Nadig proved to be highly influential. As the editor of *Sākṣi*, which is now revived after a brief closure, he has encouraged good critics and campaigned for fearless and objective criticism.

U. R. Ananthamurthy. The most influential of the critics belonging to the *Navya* generation of critics is undoubtedly U. R. Ananthamurthy (Anantamūrti, b. 1932), a creative writer of the first order. Adiga's critical energy had been directed towards undermining the hold of the *Navōdaya* writers. Ananthamurthy used his to popularize the principles and techniques of the New Critics from England and America. In the preface he wrote to Adiga's *Bhūmigīta* (Song of the Earth, 1959), he stressed the responsibility of the critic and said that the critic should make no statements which he cannot justify in terms of the poems he is talking about. He also voiced the New Critic's concern with language when he said that literature was something which happened in the language. Modernity, in Ananthamurthy's view, is not just a change in artistic faith but implies a moral revolution. The preoccupation with language and technique that characterizes the *Navya* writer, he argued, is a result of the pressure of ideas and not an independent pursuit. Most of Ananthamurthy's important critical thought is available in his two collections, *Prajne mattu Parisara* (Sensibility and Environment, 1971) and *Sannivēśa* (Contexts, 1974).

Little Magazines. One of the most significant events of the sixties was the rise of the little magazine. Magazines like *Sākṣi*, *Sankramaṇa* and *Manvantara* stimulated interest in literary activity and promoted criticism by encouraging young writers. The two major preoccupations of the critics writing in these magazines were (a) contemporary writing and (b) literature of the immediate past. Interpretation and revaluation was undertaken on a big scale, and some of the critics who carried out this work brought to their job an extraordinary commitment. The foremost among these was M. G. Krishnamurthi (Kṛṣṇamūrti, 1931–75) who brought to Kannada criticism a wealth of literary experience of modern English and American literatures and a mastery over critical methods employed by F. R. Leavis and others. His unfortunate death at an early age deprived Kannada of a critical mind of a high order; but by then he had already written *Ādhunika Bhāratīya Sāhitya* (1970) which has come to be recognized as a major critical work. Krishnamurthi's attention to language as exemplified by his analysis of Adiga's *Bhūmigīta* and his use of a cultural framework for the study of fiction as seen in his essyas on Puttappa's novels and Rao Bahadur's *Grāmāyaṇa* (The Saga of a Village, 1957), provided models for other critics. Unfortunately, at times his language tended to be involuted and artificial, creating problems of communication. Perhaps he needed also to familiarize himself with the Kannada tradition at deeper levels, something which almost every good critic of the *Navōdaya* generation did instinctively. The feel for the language is a decisive factor in linguistic interpretation, and it is doubtful whether he always had it in satisfactory proportions.

The presence of a large number of competent critics is a distinctive feature of the *Navya* phase of Kannada literature. It is impossible to do justice to all of them in this brief article. However a few names may be mentioned: G. S. Shivarudrappa (*Vimarśeya Pūrva Pascima*; East and West

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Criticism, 1972), Govindaraj Giraddi (*Saṇṇakateya Hosa Olavugaḷu* (New Trends in the Short Story, 1965); P. Lankesh (*Prastuta*; The Present, 1970); G. S. Amur (*Kṛtiparīkṣe*; Evaluation of Literary Works, 1970); L. S. Sheshagiri Rao (*Kādambarī Sāmānya Manuṣya*; The Novel and the Common Man, 1957); and G. H. Nayak (*Samakālīna*; The Contemporary, 1973). Mention may also be made of Shantinath Desai, Shankar Mokashi-Punekar and Rajiva Taranath who have been influential critics as seen from contemporary periodicals. The most important contribution of the *Navya* school of writers has been in the field of practical criticism. Explication has now become an important critical approach to a text. *Prāyōgika Vimarśe* (Practical Criticism, 1971) edited by G. S. Sivarudrappa contains a representative selection of the achievement of this school. I should also mention in this context the important role that the three universities in Karnataka are playing in promoting literary criticism.

The New Turn

The strong reaction voiced by some of the rebel writers like Chandrasekhar Patil against the *Navya* school of literature is an important development of the post-modern period. The demand for a new type of criticism, more politically and socially oriented, is a natural offshoot of the demand for a rebel-literature (Bandāya Sāhitya). At this stage, it is difficult to visualize the shape that future criticism is likely to assume. As a matter of fact, each literary generation has had its own conception of the function of literary criticism. The *Navōdaya* writers emphasized the Arnoldian obligation of the literary critic to promote creative activity. The editors of *Prabuddha Karṇāṭaka* perhaps spoke for their generation when they said in the very first issue of their Journal: 'Our main task is to provide the necessary milieu for the creation of literature' (tr.). The *Navya* school of critics felt that earlier criticism had been directed towards the writer rather than his work and, following the lead of T. S. Eliot, demanded a criticism which focused its attention on the literary object. The rebel writers of today look upon criticism as an instrument of their ideological struggle, and find that *Navya* criticism, with its formalistic new critical concerns, has become socially irrelevant.

One of the most striking features of the evolution of literary criticism in Kannada has been its orientation to the West. This has been in a way inevitable since the new literary forms themselves have been derived through our encounter with western literature, but the anxiety of influence has persisted. Kurtakoti, for example, was voicing this anxiety when he said: 'A system of criticism suited to the genius and development of Kannada literature has not yet been evolved' (tr.). At least one does at this moment not see any signs of such a thing happening in the near future.

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Kashmiri

GHULAM NABI FIRAQ

The mystic poets and the lovers of their poetry used to assemble from time to time in the 19th and the first half of the 20th century and make a comparative study of such Kashmiri poetry. They did not, however, preserve their deliberations, for there was no tradition of doing so. Perhaps the first article of literary criticism was a piece that appeared in 1936 in *Pratap*, the magazine of S. P. College, Srinagar. It was written by a young student and future Kashmiri poet, Nandalal Ambardar (b. 1915). In it, he criticized the highly Persianized diction of the poetry of Ghulam Ahmad Mahjoor (1885–1952).

Attempts to evaluate Kashmiri poetry were also made at the forum provided by the 'Unjaman-i-Taraq-i-Urdu' during 1941–42 and, later, in 1944–45, at the Halqa-i-Arbabi Zauq, in the Urdu medium. But, strictly speaking, literary criticism in Kashmiri emerged only after Independence, its writers being those conversant with criticism in English and Urdu. Sanskrit literary criticism and theories like *Rasa* and *Dhwani* have therefore had, during the three decades since, no occasion to leave their impact on Kashmiri literary criticism.

Post-Independence Development

There exists no indigenous system of poetics in Kashmiri. Abdul Ahad Azad (1903–48), during the third and fourth decades of the 20th century, compiled in Urdu for the first time a critical history of the Kashmiri language and its literature entitled *Kashmiri Zaban Aur Shairi* (Kashmiri Language and Poetry), which was printed and published (1959) eleven years after the death of its author. In this book, Azad provides information about the sources of the language and of the history of its poetry from the 14th century onwards. This important work could have become the corner-stone of literary criticism in Kashmiri had Azab written it in that language instead of in Urdu.

Soon after Independence, the Kashmiri language assumed importance. The National Cultural Front was formed by a group of progressive writers. From among them, Rahman Rahi (b. 1925), Akhtar Mohi-ud-Din (b. 1928) and Ghulam Nabi Firaq (b. 1922) introduced in Kashmiri the Marxian style of literary criticism and thus brought literature and literary criticism very close to politics. Their articles, which appeared in the journal of the organization, *Kong Poś* (Saffron Flower), are closer to social history and politics than to literary criticism. For example, when Akhtar Mohi-ud-Din discusses some of the basic principles of the short story, he writes:

> In a class-based society, a very important role is played by a short-story writer. The struggle that exists between the upper and the lower classes, the rich and the poor, makes it clear that the short-story writer is an equal partner in it. He cannot remain aloof either in the capacity of a capitalist or that of a labourer. No person can remain aloof.
>
> (*Kong Poś*, November 1955, tr.)

Radio Kashmir, Srinagar

The establishment of Radio Kashmir, Srinagar, in 1948, was an event of vital importance in the development of Kashmiri literary criticism. Writers of different viewpoints were invited by Radio Kashmir to write on different forms of Kashmiri literature and these articles were broadcast. Thus, in the fifth decade of this century, literary criticism on different subjects was heard over Radio Kashmir and a few of these pieces were later published (e.g. 'Śams Faqirun Suz', 'Kaśiri-Śairie Hund Gvaḍa Kāl' by P. N. Pushp b. 1917,—*Kong Poś*, 1955). Unlike the articles written by the progressive writers, these radio scripts were broad-based, informative and, to an extent, critical, helping the reader understand better the content of the poetry being discussed. The treatment also had a comparative bias and adopted no extremist postures. The important thing about Radio Kashmir's contribution is that it saved literary criticism from succumbing to extremes by resorting to a kind of censorship wherever it was found necessary.

Rethinking. The Marxian trend had come into full bloom by 1956–57. Thereafter, a few writers and critics continued to use this method, but several prominent critics, influenced and charmed by the western view of art and literature, consciously disengaged themselves from the limitations of Marxian criticism. The first written protest was made by Rahman Rahi. He translated into Urdu an English article which he had read at a literary meeting in 1957 and in which he had indicated his search for a real literature and literary criticism. He was not alone in this search; a few others, and particularly Ghulam Nabi Firaq and Akhtar Mohi-ud-Din, both of whom, like Rahman Rahi, were influenced by western literary criticism, joined the crusade for genuine literary criticism. The period from 1957 to 1960

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was a kind of formative one for them all, though, in certain respects, the form had already been crystallized.

During the fifth decade, the collective consciousness of the writers and their discerning readers demanded literary criticism which had depth and diversity. *Soen Nov-Adab* (Our New Literature, 1959), by Noor Mohd. Bhat highlighted the so-called superficiality of the poetry of Dinanath Nadim (b. 1915), Amin Kamil (b. 1924), Rahman Rahi, Ghulam Nabi Firaq and a few others, ignoring the fact that literature is not life but life-like. Jiya Lal Kaul wrote informative and thematic literary criticism in simple prose on a mystic Kashmiri poet, Samad Mir in *Soen Adab* (1959). Akhtar Mohi-ud-Din, in 'Dunyoh ta Afsana' (The World and Short Story, *Soen Adab*, 1959) discussed in lucid prose the sources of his own short stories. 'Gulrez' by Autar Krishen Rehbar (*Soen Adab*, 1960–62) and 'Mahjur ta Kaśiri Śairi' (Mahjoor and Kashmiri poetry, *Soen Adab*, 1960–62) by Soom Nath Zutshi are two other essays on literary criticism, which are of an informative nature. In the former, the beauty of the versified romance is highlighted and the source of the story discussed. In the latter, Zutshi discusses the humanism, pro-worker attitude and revolutionary message of the poet.

The introduction to the anthology *Kaśiri Śairi* (Kashmiri Poetry, 1960) and a few articles in *Kaśiri Nasrec Kitab* (A Book of Kashmiri Prose, 1961) by Mohi-ud-Din Hajini (b. 1916) contain information of a historical and impressionistic nature in a language lacking polish. These articles do not show any influence of western poetics and are full of Arabic and Urdu rhetoric. The Cultural Academy published representative short poems of a few outstanding poets with an introduction and prose translation of each verse in Urdu. These are important, for they deal with literary criticism of Kashmiri poetry.

Western Influence

From 1962 to 1970, the influence of western literary criticism permeated the critical writings of a few important writers, who held that 'literature is representation, communication, shared experience re-created', theories and view-points that reached Kashmiri from Europe through English. Rahman Rahi, in his essay 'Tankīd-amyuk māne ta maksad' (Criticism: Its Meaning and Purpose, *Kahvaṭ*, 1979, p. 27) criticizes a few local pseudo-intellectuals of Marxist bent for their conscious attempt to reduce art and literature to journalism and sloganism. Unlike in his earlier criticism, expressions such as 'social value' and 'class character' do not appear anywhere in this essay. The critic appears to have been influenced by the critics of Europe having the necessary insight to evaluate a piece of literature on the basis of its own logic. In an essay of literary criticism on 'Jadidyath' (Modernity, *Kahvaṭ*, p. 288), he explains his viewpoint thus:

> The fact is that today's man, having become most modern, is basically the descendant of ancient man. His modern consciousness is bound to bear the echo of his ancient collective subconsciousness. His most important problems of today are fundamentally his most ancient problems. Around himself and in the middle of the universe is a puzzling diversity (or oneness) which disturbs the modern writer (or stirs him to action). Its proof is seen here and there in the literature of the past as well. The mystery of the reality of the universe and that of the destiny of man and the loneliness and helplessness of one's own self was felt by Omar-Khayyam and Lal Ded, Galileo and Camus. This has not been expressed by old poets alone, but a few poets of the present age also make us realize this modern belief. They either express silence or prefer to wait. These and similar truths are before us. It will, therefore, be sheer ignorance to say that modernity has come to us all of a sudden, like a flash of a lightning from above. (tr.)

Similarly, in 'Kaśiris Adbas Manz Fanuk Ihsas' (The Feel of Form and Craft in Kashmiri Literature, *Soen Adab*, 1963), Ghulam Nabi Firaq too makes readers feel the change that Kashmiri literary criticism is undergoing. In this work, the writer lays stress on the importance of form and its beauty. Ghulam Nabi Firaq also discusses the poem 'Bahar Nama', by Maqbool, in *Śirāza* (1969), evaluating it in the light of its own inner logic, coherence, diction and imagery.

Autar Krishen Rehbar's *Kaśiri Adboc Tarikh* (History of Kashmiri Literature, vol. I, 1966) is the first important work of its kind in the Kashmiri language. It covers critically and in a simple and functional style the ancient and early periods of Kashmiri language and literature. Its research quality makes it a valuable work.

The Cultural Academy of Jammu and Kashmir has published a number of collections and anthologies of old poems along with introductions by compilers and editors. All these introductions have a research bias and talk about the poet, his age, his contemporaries, his other works and art and style. Of these, the introductions to the anthologies of Sufi poetry (three volumes) and to *Nūr Nāma*, by Amin Kamil, are noteworthy. These were the first attempts to go into the aesthetic appeal of this poetry and discuss its characteristics. They also possess research value, bringing to light for the first time many important issues concerning the history and historical perspective of this poetry.

In 1972, there appeared Ghulam Nabi Khayal's *Gaśer Munar* (Lighthouses), a collection of critical essays on famous writers such as Homer, Virgil, Kalidasa, Imrul Qais, Dante, Hafiz, Shakespeare, Goethe, Pushkin, Iqbal and Tagore. These essays, though basically biographical, contain brief, critical discussions on their writings. *Kaśiris Adbas Peṭh Akh Nazar* (A Glimpse of Kashmiri Literature,

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1973) by Abdul Ahad Hajini is a loosely-written collection of six essays on literature. *Gaśer* (Luminaries, 1969) by Moti Lal Saqi provides, in prose, information about Kashmiri poets from Abdul Ahad Azad's (1903–48) to the writer's own time. It is not so much a critical work as a eulogistic one. *Kaśiri Śairi* (Kashmiri Poetry, 1974) by Ghulam Nabi Nazir discusses poetry and its nature as well as the importance of prosody. Its style is loose but liberal, in the manner of the old Urdu literary chroniclers. It also throws light on a few functions of prosody in poetry about which much has been written in Urdu and Persian.

Mention must be made of a few essays of literary criticism which appeared in special issues of the *Śiraza Kaśmīri*, published by the Jammu and Kashmir Cultural Academy. These are 'Masnavi Number' (a long love narrative of epic nature); 'Jungnama Number' (a long war narrative of epic nature); 'Zaban to Adab Number' (language and literature number); 'Nund Resi Number' (a poet of the 14th century); 'Lal Ded Number' (a poetess of the 14th century). These include 'Himal ta Nagray' (Himal and Nagray) and 'Kaśir Tanquid Nigāri' (Kashmiri literary criticism) by Ghulam Nabi Firaq, 'Kaśur Gazal' (Kashmiri Ghazal) by Rasul Pompur and 'Kaśur Afsāna' (Kashmiri Short Story) by Hirday Kaul Bharti. These essays are a genuine attempt to evaluate literature on the basis of its merits. They are not the literary criticism of a political nature found in the early fifties. They are out in search of a message or a revolution. At the same time several book reviews and literary essays of criticism were also published in *Pratāp*, the magazine of S. P. College, Srinagar. These brought to the surface the influence of western literary criticism on Kashmiri writers. Literary terms such as 'representation', 'communication', 'expression', 'shared experience' and 'creative reproduction' were used by Kashmiri writers in the same context as they had been used by English critics.

New Outlook

Under the influence of western criticism, many Kashmiri critics became convinced that literature should always remain very close to truth and human nature and appear lifelike. Among those who have worked hard to realize this are Rahman Rahi, Akhtar Mohi-ud-Din, Ghulam Nabi Firaq, Amin Kamil and Hamidi Kashmiri. They are the pioneers of modern literary criticism in the Kashmiri language. Earlier, they had worked hard to introduce progressive literary criticism and later they had fostered genuine literary criticism. In this endeavour they have been followed by such writers as Shafi Shauq and Ghulshan Majid.

Kahvaṭ (Touchstone, 1979), a collection of 14 critical essays written between 1961 and 1978 by Rahman Rahi, is positive proof of the overwhelming influence western criticism had on him. He profusely quotes English critics and their works in support of his beliefs and with a view to giving authenticity and respectability to his critical evaluations.

The Seventh Decade. Literary criticism of the seventh decade of the 20th century is of encouraging diversity and is qualitatively sound. Facts about the supernatural, human nature, Man, the universe and the problems of art and literature are discussed in the light of modern psychology, biology, history and the composite society of the modern world.

The situation of the 7th and 8th decades is, of course, congenial to the development of literary criticism in Kashmiri. Aesthetic and intellectual standards have been experiencing an all-round development and this has had its impact on literary criticism. In this connection, the 1979 special number of *Anhar*, vol III, no. 2 (Journal of the Department of Kashmiri, University of Kashmir), on the philosophical background of Kashmiri literature deserves special mention. It presents 14 essays of literary criticism, most of which are informative while a few are solid contributions on the theory of literary criticism.

Again, in the special number of *Anhār* on literary criticism appeared Kashmiri translations of Longinus's 'On the Sublime', Horace's 'On the Art of Poetry', Sir Philip Sidney's 'An Apology for Poetry', Shelley's 'In Defence of Poetry' and I. A. Richards's 'Theory of Value'. This major project is bound to enrich literary criticism in Kashmiri, to give it respectability and also to influence its future course.

One important work of Kashmiri literary criticism is to evaluate the poetry written in indigenous and ancient forms. They include the bulk of elegiac poetry written in various Kashmiri classical forms, besides *Vakh*, *Srukh*, *Vacan* and *Pad*.

Kashmiri literary criticism, though still in its teens, has made significant progress in the criticism of poetry. Kashmiri has been the language of poets like Lal Ded, Nund Reshi and others, who have been known to the masses for centuries as saints and sages. Wonders and miracles have been associated with them and their poetry has been considered sacrosanct. To evaluate their poems purely on literary and artistic merits was bound to be difficult, particularly because of the sentimental element involved. Nevertheless, modern critics have tackled the task with courage and sagacity and assessed these works in modern terms. This has helped to enrich Kashmiri literature and educate the readers.

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Malayalam

SUKUMAR AZHICODE

Literary criticism in Malayalam, from its beginning, was profoundly and extensively indebted to Sanskrit not only for its basic theories and presuppositions, but also for its practice and growth over the centuries. It relates the story of an all-out dependence, which was partially altered when the critical thoughts of the West took hold of Malayalam literary criticism through English. This is, however, a fragment of the larger story of the nation which, in the 18th century, progressively began to discover in English a 'surrogate' to Sanskrit in matters cultural and intellectual.

Ancient Period

But literary criticism, as understood now, is not much in evidence in Sanskrit. Critical activities in Sanskrit are mainly grouped under (1) *Kavi Śikṣa* (instruction to poets) (2) *Sāhitya Mīmāmsa* (poetics) and (3) *Vyākhyānā* (commentary). Of these, the first which is the least important, did not exert any influence on Malayalam. The second and third categories, which roughly represent the theory and practice of criticism in Sanskrit, took over critical thinking in Malayalam from its very inception and kept it under complete sway till the 19th century. Tamil has had, practically, no influence on critical thinking in Malayalam, though the two languages have close genealogical connections. The first work in poetics which deals exclusively with Malayalam is *Līlātilakam* (14th century). Of unknown authorship, it is composed in Sanskrit in the traditional manner, with *Sūtra* (aphorism) preceding *Vṛtti* (gloss). Though it is unique as the first definitive study of *Maṇipravāḷam* in Malayalam, it devotes greater space to the consideration of the conventional topics of Sanskrit poetics such as *Guṇa*, *Dōṣa*, *Alamkāra* and *Rasa*. The author leans heavily on great Indian literary thinkers like Bharata, Ānanda Vardhana, Abhinava Gupta, and rhetoricians like Bhāmaha, Daṇḍi, Mammaṭa, Rudraṭa and Udbhaṭa.

Subsequent works like *Alaṅkāra Samkṣēpam* (another anonymous work of uncertain date) missed even the Malayalam orientation which was a bright feature of *Līlātilakam* and fell into oblivion as weak examples of handbooks on Indian rhetoric. But the most popular book dealing with Indian poetics with special reference to Malayalam, is *Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇam* (1902) by A. R. Raja Raja Varma which even now holds its own against the changing literary fashions as an indispensable textbook favoured at all levels of Malayalam teaching.

Commentaries. Some of the greatest names in India in commentary-writing like Aruṇagiri Nātha (later 13th century), Pūrṇasaraswati (14th century) and Abhirāma (c. 17th century) hail from Kerala. Yet they wrote in Sanskrit, not in Malayalam. Commentaries written in Malayalam make their first appearance in the 17th century. The best they could do was to furnish indifferently the word-meanings and the general sense of the verses. The commentaries that could match the best in Sanskrit emerged only in the 20th century. The best among them are *Kāntāratārakam* (1905) written by A. R. Raja Raja Varma, which eminently succeeded in revealing the poetic merits of *Naḷa Caritam*, an *Āṭṭakkathā* written by Uṇṇāyi Vāriar (18th century) and *Prāñjali* (1934) an exhaustive commentary by Pāṭṭattil Nārāyaṇa Mēnon on *Naiṣadha Campū* of Mahiṣa Maṅgaḷam (16th century).

Age of Kerala Varma

The modern variety of descriptive literary criticism with its declared objectives of understanding and evaluation of

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literary works appeared belatedly in Malayalam, that is, in the latter half of the 19th century. It was preceded by two centuries of hectic activities of foreign missionaries and native scholars, as a result of which the modern type of prose gradually emerged. But it was given to Kerala Varma Valia Koil Tampuran (1845–1914) to fashion Malayalam prose as a vehicle of modern ideas and thoughts consequent on the spread of modern education. Kerala Varma was one of the pioneers of modernity in Kerala, especially in education and prose-literature. The haunting obsession of writers with puranic themes was broken by him and the spirit of freedom and variety was introduced into prose-writing by throwing open a hitherto unsuspected selection of secular subjects derived from physical sciences, civics, politics and literature.

Kerala Varma discovered criticism while he was addressing himself sedulously to the task of secularizing Malayalam prose. Much in the manner of Dryden, he built the foundation of literary criticism while he was laying the basis of modern prose in his language. His earlier criticism was nothing but benevolent literary patronage expressed through certificates of appreciation and notes of encouragement to authors. They abounded in laudatory and complimentary phraseology, to the detriment of critical assessment. In those days, books were very few and it was his contention that the need of the time was to offer greater fillip to the authors by felicitating and supporting them, so that the great void in Malayalam writing got filled up soon. But even in his naivest criticism, he tried to evoke some literary principles in support of his comment. He was an adept at giving ironic compliments to tiresome poetasters.

When realization came to him that the quality of the books in Malayalam, which had by then begun to appear copiously, was remaining low, he had to change his tone and condemn them in unmistakable terms. He did not hesitate to berate severely the shoddiness in *Bhāṣa Caritram* (vol. I, 1881; vol. II, 1889), by P. Govinda Pillai, the first literary history to appear in the language. His genuine stand as a critic is reflected in the following passage taken from the introduction he wrote in English to *Viṣa Vṛkṣam* (1912), the Malayalam translation of Bankim Chandra Chatterji's Bengali novel: 'Thomas Hardy was right in recently protesting against the "appalling increase of slip-shod writing" and Lord Rosebury was justified in entering a plea for the "conflagration of books"....Every other man—and woman too—is a novelist, and as a result, the reader gets "sensation" without "perception", and "imagination", more reproductive than constructive, without "reason".'

C. P. Achutha Menon. The period of Kerala Varma in Malayalam literary criticism which extends from 1890 to 1911 is sandwiched between the Ancient period and the Romantic period. While the stand of some of the critics of the period was complementary to and derivative from the 'imperial' authority of Kerala Varma, some dissented. It would be wrong to characterize C. P. Achutha Menon (1863–1933) as a mere dissenter, for he also stood for conserving what is abiding in the Sanskrit tradition. He had a fair knowledge of Sanskrit while his mastery over English was well-proven. All the books he published were in English. For long his name was almost forgotten because he did not publish any book in Malayalam. His critical writings lie scattered in the pages of *Vidyā Vinōdini*, a literary journal started in 1890. He was its editor for a few years.

Achutha Menon dissented from Kerala Varma on the question of the effectiveness of adulation and flattery as a tool of literary criticism. Perhaps it was his uncompromising attitude on this question which at last brought about a basic change in the latter's view veering it to the point of approving adverse criticism as a more powerful and useful critical tool. According to traditional classification, Menon's criticism fell under *Khaṇḍana Vimarśa*. He devoted himself to criticism on the strength of the assumption that bad and defective works in a language always far exceed good and great works. The leading article he wrote in the first issue of *Vidyā Vinōdini* voiced this idea in a simple, forceful sentence: 'The present condition of our poetry is very deplorable'. This declaration was quite the antithesis to the prevalent belief that Malayalam poetry then was having its palmy days. It was a sentence that echoed, in almost the same words, along the corridors of Malayalam literature in all transitional periods.

He fought to the bitter end two of the enduring defects of Malayalam poetry: (1) its craze for beautiful sound-effects and (2) the imitativeness of the poets which is the same as lack of originality. He fashioned for the first time book-review as a powerful medium of literary criticism. At the same time, he published educative articles on all the prominent topics of study in Indian aesthetics. When he was the editor of *Vidyā Vinōdini* and even long afterwards, he almost assumed the dimensions of a legendary figure. As a critic none wielded more punitive powers than Achutha Menon. A turn of his phrase could lampoon a writer for life. In an unforgettable thrust of sarcasm, he said that if Malayalam poets were to be offered a gift of one paisa for every redundant word they used, some of them would become millionaires in no time! About another book he wrote that if the same words used in it could be arranged in another pattern, it might produce a fine work! An admiring reading public compared him to Macaulay, though he was more influenced by Dr. Johnson and Matthew Arnold.

K. Ramakrishna Pillai. Moving along the orbits traversed by Kerala Varma and Achutha Menon were other critics of varying brilliance. K. Ramakrishna Pillai (1878–1916), who had a significant role to play in Kerala in the awaken-

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ing of revolutionary intellectual ideas and who became a martyr to the cause of freedom of expression, was not a great success in literary criticism. It was during his editorship of *Swadēśabhimāni* that he clashed with the then Dewan of Travancore and had to suffer banishment for life. As a critic, he was forceful and trenchant; but he could not always discipline the critic in him to the needs of literature and consequently his evaluations deviated at times from the norms of sobriety and balance. His review of the edition of *Bhāgavata* published by the great scholar P. K. Narayana Pillai (1878–1938) and of the novel *Dharmarājā* by the outstanding novelist C. V. Raman Pillai (1858–1922) illustrates these traits convincingly.

C. Anthappai. C. Anthappāi (1862–1936) was a critic who chose drama as the subject of his criticism. He broke new ground by pointing out the blemishes of a few Sanskrit plays in translation and Sanskrit-modelled plays, from the standpoint of western criticism, quoting Aristotle instead of Bharata. A controversial figure in criticism, he contributed profusely to the prestigious periodicals of the period.

Murkoth Kumaran. Mūrkōttu Kumāran (1874–1941) was a notable critic who started with many handicaps—born in a backward community, hailing from North Malabar which was remote from the centre of literary activities in Kerala, and poorly equipped in Sanskrit. Yet he stayed in literature and was loved and feared in equal measure because of his courage in saying unpalatable things, the lucidity and the simplicity of his language, and the humour and sarcasm flashing from his style. An ardent disciple of Sree Narayana Guru, the great Vedantin and social reformer of Kerala, he was greatly concerned with current social problems. This extra-literary orientation in Kumaran made him unconventional in his opinions. Stoutly upholding the view of Achutha Menon that dull imitation was anathema to great poetry, he extolled the poems of Kumara Asan among the moderns. He came out best in his critical studies of Asan's works.

Lesser critics in this early period are many. Vēṅṅayil Kuṅṅirāman Nāyanār (1861–1914) was a great humorist; Appan Tampurān (1875–1941) a fine essayist; and T. K. Krishna Menon (1869–1949) edited *Vidyā Vinōdini* after C. P. Achutha Menon.

The large number of journals which nourished and supported literary cirticism apart from *Vidyā Vinōdini* include *Rasika Rañjini*, started in 1903, *Bhāṣā Pōṣiṇi* in 1893 and *Maṅgaḷōdayam* in 1909. They rallied in their columns many of the writers who were to lead Malayalam literary criticism to the next stage of its evolution.

Romantic Period

A. R. Raja Raja Varma. It was A. R. Raja Raja Varma (1863–1918) who provided the leadership to take Malayalam criticism to greater heights of perception. He was a polymath—a profound Sanskrit scholar, a great grammarian, an innovative poet and a penetrating critic. His essaying in criticism, though casual and limited, is of abiding significance. Nephew of Kerala Varma, he had deep regard for his uncle but it was set off by his active opposition to the orthodox classicism of the latter. He was one of the harbingers of the Romantic interlude in Malayalam poetry. The romantic inspiration urged him to emphasize the value of genuine feelings in poetry and to seek greatness in the realisation of human greatness expressed in terms of sublime emotions. This was his credo in literary criticism which distinguished him from his elders and colleagues.

But he did not attain this frame of thinking all on a sudden; rather he gradually unfolded himself to it. Brought up in the traditional way of scholarship, there was a conventionalist in him who came into clash with his progressive ideas. His early literary career was dominated by the former trait while he outlived it completely after 1911, with the publication of the short preface to Kumaran Asan's *Naḷini*. Before that he was known to have written artificial verses replete with *double entendre* and illustrations of various difficult *bandhas* (verbal patterns) which were common in Sanskrit, but denounced by all great poeticians. At one time he even applauded poetry of the genre of *Mahākāvya* written in this style. But there was present in him, even during this early period, an element which rebelled against the flamboyant ornamental variety of poetry. In 1891, he had published an article in *Malayāḷa Manōrama* decrying the fondness of poets for rhymed poetry. Such ideas gradually gathered momentum and triggered a tempestuous controversy in 1908. It was known as the *Dvitīyākṣara Prāsa Vāda*, the dispute about the appropriateness of retaining rhyme in the second syllable in each verse-line in a stanza. Kerala Varma and Raja Raja Varma were the leaders of the warring groups, the former swearing by it and the latter forswearing.

But it is wrong to conclude that there was nothing more in the preface to *Naḷini* than the exhortation to get rid of artificial verbal frippery and the emphasis laid on originality which were the main concerns of Achuta Menon as a critic. Raja Raja Varma placed *Naḷini* at the head of a new school of poetry not only for its non-artificial, original design and construction, but for the vision of human greatness represented by Nalini in her hallowed love. With this concept in his mind, he introduced in Malayalam criticism a new standard of evaluation. Matthew Arnold's great concern for 'criticism of life' in poetry and its 'high seriousness' had ostensibly influenced A. R. here. Thus this small piece of writing not only heralded great poetry in Malayalam, but also became the manifesto of the emergent impressionistic criticism as well.

His general ideas about rhyme and embellishments in

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poetry are to be found in *Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇam* (1902) and *Sāhitya Sāhyam* (1911), the former being a handbook of Alamkaras and allied topics, while the latter dealing with prose-composition. The scholar-critic in him appeared in his research-oriented study of Unnayi Variyar's *Naḷa Caritam* which since then has always occupied the highest rank in Kathakali literature. A. R.'s claim to greatness lies not in quantity, but in the pioneering intensity which liberated Malayalam literary criticism from its basic limitations in outlook.

P. K. Narayana Pillai. P. K. Narayana Pillai, who is known as 'Sāhitya Pañcāṅanan' for his indomitable erudition, was a disciple of Raja Raja Varma and started to follow in his footsteps. But he ended up with a distinct school for himself. Most of the critics of the period and earlier were great scholars, but Narayana Pillai was the first pedant-turned critic. Never was there, before or after, a better marriage between erudition and critical sensibility than in him. With his robust common sense, fine understanding of poetry, deliberately hardened diction and all the oddities of a diehard scholar, he is the best approximation to Dr. Johnson in Malayalam literature. He believed with Johnson: 'The great contention of criticism is to find the faults of the moderns and the beauties of the ancients'. In his best criticism, he modelled himself on the pattern formulated by Johnson in which a biographical survey preceded the critical appraisal. He honoured the ancient trinity of poets in Malayalam with the finest critical attention he was ever capable of, in the form of prefaces. These prefatorial exercises appeared over a span of three decades—the study of Kunchan Nambiar's *Tuḷḷals* came in 1908, of *Kṛṣṇa Gāthā* by Cherusseri Namboodiri (15th century) in 1915 and of the poetic compositions of Thunchath Ezhuthachan (16th century) in 1930, fully covering the effective period of his critical career. He succeeded in redeeming these three great poets from the welter of popular wayward opinions. Kunchan Nambiar who had been dismissed till then as a poet of humorous levity was rehabilitated as a social critic of powerful ideas; Cherusseri who was a favourite author of the village women-folk stood metamorphosed as a poet of considerable imaginative brilliance and Ezhuthachan who was read up annually as a devotional ritual was upheld as a classic in literature. He could match in felicity of expression and depth of observation any top ranking critic in the West then. For example, see this sentence on Ezhuthachan: 'Your ear is awake even to his silence'.

With him, Malayalam literary criticism came of age. A true Johnsonian that he was, he could never bring himself to appreciate the moderns. His confession of his inability to understand them was itself a clever critical gesture, but when he began openly rationalizing his antipathy, he cut a sorry figure. His decrying of Kumaran Asan's *Karuṇa* (1924) and Vallathol Narayana Menon's (1878–1958) patriotic poems has never failed to amuse succeeding generations of sensitive readers. An indisputable Sanskrit scholar, his intellectual horizon was never correspondingly limited. His reading went upto Benedetto Croce in European criticism, Rudolph Otto in mysticism and *Edinburgh Review* in contemporary journalism, which updated him in his professional reading. Surprisingly he anticipated T. S. Eliot who wanted a reassessment of our past literature every hundred years. While this statement appeared in 1933 (vide *The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism*), P. K. wrote three years before in the English preface to *Tuñcatt Eḷuttaccan:* 'Every age requires the past to be interpreted to it in terms of its own ideas. In the interests of the continuity of letters no great author of the past should sink into a mere *magnifomina umbra* (the shadow of a great name)'.

Poets' Criticism. The modern trinity of poets comprising Kumaran Asan, Ulloor S. Parameswara Iyer (1879–1949) and Vallathol Narayana Menon dabbled in criticism in varying degrees with unequal success. While Asan adhered to the Dhwani theory, emphasizing the role of genius and the need for poetic relevance based on experiences drawn from life, Vallathol was more concerned with formal beauty, elegance of diction and language. Ulloor was a scholarly interpreter of the literary lore in Sanskrit and a great researcher of ancient Malayalam works.

Out of the many critics who practised around this period, K. M. Panikkar (1894–1963) catches our attention for his attempt to expose Malayalees to modern ideas and western literary principles. His chief work in criticism is *Kavitā Tatva Nirūpaṇam* (Critical Examination of the Principles of Poetry). Kunnath Janardana Menon alias Kannan Janardanan (1885–1955) possessed an elegant style and his chief writings are the biographical studies of two of the leaders of Romantic poetry, viz., Kumaran Asan and V. C. Balakrishna Panicker (1889–1915) written on the lines of Morley's 'English Men of Letters'. Sanskrit scholars of great erudition, some extremely orthodox and others slightly progressive, like Vatakkumkoor Raja Raja Varma (1891–1970), Attoor Krishna Pisharodi (1875–1964) and K. Vasudevan Moosath (1888–1965) also held the floor in this period.

The Modern Age

The year 1938 saw the passing away of P. K. Narayana Pillai. It rang out the last vestiges of the earlier critical hegemony and rang in new rebellious voices. This transition was signalled by the publication of *Rūpamañjari* (1937) by A. Balakrishna Pillai. When Narayana Pillai was honoured by the literary world as 'Sahityapanchananan' (the lion of literature), Balakrishna Pillai scoffed him as 'Sāhitya Jambūkan' (the jackal of literature). When the bad taste in this public obloquy is passed over, it would be an indica-

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tion of the vast fluctuation in literary taste that separated the two periods. Ironically Balakrishna Pillai acquired the title of 'Lion'—Kesari—in honour of his lone struggle against the autocracy of the Dewan-regime in the State of Travancore which his sharp pen kept up in the columns of *Kesari*, a journal run in penury, but with great daring and distinction.

He made his debut in criticism as a disciple of Raja Raja Varma and solemnized this affinity by introducing *in extense* some of the important prefatory writings of A. R. in a collection called *Rājarājīyam* (4tn ed. 1955). His watchwords were heresy, iconoclasm, free thinking, progressivism, rationalism and rebelliousness. He tried to open up with untiring gusto the plentiful riches of western literature in order to wean Malayalam writers from what he considered the stranglehold of the degenerate past of India. With this end in view, he edited journals, translated works of western masters like Balzac, Maupassant and Hauptmann, wrote articles in the leading papers explaining the revolutionary ideas of Freud, Darwin and other great scientists as well as socialist and anarchist thinkers. In his eagerness to interpret the literary and critical theories of the West, his reviews in most cases turned out to be more or less technical essays bearing a heavy theoretical burden. But, for about two decades, he served the writers of Kerala as their window upon world literature. On the intellectual front, there was none else in those days to rival him in the impact he made in the minds of literary men. The obfuscation that had settled in the minds of people by long over-dependence on English was dispelled by him and the glorious literary legacies of France, Germany, Italy, Russia, Spain, America and Greece were revealed to them in abundance. He delivered many young minds from the confines of language, nation, religion and civilization and showed them the far-off horizons attained by the genius of man.

M. P. Paul. When many of the alien ideas imported by Balakrishna Pillai either did not fructify or remained unassimilated, M. P. Paul (1904–52), who was a junior contemporary of the former and a Professor of English, came on the scene. He was endowed with the gift of saying things in such a way that they could not be rejected by the living current of literaure. He could not enlist himself as a compaigner going to the extremes of either anathematizing or idealizing the past. He approached it scientifically, regarding it as the manure necessary for growth, without, at the same time, committing the blunder of viewing it as the essence of existence. When the movement of Progressive Literature intensified in the fifties, the intellectual unemotionalism of Paul was a great sobering influence. In thought and style, he consistently preferred the simple and the unpretentious. He defined the best prose-style, characteristically, as one that possesses sincerity and integrity of thought. Always in search of these values, his critical genius naturally gravitated to prose-literature. This in itself was a revolution in critical approach, for till then the critic's first priority was, by common consent, poetry.

Paul was the first outstanding prose-critic, if one may overlook the incidental prose-criticism by the earlier critics like Achutha Menon, Ramakrishna Pillai and K. M. Panikker. The two master-works on the novel and the short story, viz. *Nōvel Sāhityam* (1930) and *Cerukathā Prasthāṅam* (first published as *Khaṇḍakathā Prasthāṅam* in 1932) not only introduced the art of novel and short story to Kerala, but appraised briefly the little wealth of fictional writings in Malayalam. Though a pedestrian study on novel had appeared in the journal *Ātmapōṣiṇi* in 1917, Paul's work was a scholarly study of the genre. Even in English only a few works had been published prior to this, like those of Percy Lubbock, E. M. Forster and Edwin Muir. He, quite naturally, might have borrowed such of his ideas from the early authorities; but the style, illustration, patterning and frame-work of concepts are all his own, which resulted in the approval of a discerning readership. He created a furore by the irreverant criticism of *Bhūtarāyar* (1923) by Appan Tampuran, who was a royal patron of letters also. But, on the whole, his appraisals were well-balanced and not capricious. Studies on the short story being rarer in languages like English even now, his path-making attempt in Malayalam at the beginning of the thirties is certainly remarkable.

He attempted to lay the foundation of an aesthetics of subjectivism based on the thoughts of Bergson and other western aestheticians, integrated wherever possible, without straining, with Indian thinking on the subject, in his work *Saundarya Nirīkṣaṇam* (1947).

Joseph Mundassery. Joseph Mundassery (Muṇḍaśśēri, 1903–1977), a Professor of Malayalam, whom politics lured and lifted to the heights of an Education Minister in the Kerala Cabinet (1957), later became the first Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cochin. He was primarily a critic of poetry, though he stoutly contended that verse had had its innings and that the future belonged to prose. He was a great critic according to Eliot's standard of measurement, since the 'errors' in him—and he had a few—were 'of a different kind from the last'. One of the numerous errors the literary world of Malayalam was fondly cuddling to its bosom was the unexamined popular myth that the trinity of Asan, Ulloor and Vallathol was evenly matched in poetic genius and their poems were, more or less, of equal artistic merit. Afraid of shattering the fanciful vision of the three stars shining in the firmament of modern poetry with equal brilliance, none dared look closer upon the individual differences in their geniuses. The tools of comparative criticism were employed by Mundassery in

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Māṭṭoli (Echo, 1944) and *Antarīkṣam* (Atmosphere, 1944) which convincingly exploded the myth that Asan, Ulloor and Vallathol were some sort of poetic triplets. The artistic identification-marks of the three were isolated by him with critical meticulousness. He rated Asan the highest, as one who drew sustenance from life's experiences and not from ancient classics and scriptures, obeying the dictates of his self-propelling genius, without stumbling into overdone artificiality and mechanical imitation. Ulloor reached the extreme reverse where poetic talent was sacrificed in order to pamper pedantry, flamboyant ornamentation and remoteness from authentic life and its problems. Vallathol stood in between, nearer Asan than Ulloor, who had his infirmity in overfondness for verbal delectation and a complacent philosophy of shallow sensuousness. One of Mundassery's fine works is *Mānadaṇḍam* (Measuring Rod, 1946), a charming appreciation of Kalidasa's *Megha Dūta*. The imitations of Kalidasa, both in Sanskrit and in Malayalam, came in for merciless thrashing. Later, the symbolist poetry of Sankara Kurup (1901–75) also came under fire in *Rāja Rājaṇṭe Māṭṭoli* (1961).

He achieved an east-west blend of poetics in *Kāvyapīṭhika* (1945), seasoned with the infusion of the right dose of Bharata, Ananda Vardhana and Abhinavagupta along with Aristotle, Coleridge and I. A. Richards. The recurring pairs of sound and meaning, suggestion and statement, experience and scholarship, emotion and ornamentation did not leave him confused and his sense of aesthetic priorities was usually well balanced. He fought for revolutionizing the sensibility of the writers and readers in Malayalam in forcefully eloquent prose. But there was an interlude of his hobnobing with the Progressive Movement when his theory of accent on life stretched considerably in order to include emphasis on social problems. Yet when this movement fell in the hands of the Communist writers, he, along with Paul, stood up against their calculated distortion of the basic literary vision. He launched the controversial theory of *Rūpabhadrata* (perfection of form) which maintained that whatever be the problem dealt with, a work can be literature only if it shows the virtue of formal excellence capable of evoking the *rasa* experience in the reader.

Kuttikrishna Marar. It was Kuttikrishna Marar (1900–73) who stood unwaveringly for the highest values of Sanskrit aesthetic thinking, who could successfully match his wits and erudition against the west-oriented critics like Paul and Mundassery and contain the progressive writers. It was given to Marar to play the role of the protagonist of the best in Indian literary thought. He fought a two-pronged battle, on the one hand, against the aberrations of Sanskrit scholars who bandied about erroneous notions of *Dhwani* theory and gave exclusive importance to the externals of poetry like *Alaṅkāra* and, on the other, against the encroachments on the essence of literature by the new-fangled critics with their sociological approach and ideological involvements. He never spared any one for his literary peccadilloes and there were occasions when great critics like Balakrishna Pillai, M. P. Paul and Joseph Mundassery got worsted by him in controversies.

One with an unconventional approach even during his student-days, he did a heretical thing in publishing *Sāhitya Bhūṣaṇam* (1928) in which he spelt out his difference of opinion from even Ananda Vardhana and worse still, made an attack on the doyen of grammarians and critics, A. R. Raja Raja Varma. He too was a versatile scholar like Raja Raja Varma in whom combined, with a difference, the grammarian, the prosodist and the poetician. His grammatical adventures led him to formulate in *Malayāḷaśaili* (1942) the tenets of good Malayalam prose-style very much in the manner of the Fowler brothers. His prosodial exercises resulted in his propounding a new theory for explaining the speciality of Dravidian metres in *Vṛttaśilpam* (1952), which is more appropriate than the Sanskrit rules adopted by Raja Raja Varma. His unique work of interpretation of the characters and incidents in the Mahabharata, *Bhārataparyaṭaṅam* (1950) shocked some, but pleased all others. His criticisms of Malayalam poets like Ezhuthachan, Kunchan Nambiar, Kumaran Asan and Vallathol were remarkable for the sharp intelligence reinforced by literary acumen and the exquisite prose-style, creating a halo of provocative novelty around his writings which is the characteristic of a genius.

Other Critics. There were other important critics who flourished as contemporaries of and juniors to the above great names who rendered their period the best in Malayalam literary criticism. College teachers who taught Malayalam or English represented the fine fruits of the cross-pollination of eastern and western aesthetics. P. Sankaran Nambiar (1892–1954), D. Padmanabhan Unni (1886–1962), M. R. Nair (1903–43), C. S. Nair (1896–1942) and Kuttipuzha Krishna Pillai (1900–71), though varied in their individual characteristics, share this common trait. Among them, M. R. Nair revelled in pure appreciation and Kuttipuzha adopted a scientific approach to literary studies. What imparts to them historic significance is the degree of creative integration of the two varieties of poetics they were dealing with. Pārāyil Urumēse Tharakan (b. 1906), well-versed in European aesthetics, introduced critics like Hippolyte Taine, Manzoni, Moulton and also various critical theories in Malayalam. K. S. Ezhuthachan and Ullattil Govindankutty Nair (1906–66) wrote essays appreciating the old and the new poets.

C. J. Thomas (1918–'60), though a writer of sharp sensibility, did not produce much criticism. K. Damodaran (1912–76) was the outstanding Marxian critic of the time. K. Bhaskaran Nair (1913–82) is a critic gifted with a fascinating style and motivated by a spiritual vision. A critic

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with a clear understanding of literary theories is S. Guptan Nair (b. 1919) whose opinions, whether about the ancients or the moderns, are dependable and well-balanced. Of his writings published in book-form *Samālōcana* and *Isaṅṅaḷkkappuram* deserve social mention. A researcher primarily, K. M. George (b. 1914) has written enjoyably about the Romantic poets. His *Jīvacaritra Sāhityam* (1964) is a critical evaluation of biographical writings in Malayalam. P. Damodaran Pillai (1917–80) has a keen mind which has shed new light on Kumaran Asan and Vallathol. Writers like K. M. Daniel (b. 1920) who has to his credit two full-length studies on Asan's *Vīṇa Pūvu* and *Naḷini* and M. Krishnan Nair (b. 1923) who is a prolific surveyor of the vast lore of current periodical writings in all branches of literature, are also to be noted. Important works which have relevance to literary criticism in Malayalam have been written by P. K. Narayana Pillai (b. 1910) (*Kairaḷīdhwani*, 1977), N. Krishna Pillai (b. 1916) (*Kairaḷiyuṭe Kathā*, 1958 and *Tirañjñeṭutta Prabandhaṅṅaḷ*), P. K. Parameswaran Nair (b. 1903) (*Sāhitya Pañcānanan*, 1944 and *C. V. Rāman Piḷḷai*, 1948) and Vakkam Abdul Khader (1912–76); *Sāhitidarśaṅam*, 1963). Mention may also be made of similar contributions made by M. S. Devadas (b. 1912), M. P. Sankunny Nair (b. 1917), P. A. Warrier (b. 1920) and K. N. Ezhuthachan (1911–81).

Contemporary Situation

The current phase, though it is infringed by a few belonging to the earlier period, is mainly composed of the products of higher education to whom every area of world-knowledge is thrown open by the present explosion of knowledge. Various approaches opened up by the disciplines of sociology, psychology, philosophy, politics, anthropology, linguistics and history tend to shift the interest from the literary work to something peripheral. There are also some who are impatient with these influences and want to 'dream the poet's dream' as Spingarn said. A synthesis or syncretism of these chaotic techniques and premises could have been attempted here by applying the integrating influence of Indian literary thinking.

Sukumar Azhicode (b. 1926) has not only given a few penetrating studies, but has also written a critical history of Malayalam literary criticism, *Malayāḷa Sāhitya Vimarśaṅam* (1981). His other writings published in book-form are *Āśānṭe Sītā Kāvyam* (1954), *Ramaṇaṅum Malayāḷa Kavitayum* (1956) and *Śaṅkara Kurup Vimarśikkappeṭunnu* (Sankara Kurup Subjected to Critical Evaluation, 1962).

M. Achuthan (b. 1930) and K. M. Tharakan (b. 1930) have given elaborate surveys of western literary theories and philosophies in *Pāścātya Sāhitya Darśanam* (1967) and *Pāścātya Sāhitya Tatwaśāstram* (1975) respectively. Both have also, respectively, studied the sources and evolution of the short story (1974) and novel (1978) in Malayalam. M. N. Vijayan (b. 1927) and M. Leelavathy (b. 1927) have pronounced predilection for the psychological approach as is shown by their studies of modern poets. The latter's *Varṇa rāji* (1979) is a collection of lengthy appreciations of some prominent modern poets like G. Sankara Kurup, P. Kunhiraman Nair (1905–79), Idassery Govindan Nair (1920–74), etc. N. V. Krishna Warrier (b. 1916) has made a beginning in structural and linguistic analysis of poetry in *Vaḷḷattōḷinṭe Kalāśilpam* (1977). P. K. Balakrishnan (b. 1927) has made a sociological study of Chandu Menon, one of the earliest Malayalam novelists, in *Candu Mēnon, Oru Paṭhaṅam* (1957) and also some novel observations on Kumaran Asan in *Kāvya Kala Kumāranāśānilūṭe* (1970). Some of those who have been in the field for long are Thayatt Sankaran (b. 1926), A. P. P. Nampoothiri (b. 1929) M. R. Chandrasekharan (b. 1929), K. P. Sankaran (b. 1939) and K. S. Narayana Pillai (b. 1930).

The youngest generation in this line of critics is astir with new winds for a changed sensibility emerging from beyond the seas; the immediate future of literary criticism is full of promise of new motivations and fresh thrusts. All the subtle changes in the critical climate in the West are instantly reflected by them and the result is an invasion of criticism by a medley of theories and commitments. Doctrinal differences are hardening into stiff ideological oppositions. This process, which has not yet crystallized into a settled scheme even in the West, remains still more baffling here.

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Marathi

V. R. KANADEY

More than any other form of literature, Marathi criticism shows direct and easily recognizable links with Sanskrit, and it is the form in which Sanskrit continues to assert itself the most, even today. Sanskrit poetics form a distinctive part of the fabric of Marathi criticism.

In tracing the development of the critical thought in Marathi it would be convenient to divide it into two parts:

1. Criticism prior to 1874
2. Criticism after 1874

The year 1874 marks the beginning of modern Marathi literature; it was the year Chiplunkar (Cipḷuṇkar) launched his famous monthly, *Nibandhamālā* (A Garland of Essays).

Criticism Prior to 1874

Criticism prior to 1874 covers the distant beginnings of critical ideas finding expression in the poetry of the saint-poets and the conscious efforts preceding it and positive formulations of critical thought.

The period between the 13th and 17th centuries saw a flowering of the saint-poetry in Marathi. It is difficult to subscribe to the view that the saint-poets had a literary theory of their own. They did not, like the 'pundit' poets, model their poetic practice on that of the Sanskrit masters. The shift no doubt implies a movement in a new direction, a new appreciation of the role of poetry and a new view of its relationship with the listener or reader. In this sense a scaffolding was being erected for the edifice of new criticism. It was a link between the traditional Sanskrit criticism and the new Marathi criticism.

Some critics, however, assert that the saint-poets did have distinct poetics of their own. Foremost among such critics was the encyclopaedist Shridhar Vyankatesh Ketkar (Śrīdhar Vyankaṭēś Kēṭkar, 1884–1937). In his now classic essay entitled *Mahārāṣṭriyānce Kāvyaparikṣan* (Maharashtriyan's Criticism of Poetry, 1928), Ketkar made a strong plea that the saint-poet Ramdas in his *Dāsbodha* had created new poetics for Marathi. In this essay he observes, 'The saint-poets of Marathi had some new principles of poetry. These they revealed in their own compositions as well as in their discussions about poetry; but they could not couch them in the terminology of literary criticism. Had they been able to do that, or had the contemporary connoisseurs been able to understand the hearts of the saint-poets and been able to formulate them in their own way, it would have given rise to a new school of criticism and would have given a new impetus to the critical thought'. (tr.)

Taking inspiration from him, M. G. Deshmukh (Dēśmukh, 1913–71) followed the trail in his controversial book *Marāṭhicē Sāhityaśāstra* (Poetics of Marathi, 1940). In this book Deshmukh examined the works of all the other saint-poets and contended that Marathi had already had its own theory of literature. A similar attempt has been made by B. S. Paranjape in his book *Rāmdāsāncē Sāhityaśāstra* (Ramdas's Theory of Literature, 1973). Today, the claims of Ketkar and others are no longer held valid. The fact, however unpleasant, is that Marathi did not have then, nor has it today after three or four centuries, a poetics of native hue. To quote R. S. Valimbe:

'The concept of literary criticism itself has been borrowed (by us) from English. Sanskrit did not have literary criticism in the modern sense of the term...' (quoted by A. N. Deshpande in his *Ādhunik Vāṅgmayācā Itihās*, Part 2, p. 752). An appreciative review of the contribution of the saint-poets is to be found in Madhav Chandroba Dukle's *Sarva Saṅgraha* (1874), Parashurampant Tatya Godbole's (Parśurāmpant Tatya Godbole) *Navanit* (1854) and subsequently in the writings of V. K. Chiplunkar, Bhandarkar, V. K. Rajvade, L. R. Pangarkar, and others.

Pattern of Development

Indeed, the shadow of Sanskrit poetics stretched long and deep over Marathi critical thought. And later, when it was beginning to become independent of it, it came under the impact of the western thought with the final defeat of the Marathas in 1818.

As we survey the subsequent development of criticism, we discern a pattern. In the initial phase we notice, first, an adherence to the traditional Sanskrit system of criticism, namely, the *rasa śāstra*. It may not have always been based on the original *rasa śāstra*, but on some interpretation of it by one or the other Sanskrit commentator. But soon it was found that the literature which was sought to be evaluated did not 'fit' into the traditional scheme. This led to the adoption of one of the following courses:

(a) rejection of some of the *rasas*
(b) modification of the traditional description of the *rasas*
(c) inclusion of some more 'new' *rasas*, such as *prakśōbha* or *sānta*.

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This process has been going on since then. Constantly there is a fresh realization of the inadequacy of the traditional system, and an attempt to incorporate new aesthetic elements from the West—mostly from English literature, occasionally from the literature of the continent. Usually, these have been accepted uncritically—at any rate, in the first instance. It was, therefore, only to be expected that a stage would come when some one would emerge with an altogether different organizational principle of art other than the conventional *rasa*. This was done by B. S. Mardhekar (Marḍhēkar, 1909–56) and Sharatchandra Muktibodha (Śaratcandra Muktibōdha, b. 1921).

Supremacy of Sanskrit. But we anticipate. To get back to the period immediately preceding 1874, we notice that during the years between 1820 and 1870 Sanskrit poetics reigned supreme. (K. N. Vatve, *Marāṭhī, Ṭīkāśāstra* in *Marāṭhī, Sāhitya*, Citraśala Prakāśan, Puṇe, 1950, second ed. p. 122.)

Literary criticism made its appearance with the rise of journals during this period. Important among these are: Upayukta Dnyanprasarak Society's *Marāṭhī Dnyānprakāśa* (1849), Ramchandra Bhikaji Gunjikar's *Vividhadnyānavistāra* (1867) and Chiplunkar's *Nibandhamālā* (1874). Criticism also appeared in the prefaces to books, for instance in M. M. Kunte's preface to his poem *Rājā Śivāji* (1869) and V. J. Kirtane's preface to his play *Jaipāl*.

Sanskrit critical thought was brought into Marathi by Krishnashastri Rajwade's (Kṛṣṇaśāstri Rājvāḍe, 1820–1901) *Alaṅkār Vivek* (1853). But a more important book, which focussed attention not on the externals (*alaṅkāras*) of the poetic theory, but on the core (*rasa*) of it, was Daji Shivaji Pradhan's *Rasa Mādhav* (1867). Both Dadoba Pandurang's (Dadoba Pāṇḍuraṅga, 1814–82) *Yaśodā Pāṇḍuraṅgi* (1865) and Parashuram Tatya Godbole's (Parśarām Tātyā Goḍbole, 1798–1874) *Kekādarśa* (1867) are criticisms of the *Kekāvali* of Moropant, the well-known pundit-poet. Vishnushastri Chiplunkar's articles in the *Śālāpatraka* (1827) are in the nature of a survey of poetry. In his series of books *Sanskrit Kavipañcaka* (Five Sanskrit Poets) he evaluates the work of the great Sanskrit poets—Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti, Banabhatta, Subandhu and Dandin.

The articles written by B. M. Hansa on the saint-poet Tukaram (1880), Moropant (1882) and Vaman Pandit (1884) are also valuable pieces of early criticism.

Critical literature during this period is characterized by a receptive attitude and an appreciative response to the western thought. M. M. Kunte's 19-page preface to *Rājā Śhivāji* discusses the nature of poetry and the epic, kinds of criticism, romanticism and classicism. This is the first book in Marathi which introduces English ideas into Marathi criticism.

The preface to K. B. Marathe's critical essay *Nāval āṇi Nāṭak* (The Novel and Drama, 1872) gives a fair indication of the people's expectations from literature at the time. It contains a revealing discussion of the form of the novel and drama. Marathe advocates realism in literature and emphasizes the observance of the *unities* in a play. Behind Marathe's endeavour was the spirit of Addison, Scott, Macaulay and others.

No significant contribution, however, was made to the theory of literature. A process of revaluation of the critical tools was set in motion and was soon to gather momentum.

Criticism After 1874

Vishnushastri Chiplunkar. The second phase of development (1874–1920) opens with the dominating personality of Vishnushastri Chiplunkar (1850–82) in whom a patriotic urge combined with the sense of a new awakening to produce forceful essays. Quite a few of these were devoted to a discussion of literature. Among these the essay entitled 'Vidvatva āṇi Kavitva', though controversial, is important. In it Chiplunkar grapples with such questions as: what are the characteristics of a poet? What primary qualities must he possess? He also points out that true poetry does not depend on the decorative elements—the *alaṅkārās*. Although he did not produce any original theory, his contribution exercised a deep influence on Marathi criticism.

Gopal Ganesh Agarkar. Like Chiplunkar, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar (Gopāla Ganeśā Āgarkar, 1856–95) loved literature, though it was not the mission of his life. His writings about literature are not as prolific as Chiplunkar's; but in him we find a forerunner of the full-fledged critic. Two of his essays *Shakespeare Bhavabhūti Kālidāsa* and *Kavi Kāvya Kāvyarati* and the preface to *Vikāravilasita* (his translation of *Hamlet*) are of special value. He brings to bear his rationalist approach on literature and analyses such issues as the impact of a work of art on the mind, imaginative identification with the object of poetry, the nature of tragedy, etc. His analysis had a pscyhological base and was the first of its kind.

A Few More. Hari Narayan Apte (Harī Nārāyaṇ Āpṭe, 1864–1919), the great novelist, deserves a place in the history of Marathi criticism because of his speech *Vidagdha Vāṅgmaya* in which he clarified the central function of literature—which is not merely to delight, but to instruct as well.

The name of V. K. Rajvade (Rājvāḍe, 1863–1926), the great historian, has a marginal relevance to criticism owing to his forthright essay *Kādambari* which presents a perceptive discussion of the novel, and offers a philosophic analysis of the form.

W. B. Patvardhan (1870–1921) wrote a long, independent

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critical essay *Kāvya āṇi Kāvyodaya* (Poetry and the Rise of Poetry, 1909). Historically, its significance lies in the author's defence of the 'new' poetry in terms of English criticism.

Widening Horizons. An overall view of criticism during this period reveals a widening movement of critical ideas. It is true that this period of transition did not produce a single book that discusses the techinque of a literary form, nor one that discusses the fundamental principles of literary theory with any completeness. But it must be realized that this was predominantly a period of interaction between Sanskrit and old Marathi, and between Marathi and English critical thought. The critics in this period had, on the one hand, the critical tenets of Mammata, Visvanatha, Pandit Jagannatha (Sanskrit) and Dnyanadeva, Ramadasa, Tukarama (Old Marathi) and, on the other, the newly acquired knowledge of Aristotle (*Poetics*), Virgil, Dryden, Johnson, Coleridge, Addison, Pope, Wordsworth, Matthew Arnold, Ruskin and others, and their critical disquisitions. The new ideas were being assimilated and the older ones sorted out, and the legislative (prescriptive) type of criticism was giving way to descriptive and theoretical criticism. It was a period of consolidation of diverse critical ideas. The ferment thus generated was going to produce a more profound critical literature in the next—truly modern—phase of development.

New Spirit

Shripad Krishna Kolhatkar. On the threshold of the new era is the figure of Sripada Krishna Kolhatkar (1871–1934). Novelist, dramatist and humorist, Kolhatkar was deeply involved in literature and its problems. His critical ideas are to be found in his reviews, prefaces and essays and speeches made at literary conferences. In Kolhatkar we find a kind of synthesis of the eastern and the western literary thought. He divided literature into two types: literature of knowledge and literature of power. The former he calls *gāṇapata*, after the deity *Gaṇapatī* and the latter, *sārasvata*, after Goddess *Sarasvati*. This is only one instance of his analytic mind, which delighted in the pursuit of intellectual beauty. He was the first Marathi critic to follow the English method of criticism—that is, evaluation through a systematic examination of the story, plot, characterisation, style, etc.

In most of his critical writings Kolhatkar deals with some problem of literary theory. He is considered to have laid the foundations of modern Marathi criticism. He seems to be evolving his own aesthetics while assimilating elements from Sanskrit and western poetics. In his preface to *Vidarbha Vīṇa* (1930), he dwells on the essential difference between the western literary ideas and the concept of *rasa*.

The ultimate end of art, for him, is joy, which makes him an adherent of the art-for-art's-sake school, in a sense. Yet, he sees no contradiction between art and morality. Morality, however, is not essential to art. In fact, he completely rejects any utilitarian approach to art.

His aesthetics, however, suffers from an oversimplification of the issues of art. Taking 'feelings' as the principal concern (contents) of poetry, he links up the variety in feelings with some of the elements in the experience of art, such as amusement, attraction, surprise, pleasure, etc. In his article, *Variety is the Soul of Poetry*, he endeavours to arrive at that astonishing conclusion through a series of superficially connected arguments. For him, both in its aim and in its structure, art seeks 'variety'. His discussion of *rasa* elsewhere is of a piece with this view. He regards the *rasa* too as *vikārśila*, that is, mutable, and incorporates it in his favourite idea of 'variety'.

On a closer study one feels that Kolhatkar was perhaps (unconsciously) defining craft rather than art. When we remember his continuous striving after newness and variety in his own creative writings, such a feeling seems to be justified. Even so, the credit of illustrating the method of scientific analysis belongs to Kolhatkar. Among his well-known writings are 'Vaicitrya Hac Kāvyaca Ātma' (*Mahārāstra Sāhitya Patrikā*, 1922), Review of *Totayace Band* (1914) and *Sārasvat Āṇi Gaṇpat* (1917).

Narsimha Chintaman Kelkar. Narasimha Chintaman Kelkar (1872–1947) was a close associate of Lokmanya Tilak and, for a time, the editor of the *Kesari*. A prolific writer, he tried his hand at several forms of literature—which earned him the title of *Sāhitya Samrāṭ* (Emperor of Literature).

His critical writings include such essays as *Nāṭya Vastu Vicāra* (Thoughts on the Dramatic Object), *Marāṭhī Kavitā āṇi Yamak* (Marathi Poetry and Rhyme) and the book *Hāsya Vinod Mīmāmsā* (Analysis of Laughter and Humour, 1937). Through his numerous addresses, reviews, and prefaces to books Kelkar has touched on many vital issues of literature and art. To mention only a few: the relationship between verse and poetry, the nature of obscenity in literature, the difference between realism and idealism, the distinction between the truth of art and the truth of science, the relationship between *rasa* and *alaṅkār*, etc.

But his main contribution is his theory of what he termed *Savikalpa Samādhi* (Transcendental Identification). In his presidential address at the tenth Sahitya Sammelan (Literary Conference) held at Baroda in 1921 he employed this famous phrase. His formulation was that 'literature is that which can induce the true *savikalpa samādhi*. This 'new definition', as he then rightly called it, was arrived at not by a reasoned analysis of art experience, but by an intuitive perception of the function of art. It is indeed a very brief formulation, but it has been the subject of well-deserved controversy. To paraphrase it, the *jīvātmā* (the individual soul or self) desires to be one with the whole

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world and longs to know it in its entirety, whether we regard the *jīvātmā* and *paramātmā* (God) as being one or two in their ultimate states. The *jīvātmā* attempts to spread all over the world through the illusion (māyā) of transcendental art. Art enables us to enjoy other experiences vicariously.

His 'new definition' suggests that for Kelkar art is an end in itself. However, in a speech he made some fifteen years later, we find him emphasizing the purposiveness of art. Art, here, is clearly propaganda. Kelkar has made no attempt to reconcile the contradictory positions on a philosophical or aesthetic level.

V. M. Joshi. Vaman Malhar Joshi (Jōśī, 1882–1943), the father of the philosophical novel in Marathi, was also a perceptive critic. His response to literature (and to social problems) was wholly philosophical. In his discussions of the novels of Kolhatkar and Ketkar, Phadke and Madhkolkar, Joshi raises several theoretical issues like the nature of 'incident' and 'movement' in the novel, 'why we enjoy plays better than novels', 'sympathy and empathy', 'the subject(s) of fiction', etc. These early reviews reveal a penetrating critical insight and a sound sense of the nature and function of literature. His subsequent writings, especially *Vicārsoundarya* (Beauty of Thoughts, 1940), a collection of essays, are a flowering of this early critical sense.

As a critic, Joshi believed in having no bar to the 'subject' of fiction. Everything in life, good and bad alike, had a rightful claim on the writer's attention. But he emphasizes that it must be raised to the level of art. However, he questions the art-for-art's-sake approach, and says, 'Will immature or inadequate thoughts, howsoever "beautifully" expressed, give joy of art? Between two works of art, equally beautiful in their outward expression, shall we not prefer the one which has profundity of thought?' (tr.) ('Waman Malhar: Vāṅgamaya Darśan' by W. L. Kulkarni, p. 118). Art, morality and truth were for him not irreconcilable in their ultimate forms. According to him, creation and enjoyment of art are one of the many aspects of the soul of man.

His analysis of the joy derived from art is that it is, unlike the pleasures of the senses, *aloukika* (transcendental). It is *brahmāsvādsahodara* (like the enjoyment of the Brahman). That is to say, like the state of transcendental realization, it is absolute.

Joshi has examined Kelkar's theory of *savikalpa samādhi* in great detail. For Joshi, the process of the enjoyment of art does not involve identification. As he puts it, 'It is not as if we identify ourselves with this or that character or all the characters in a play or a poem. It would be more in keeping with the facts to say that we do not identify ourselves with any of them but view them all with a particular kind of attitude. The joy is not the outcome of identification, but a consequence of a befitting detachment'. (tr., *Vicārsoundarya*, p. 38)

An important aspect of Joshi's point of view on art which has not received much attention is his insistence on 'value' (in terms of life) in the evaluation of art. The aesthetic thought in Marathi did not proceed straight from this point onwards, but received a swing in the direction of art-for-art's-sake. It was only after a phase of formalist criticism that the pendulum swung back in the direction of Joshi's position, and consideration of the place of 'value' was taken up seriously. Joshi thus stands at the crossroads, surveying the art scene with characteristic serenity.

N. S. Phadke. Narayana Sitarama Phadke (Phaḍke, 1894–1978) was a highly popular novelist and essayist. His criticism is largely in the nature of a defence of his own creative method. Having studied psychology and philosophy, he was able to provide a theoretical basis for his criticism. He implicitly believed in art-for-art's-sake. In his own words, the value of art lies not so much in *what* the artist conveys, but in *how* he conveys what he has experienced. Such an approach led him finally to end up as an exponent of the craft of novel writing. His *Pratibhāsādhana* (Acquiring of Creative Genius, 1931)—heavily dependant on Clayton Hamilton's *A Manual of the Art of Fiction*—dwells on the 'construction' skills required for a 'successful' novel. Both his creative writings and his critical essays leave no doubt that Phadke regarded entertainment as the principal aim of art. Incidentally, in this he achieved immense success. It must be observed here that Phadke's outspoken defence of the pursuit of art for its own sake was the culmination of the efforts of his predecessors in the line, like Kolhatkar and Kelkar.

V. S. Khandekar. His contemporary, V. S. Khandekar (Khāṇḍekar, 1898–1976), represented the other pole in the polemics on art that raged in Marathi for over three decades. Khandekar believed that art was meant to serve life. As he put it, '*Śabdalāḷitya* (pleasing words or word order), *arthagaurava* (semantic values), *kalpanā camatkritī* (imaginative embellishment) and *rasavilāsa* (the flowering of the *rasa*—enjoyment) have a valuable place in literature; but a philosophy of life lends the real charm and grace to its beauty' (tr.), ('Saha Bhāṣaṇe', 1941, p. 112).

The central impulse of Khandekar's life and literature was the love of downtrodden people. All his writings—especially his criticism—seem to spring from this impulse. When Khandekar attacks the principle of art-for-art's-sake, he is, in fact, championing the cause of these people. His elaborate, almost Shavian, prefaces converge on the same point, namely, that the vision of an artist must be broad and progressive. He even advocates the study of Marx and Freud by every aspiring writer.

Khandekar was not alone in taking up cudgels against

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Phadke's position, which appeared to many as that of an entertainer. G. V. Kavishvar, in his book *Nītī āṇi Kalopāsāna* (Morality and Attainment of Art, 1934) has exposed the illogicality of Phadke's stand. He does not insist on morality or moral issues forming the subject matter of art. He contends that the vision of art must be essentially moral. Kavishvar's is a systematic study of the nature of art.

Marxist Criticism. Marathi has a distinct strain of Marxist criticism, the origin of which can be traced to the great intellectual and thinker Vishnubuva Brahmachari (Viṣṇubuvā Brahmacārī, 1825–71). However, its precise articulation in literary criticism belongs to Lalji Pendse (1900–73) whose *Sāhitya āṇi Samāj jīvan* (Literature and Social Life) was published a year after Kavishvar's book. It is a highly stimulating work with its focus on the Marxist premise that art and philosophy are historically conditioned. Pendse's attempt to regard art as confined by the material conditions was resented by many, as they felt that it meant depriving art of its transcendental (*aloukik*) stature. It is true that Pendse's enthusiasm gets the better of his analysis at times and the author is misled.

Important among others who belong to this school are B. R. Suṇṭhaṅkar, Srirama Attarde, D. K. Bedekar and Saratchandra Muktibodha. P. Y. Despande's Marxist leanings were influenced by Trotsky's view of art.

R. S. Valimbe and Others. The task of introducing to Marathi readers the developments in contemporary English criticism was performed by R. S. Valimbe (Vālimbe, b. 1911) during the period 1925–50. It was a very fruitful contribution. In the three volumes *Sāhityacā Dhruvatārā* (The Pole Star of Literature, 1945), *Vāṅgmayīn Ṭīkāśāstra āṇi Paddhatī* (Science and Method of Literary Criticism, 1946) and *Sāhitāyatīl Saṁpradāya* (Schools in Literature, 1950) we discover a circumspect critic who can survey the critical scene with a discriminating intellect and order the material with natural sympathy and a sense of proportion. Among the others who were engaged in a similar critical activity are Acharya S. D. Javdekar (*Purogāmī Vāṅgmaya*, Progressive Literature, 1941), D. K. Kelkar (*Kāvyālocan*, Criticism of Poetry, 1931), K. N. Watve (*Rasavimarśa*, Analysis of *Rasa*, 1942), Y. R. Aagase (*Sārasvatsamīkṣā*, Criticism of Literature, 1934), R. S. Jog (*Soundaryaśodha āṇi Ānandbodha*, Search for Beauty and Knowledge of Joy, 1943), S. K. Kshirsagara (*Ṭīkāvivek*, Critical Wisdom, 1965) and G. T. Despande (*Bhāratīya Sāhityaśāstra*, Indian Theory of Literature, 1958).

W. L. Kulkarni. The criticism of W. L. Kulkarni (Kulkarṇī, b. 1911) occupies a special place in the literature of the past three decades. He is the most highly respected critic of the seventies. He surpasses most of the others both in the range and depth of his critical output. His critical writings have a dignity of their own, distinguished by a gracious blend of caution and balance. There is in his approach a simultaneous awareness of the contemporary scene and past tradition. His sweep and grasp are superb, and his lucid prose is refreshingly free from pedantry. We do not expect from him brilliance, but only sound judgement and wide sympathy. Extraordinary zest for life combines in his criticism with a patient intellect to unravel the mystery of literature which conceals the complexity of life. In his critical approach is also implicit a faith in the sanity of the common reader.

Among his full-scale studies are *Vāman Mālhar*, *Shripad Krishna*, *Marāṭhī Dnyanaprasāraka* and *Khāḍilkar*. In his other books, more than half a dozen, he has discussed with great perspicacity several important issues of literature. He is a classicist who believes that the ultimate end of art is to fulfil and enhance the claims of spiritual values. Like F. R. Leavis he views the critical activity as a common pursuit.

Gadgil, Mardhekar, Muktibodha. If Gangadhar Gadgil, B. S. Mardhekar and Saratchandra Muktibodha are grouped together in this final phase of the survey, it is because of their seminal criticism in contemporary Marathi literature.

Gangadhar Gadgil, primarily known as the pioneer of the 'new' (or modernist) short story, was among the first spokesmen of the new path struck out in Marathi poetry and short story around 1947 which marked an almost complete break with tradition. A whole new rationale was needed for the acceptance of the new poetry of Mardhekar and the short stories of Gadgil in the forties. Gangadhar Gadgil wrote his criticism like a champion of this literature. His famous article 'Rasa Carcecī Adagal' (*Satyakathā*, March, 1950) was the epitome of the new spirit. In it Gadgil mounted a fierce attack on the traditional bastion of Sanskrit poetics, namely, the *rasa* theory. The inadequacies of the *rasa* theory had been realized and pointed out by many critics earlier. But Gadgil contends that 'the joy one derives from literature is not because of the experience of *rasa*, but because of the awareness of felt truths'. (tr.). According to him the whole business of elaborately classifying the *rasas* and dealing with the subtler sub-divisions thereof is futile. This indeed is a radical position to take, and Gadgil is perhaps unique in this respect.

The span of Gadgil's criticism is wide, covering appreciations, evaluations, analyses, studies and theorizing. But his most important critical contribution is his strong defence of modernist literature. Among his better known articles are *Navakathece Svarūp* (Nature of Modern Short Story), *Kāvyācā Artha* (Meaning of Poetry), *Sāhityāce Mūlyamāpan āṇi Naitik—Rājakīya Niṣṭha* (Evaluation of Literature and Moral-political Commitment), *Marḍhekar-Dusare Keśavasuta* (Mardhekar—Second Keshavsut). Most

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of his criticism is to be found in the two volumes *Sāhityāce Māndaṇḍa* (Standards of Literature, 1962) and *Khaḍak āṇi Pāṇi* (Rock and Water, 1966).

Mardhekar, the father of modern Marathi poetry, was also the first critic to propound a theory of pure art. The concept of beauty in relation to literature had no doubt been discussed before him, for instance, by V. M. Joshi and R. S. Jog, but Mardhekar was the first to place 'beauty' above everything else in art, and to regard it as the only criterion of art.

His *Vāṅgmayīn Mahātmatā* (Profundity of Literature, 1940) is an exposition of his theory about profundity in art. According to Mardhekar, profundity in a work of art is proportional to the variety and intensity of the artist's imaginative response. Breadth of experience alone can make for greatness in art. This breadth, however, must not be superficial or external. It must be a product of inner growth and maturity. Even this by itself is not enough. It must be accompanied by an intensity of emotions. Sincerity—absolute sincerity—is the *sine qua non* of profundity in art.

His theory of beauty in art is expounded in his well-known books such as *Arts and Man* (1938), *Two Lectures on an Aesthetic of Literature* (both in English, 1944) and *Soundarya āṇi Sāhitya* (Beauty and Literature, 1955). To state the theory in a simplified form, art is a rhythmical form which is the product of an organization of sensations based on the following elements: harmony, contrast and balance. Literature is also a form thus achieved through a rhythmical organization of sensations on these principles. The principle of rhythm, according to Mardhekar, is not relative to life. Although the elements of art have emotional meanings, its beauty resides in this rhythmic organization. Beauty, for Mardhekar, is an absolute principle of art and is independent of practical life.

Mardhekar's presentation of his theory also needs to be emphasized here. For the first time in Marathi he used the method of scientific analysis in handling questions of aesthetics. He succeeds in weaving a highly complex, yet clear, theoretical structure by logically close and sophisticated reasoning. In the discussion of art, traditionally, the critics had been concentrating on its impact on the mind of the reader. Mardhekar turned their attention to the work of art itself. A theory of literature, according to Mardhekar, must be built on an analysis of its essential nature.

Mardhekar's theory exercised its sway for quite some time. But soon it began to be examined critically, by serious writers and scholars, and at the moment it seems to be losing ground. Among those who have questioned his theory are Prabhakar Padhye (b. 1909), R. B. Patankar and Saratchandra Muktibodha (b. 1921). Padhye's book *Mardhekaranci Soundaryamīmāmsa* (Mardhekar's Theory of Beauty, 1970) offers a thorough critical examination of Mardhekar's theory. Both Patankar and Muktibodha challenge Mardhekar's basic contention.

Muktibodha has produced his own theory in his book *Śṛṣṭī, Soundarya āṇi Sāhitya Mūlya* (Creation, Beauty and Literary Value, 1978), which was awarded the Sahitya Akademi Award for 1978–79. Muktibodha is a known Marxist and belongs to the pioneer triumvirate of modernist Marathi poetry: Mardhekar, Muktibodha and Rege.

In his book Muktibodha undertakes an examination of the traditional *rasa* theory as a tool of understanding the nature of literature—an exercise which had been undertaken from time to time and which was totally rejected as futile by Gangadhar Gadgil. He also takes up a detailed analysis of Mardhekar's theory of 'rhythm'. This tool, too, according to Muktibodha, is inadequate, inasmuch as it seeks to eliminate 'life' in a consideration of literature. Having set aside the two principles, Muktibodha proceeds to propound a new theory of literature. The first thing he does is to rehabilitate 'life' which Mardhekar had banished from his theory. Then he builds up his theory through a successive examination of the essential aspects of literature.

To paraphrase his own conclusion about the theory, a piece of literature is an organic whole. It is a structure of significant experiences made manifest by the poetic (aesthetic) powers of language. The internal unity of the elements of a work of literature flows from the presence of the essential humanity of man. By humanity Muktibodha understands not merely the loose meaning of the word in the context of 'humanism' of the 17th and 18th centuries; for him it means the quality of man's essential being. As he puts it, 'Humanity, artistically conceived humanity, is the organizing principle of art' (tr.). Although Muktibodha's book is not wholly free from confusion and a lack of sophisticated exposition, it makes a new and important point.

As one comes back to the present and casts a glance at the terrain covered, one is amazed by the rapidity with which the scene has changed. What we see today is a colourful spectrum of critical opinion with two main divisions: one centering on 'form' and the other on 'content'. Besides, there is considerable revaluation going on, especially of ideas. A lot is being written about existentialism, and anti-novel, the theatre of the absurd, the question of the writer's freedom and commitment and a host of other current problems. Western ideas like those of I. A. Richards, T. S. Eliot, F. R. Leavis, Wimsatt and Brooks, Sartre, Camus and others are being avidly absorbed. Among the many whose contributions have added to the elucidation of the problems of literature are V. B. Pathak, S. N. Banhatti, Kusumavati Deshpande, N. G. Joshi, R. B. Patankar, G. V. Karandikar, Madhav Achval, Narhar Kurundkar, B. S. Pandit, M. V. Rajadhyaksha, T. V. Sardeshmukh, V. D. Kulkarni, R. G. Jadhav, D. B. Kulkarni, Sada Karhade, Bhalchandra Phadke, L. G. Jog, G. M. Kul-

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karni, Madhav Manohar, Sudhir Bedekar and Sarojini Vaidya.

The efforts of D. G. Godse and Asoka Ranade merit special mention here. Both have extended the frontiers of criticism in Marathi by initiating studies in a new direction, the former by analysing texture in literature (*Pot*, 1963) and the latter by attempting to formulate an aesthetic of music (*Saṅgītāce Soundaryaśāstra*). Mention must also be made of the valuable writings in two ancillary areas: on language by N. G. Kalelkar and Asoka Kelkar, and on prosody by M. T. Patwardhan (the poet Madhav Julian) and N. G. Joshi.

Thus the common pursuit continues.

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Oriya

SAURINDRA NATH BARIK

The Beginnings

The second half of the 19th century saw a revolutionary change in the climate of Oriya literary criticism. Conscious attempts were now made to free it from the critical conventions of *rītiyuga* or the Age of Conventions which emphasized form and techniques in literature. In *rītiyuga* the principles of Sanskrit poetics were scrupulously followed and criticism was simply the faithful application of these principles to the work of art. Criticism tended to be mechanical and academic as it failed to evaluate literature in the light of new values growing with the change of time.

The influence of *Sāhitya Darpaṇ* (Mirror of Literature) on literature was paramount. It was written by Viswanath Kaviraj, a famous Oriya scholar in Sanskrit belonging to the 13th century. It is a famous book on Sanskrit poetics where the author has critically discussed the importance of *rasa* (basic emotions) and *dhwani* (suggestiveness) in literature and this concept of *rasa* and *dhwani* remained almots the only guidelines for Oriya criticism down to the second half of the 19th century. But towards the end of the century a new wind started blowing. Writers started revolting against the convention of the classical Sanskrit criticism, a convention of fruitless pedantry and dogmatic complacency. Out of this change in attitude (which was a result of modern awareness due to English education) was born modern Oriya literature, new, fresh and vivacious, and with this literature grew modern Oriya criticism.

Second Half of the 19th Century. Thus the second half of the 19th century saw the beginning of modern Oriya criticism. Many literary periodicals published during the period

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helped to bring this attitudinal revolution—the desire for freedom from a dead convention. These were *Utkal Darpaṇa* (1873), *Utkal Madhupa* (1878), *Utkal Prabhā* (1891) and *Utkal Sāhitya* (1897). The articles published in these periodicals reflected a new awareness, and revealed the inadequacies of the old standards of literary evaluation. So at this stage we find the usual conflict between the old and the new. In this case the conflict was between the old standards of Sanskrit poetics and the principles of the 19th century English Romantic tradition. At the beginning the conflict was acute, sometimes resulting in personal vendetta and mutual acrimonies. This was evident in the conflict between *Bijuli* (Lightning) and *Indradhanu* (Rainbow), two literary periodicals started in 1893. These two periodicals reflected two opposite views on criticism. While *Indradhanu* stood for old classical values reflected in the works of Upendrabhanja, a famous poet of Orissa, *Bijuli* championed the cause of modern principles by appreciating the works of Radhanath Ray whose works reflected the trends of English Romantic tradition. This sort of conflict may not have been helpful in establishing a healthy critical tradition but it definitely made people conscious about the role and function of proper criticism. These journals were the media for this new consciousness. The views of Viswanath Kar, the editor of *Utkal Sāhitya*, and Kamapal Mishra and others expressed in *Utkal Sāhitya* helped to establish this norm. Viswanath Kar in his superb editorials developed the idea that criticism is a way of life—a way of looking at the past and the present. It waits for an inculcation of a catholicity of mind that accepts criticism as a socio-cultural and intellecto-emotional perspective.

During the next phase, that is the first part of the 20th century, the growth of criticism was remarkable. Two critics were prominent in this period. They were Pandit Gopinath Nanda and Pandit Mrutyunjay Rath. These two critics analyzed the old classics of Oriya literature like *Bhāgavata*, *Daṇḍi Rāmāyaṇa* and Mahabharata and brought to light their inherent qualities and their impact on Oriya sensibility. It was a very great achievement. It helped in enlarging the critical outlook. In Gopinath Nanda's (1869–1924) *Śrī Bhārat Darpaṇ* (1964) we find a perfect synthesis of the cultural values of Orissa, Sanskrit poetics and the modern outlook. This synthesis is also evident in Mrutyunjay Ratha's analysis of *Bidagdha Cintāmaṇi* (1950), a famous Oriya classic. During this period Nanda Kishore Bal struck a different note in criticism. He himself was a poet and was well educated. He analyzed the works not of old authors but of his contemporaries like Radhanath, Fakir Mohan and Madhusudan. His mind was modern and his outlook was sharpened by 19th century English romantic criticism.

Through these critics modern Oriya criticism was gradually releasing itself from the strangle-hold of convention. Instead of merely echoing Sanskrit aesthetics it tried to see works of art in their inherent characteristics, their involvement with life itself.

Traditional Criticism

This process of broadening the scope of criticism was accelerated by Artaballav Mohanty (1887–1963), who established the *Prāci Samiti* in 1924. Many old classics were edited and published by the Samiti. Mohanty's critical comments in these new editions and more particularly on the works of Bhima Bhoi, the blind tribal poet, are examples of erudition and sensibility free from any bias. The other well-known critics of the period were Laxmikanta Chaudhury and Bichhanda Charan Pattanayak. Laxmikanta in his discussion on Bhupati Pandit's *Prēma Pañcāmṛuta* and Bichhanda Charan in his discussion on different aspects of *rītiyuga* not only threw new light on the subjects they discussed but set new norms in criticism. Sasibhushan Ray is another famous name in this period in the sphere of literary criticism. His *Prabandha Prabha* is a landmark in Oriya criticism.

These critics made Oriya people conscious about the powerful tradition of Oriya literature. They also acquainted them with the essential ethos of Oriya literature. In this new approach a new dimension was added to criticism, which became more living and distinctive in the hands of Pandit Nilakantha Das (1884–1967). To him criticism was not just scholarship which analysed a text detaching it from its cultural substratum. It was a study of culture and tradition along with the text. Without it criticism failed to be complete. His *Oriya Sāhityar Krama, Pariṇāma* (The Evolution of Oriya Literature, 1978), *Oriya Bhāṣā O Sāhitya* (Oriya Language and Literature, 1978), *Sanskṛuta O Samskṛuti* etc. reflect this attitude. In these books he has critically discussed the Oriya cultural tradition, the Jagannath cult and Vaiṣṇavism and analysed their influences on Oriya literature. His method is intellectual and he maintains an austere objectivity. But behind this objectivity one finds a sympathy resulting from his artistic involvement. In this context the name of Kalindi Charan Panigrahi is also important. He is a poet, a novelist and a critic in one. In his criticism of *Mathurā Maṅgal* we find the reaction of a sensitive mind thoroughly conscious of tradition and modern values. His works show the synthesis of the traditional and the modern.

Another famous name is Mayadhar Mansinha (Māyādhar Mānsiṅh, 1906–1973). His *Kavi O Kavita* (1973) and *Oriya Samāj O Sāhitya* (1975) show an original mind working with a sensitive critical consciousness. His discussions on poets show remarkable critical restrain yet not without a flavour of imagination. His *Mātir Kavi Saraḷa Dās* (Sarala Das: the Poet of the Soil), a study of the great poet, is a bright example. Giraja Shankar Ray was also a

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famous critic showing an original approach to the problem of literature. His *Oriya Nāṭya Kala* (The Art of Oriya Drama, 1939) is a famous book on drama.

Thus modern Oriya criticism gradually embraced the modern outlook by freeing itself from conventions. This freedom is not just an outward change that came with the change of time. It is a psychological metamorphosis, a revolution in attitude, an acceptance of new values. In its first phase we find a conflict between the East and the West. In modern Oriya criticism it is not the rejection of one for the sake of the other, though at the first stage it was of this type. But with critics like Nilakantha, Kalindi and Mayadhar and others we find a happy synthesis between the traditional and the modern. Nagendra Nath Pradhan's books *Oriya Sāhityare Jayadēv* (Jayadev in Oriya Literature, 1971), *Meher Sāhityare Bhūmika* (Preface to Meher's Literature) and *Dinakṛṣṇa Sāhitya Samīkṣh* (Evaluation of Dinakrishna Sahitya) show a remarkable understanding of the rich literary tradition of Orissa with a critical understanding of the poets.

In the history of modern Oriya criticism, besides the conflict in attitude mentioned above, another conflict is evident, i.e. a conflict with regard to method—a conflict between subjective and objective interpretations. The subjective approach emphasizes personal reaction. To them a work of art is a personal expression to be judged emotionally whereas the objective approach accepts a work of art as an object to be analysed dispassionately. In both cases criticism is incomplete and partial. Criticism is neither an expression of personal sentiment nor an emotionless dissection. So modern Oriya critics try to bring another synthesis in this regard. In this synthesis the critics have tried to analyse the mental make-up of the author which is a product of the culture and the milieu. They believe that the culture of Orissa cannot be properly understood without an awareness and understanding of the Jagannath cult, since Oriya cultural ethos is one with this cult and it has influenced and shaped it from time immemorial. It has influenced the Oriya tradition, its philosophy of life. It is the value of life which accepts a catholicity of mind. From this are born the sense of beauty and fidelity to truth which are the two essential points of Oriya sensibility. This cult also forms the intellectual background of contemporary criticism. And this is why analysis of cultural history and interpretation of the Jagannath cult have formed two important aspects of modern Oriya criticism. Benimadhab Padhi's *Dāru Dēvta* (The God of Timber, 1964), Kanhu Charan Mishra's *Cult of Jagannath*, Mayadhar Manasingha's (1906–73) *Saga of The Land of Lord Jagannath* and Harekrushna Mahtab's discussions have analysed Jagannath as the symbol of the total Oriya consciousness and synthesis of all religions. In this connection we think of Nilakantha Dash, Bansidhar Mohanty and Bichitrananda Mohanty who have also highlighted this consciousness. Krushna Charan Panigrahi and Chittaranjan Das (b. 1923) have tried to explain the present significance of our socio-cultural history. This attitude makes Oriya criticism broad-based. It is no longer a mere echo of theories but a study of the totality of individual existence of which literature is an expression. Basanta Kumar Satpathy in his brilliant introduction to the *Anthology of Oriya Poetry* (1972) published by Sahitya Akademi emphasized this and analysed the significance of the cult of Jagannath and its influence on Oriya consciousness.

Histories of Literature

The study of history plays a very important role in the growth of modern criticism. Historicity is not just a sense of history as a mere record of the past. It is a sense of continuity—the past turning into the present. It has an existential relation with the present. The study of history is not for the sake of past records alone but for understanding the present. Modern Oriya criticism with this attitude has tried to interpret the history of Oriya literature. The literary historians try to bring new facts to light as well as to study their impact on the present. Binayak Mishra in his *Oriya Bhāṣār Itihāsa* (History of Oriya Language), *Oriya Sāhityār Itihāsa* (History of Oriya Literature, 1964) and *Ādhunika Oriya Sāhityār Itihāsa* (History of Modern Oriya Literature, 1962) has brought new sensibility to bear on the analysis of past Oriya literature. In this connection Karunakar Kar's discussion on the history of Oriya literature is enlightening. Pandit Surya Narayan Das's *Oriya Sāhityār Itihāsa* is also a remarkable work. Later many other scholars also analyzed the different periods of Oriya literary history with critical understanding. Mayadhar Mansingh, Natabar Samantarai, Bansidhar Mohanty, Gopal Chandra Mishra, Kunja Behari Tripathy, Surendra Mohanty (b. 1920), Khageswar Mahapatra, Debi Prasanna Patnaik, Basudev Sahu, Brundaban Acharya, Pathani Patnaik, Srinibas Mishra, Krushna Chandra Behera and Janaki Ballav Mohanty in their exhaustive studies have discussed different aspects of our literature and language. The works of all these scholars have helped to develop a critical attitude which is essential for criticism. Besides, these critics highlighted particular areas of our literature in their works. Gopal Mishra traced the development of Oriya prose. Janaki Ballav Mohanty discussed the variety of theme and form in Oriya lyric poetry and Krushna Prasad Behera wrote about the growth of Oriya novel and Surendra Mohanty in his *Oriya Sāhityār Ādiparba* (The First Phase of Oriya Literature, 1961) and *Oriya Sāhityār Madhya Parba* (The Middle Phase of Oriya Literature, 1967) discussed the different currents and cross-currents responsible for the different trends in our literature. Mayadhar Mansingh's *History of Oriya Literature* shows the critical analysis of different trends of literature

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along with the facts of history. As historians they are objective but as conscious critics they try to see the sensibility throbbing underneath—changing, renewing itself in course of time. So these books are not just catalogues of dates and names. They rather attempt to find out the nature of the past as a living entity from whose particularity, both in form and in content, one may discern the condition of human existence and share it. In this connection Natabar Samantarai's *Oriya Sāhityār Itihās from* 1803–1920 (1964) is remarkable. This book not only gives a wealth of information but also provides a critical analysis which serves as the basis for future understanding. Bansidhar Mohanty's two volumes on *History of Oriya Literature* show the scholarship and at the same time bring *Nātha Sāhitya* (folk lyric of a particular sect, practising the 'Śaiva' cult and called the Nāthas, 1968) to limelight and discuss its influence as an experience of the highest humanistic import because it is the work of man who is a product of a particular culture and a particular time. Guided by this view the present critics study literature. They never compartmentalize time. They try to put the authors simultaneously in the perspective of their own time and milieu and study them as a living continuity. This is because they see not only literature in history, but history in literature too.

Sanskrit Poetics. Another important aspect of Oriya criticism is the critical appraisal of Sanskrit poetics with a modern outlook. These critics do not follow Sanskrit poetics blindly. They study its delicate nuances and their influence on the mind. The concepts of *rasa*, *dhwani* and *aucitya* (appropriateness) are still regarded as helpful means for appreciation of literature. But the difference is in the changed attitude to them. The critics of the 19th century accepted Sanskrit poetics with a prejudiced mind. To them they were simply mechanical touch-stones to judge literature. But modern critics do not think so. They analyse them with all critical awareness. In this field we can mention the works of Bansidhar Mohanty, Gangadhar Bal's (b. 1927) *Sāhitya Jigyānsa* (Literary Enquiries, 1971), Govind Udgata's *Sāhitya Samīkṣaṇa* (Literary Evaluations, 1976), Prahallad Pradhan's *Sāhityāyana* (958), Gouri Kumar Brahma's discussions on Radhanath, Gangadhar Meher, Dhaneswar Mahapatra and Sridhar Mishra's discussions. Artaballav Mohanty is acknowledged as the first to reveal this new attitude towards old critical standards.

Impact of Western Criticism

The latest trend in the field is the interpretation of literature in the light of modern western criticism. The young critics feel the inadequacy of the methodology of the 19th century Romantic critics of England for studying the new and complex post-war literature. These critics analysed literature following the latest developments in western criticism. Many of them study literature in isolation from the author, his culture and tradition. To them a work of art is a piece of object to be analyzed objectively. By doing so they rob criticism of feeling and emotion. There is too much of deliberate corroboration in such criticism. Criticism in their hands has become an academic borrowing of a body of western critical jargons. But the critics have been quick to find out the mistake. So the aim of criticism towards the end of the forties and the beginning of the fifties seemed to undergo a sea-change as reflected in the introduction to *Pāṇḍulipi* (1946) and the introduction to *Nūtan Kavitā* (New Poetry, 1955) by Jatindra Mohan Mohanty. Sochi Rautray's introduction to *Kavita* 1962 and Jatindra Mohan Mohanty's introduction to *Aṣṭapadi* (1967) show greater understanding of the problems of literary evaluation in the context of Indian culture and tradition. They try to understand the significance of Indian myth and tradition. These introductions paved the way for modern Oriya criticism. Jatindra Mohan Mohanty's later works try to study literature as an organization of experience guided by its own principle. So he studied the structure and process of language and its bearing on the emotion and experience of the artist. Madhu Sudan Pati, Prafulla Mohanty, Satyanarayan Mohanty and Rabi Mishra are other critics who try to study literature analysing the delicate nuances of language. Later critics try to establish modern literature as an organic growth and criticism as not just a reflection of some theories. They aim at our understanding of the total sensibility. This attitude we find in the writings of Jatindra Mohan Mohanty's essays, Krushna Ch. Sahu's Ramayan criticism, Chintamani Behera's *Kāvya O Kalākāra* (1966), Dasarathi Das's *Sāhityare Sandhān* (Quest in Literature), *Ādhunika Kāvya Jigānsā Citrakalpa* (Quest in Modern Poetry and Imagery), Nityananda Satpathy's works and in the works of Narendra Nath Mishra, Baisnab Samal and many others.

Criticism and Creative Writers. Some writers, most of them poets, such as Sitakant Mahapatra, Ramakanta Rath, Deepak Mishra, Tarini Chandra Das, Chintamani Behera and Benudhar Rout write about modern poetry and the creative process. Sochi Routrai in his introduction spoke about 'modern predicament' and experiments in modern poetry, but this was only in general terms. These poets, on the other hand, speak about their own commitment and relate it to their own experience and creativity. In their writings they raise some questions fundamental to all arts at all times. In these we find the stamp of individuality and deep involvement with the problem of communication. Among these poet-critics perhaps the most significant is Sitakant Mahapatra. He has systematically tried to free Oriya literature from its western mould and to involve

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it with the fundamental problems of creative writing. A vastly read person and a major poet himself, his approach is inter-disciplinary. Among the various lenses he looked through to study the many dimensions of creative work, his own sensibility is the most important. His books *Vinna Ākāśa Vinna Dīpti* (A Different Sky: A Different Lustre, 1978) and *The Curve of Meaning: Essays on Oriya Literature* and *Gestures of Intimacy* show that broad vista of critical mind so rare in our criticism. He tries to reaffirm the validity of human experience as the touchstone of culture and civilization.

Thus creative writers writing about creative writing is a very important aspect of modern Oriya criticism. To these creative writers art is a reflection of one's attitude towards life and death and this attitude is a product of one's socio-cultural heritage. Gopinath Mohanty's *Kala Śakti* (1973) shows this consciousness. This sort of attitude is also evident in the articles of Benudhar Rout, Ramakanta Ratha and in Surendra Mohanty's *Fakīr Mōhan* (1972), which analyses the works of Fakir Mohan, the great Oriya novelist.

Criticism today is the question of standards of judgement. Its aim is to understand the complex creation of human mind. Hence so many experiments. When criticism becomes a Procrustean bed and the bed becomes important and not the man who sleeps on it; when, if the man is taller than the bed, his legs are cut and if he is shorter, he is stretched to the size of the bed; it is then that criticism fails to achieve its aim. A wild-goose-chase between the writer and the critic ensues. It ends in writers sincerely trying to reflect some theories borrowed from outside and the critic's main concern becoming to find out how these theories are reflected in the work of art. It is just like a merry-go-round that has motion but no destination. So the result is a dull lifeless discussion that fails either to guide or illuminate the reader. But gradually critics have started realizing that literature precedes criticism and transcends theories.

The Indian Consciousness. Another aspect of modern criticism is what can be described as the emergence of a national consciousness. Oriya literature is not considered in isolation from other Indian literatures. It is considered to be one branch of that single literature called Indian literature. With all its individuality it breathes that common Indian consciousness. With this attitude comparative study of different literatures has become a trend. In the growth of all these trends we cannot ignore the role of literary journals of Orissa. Their role in starting a revolution in attitude at the turn of the century has already been discussed. Now the journals help to make our criticism more original. Periodicals like *Jhaṅkār*, *Dagoro*, *Manas*, *Saptaṛṣi*, *Konārk*, *Diganta* and many others are helping the growth of critical consciousness by publishing scholarly articles regularly. Besides these there are periodicals exclusively devoted to literary criticism. They are *Prajna*, *Mūlyāyana*, *Iṣṭāhāra*, etc. In these periodicals different aspects of literature are critically analysed. They help to introduce new and young critics and welcome a healthy critical insight.

The Indian consciousness has made Oriya criticism broad-based, and the latest awareness about the poetry of tribals has opened a new dimension in the above consciousness. The appreciation and understanding of the characteristics of oral literature of the different tribals of Orissa has widened our outlook with a sense of new identity. The pioneer work in this field has been done by Sitakant Mahapatra in the anthologies of tribal poetry which he has translated and edited with a critical introduction. Among these mention may be made of *The Empty Distance Carries* (1972), *The Wooden Sword* (1973), *Staying is Nowhere* (1973), *Bakhen* (1978) and *Forgive the Words*.

This is a happy sign. Criticism is no longer a blind devotion to a poetic creed ending in critical tyranny. The latest trend is to free criticism from intellectual cliches and to make it a mode of genuine enjoyment. It is not the form at the cost of the soul of art (*Kāvyātma*) nor an intellectual exercise at the cost of *rasa*.

To sum up, one may say that modern Oriya criticism aims at genuine pleasure by realizing the appropriateness of the aesthetic structure built by the author. The primary job is to understand our literature as a product of a great heritage and to encourage a sensitive response from the individual who is aware of the complexity and variety of life not only of our country but of the whole world.

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Punjabi

SATINDER SINGH

The earliest seeds of literary criticism in Punjabi are believed to be traceable in its literary creation. Modern literary thought has a definite notion that the distinctive stream of literary criticism develops in a society which has a rich literary tradition and where literary study becomes a significant activity in itself. Only when reading and writing become part and parcel of the pride of one's life, is a ground for serious literary study prepared.

Punjabi Gurmat poetry (15th century to 17th century), as contained in *Ādi-Granth* (1604), had its long tradition and unique conventions. There is no doubt that the critical culture in Punjabi originated from this institution of *Bāṇi* (word). Notable in the field is Guru Nanak Dev (Gurū Nānak Dev, 1469–1539), who debated and illustrated some of the *salokas* (couplets) of Sheikh Farid (Ṣekh Farīd, 1173–1265). In some of the hymns in the *Ādi Granth*, the Sikhs were repeatedly exhorted to engage themselves in singing, listening to and meditating (*gāun*, *suṇan* and *cinaṇ*) upon, the sacred word. Further, along with the composition of *Bāṇi* one can find the simultaneous development of its critical stand. The earliest specimen of *Bāṇi*-criticism can be found in *Janam-Sakhis*. With this the critical consciousness got strengthened at the initial stages.

There are some scattered remarks and examples of evaluation by some Punjabi poets when they make invocations to some of their predecessors in their writings. Mian Muhammad Bakhsh (Mīa Muhamad Bakhṣ, 1829–1909), the author of *Saif-ul-Mulūk* (1862), made critical comments on some Muslim Punjabi poets preceding him. We can find such remarks in Ahmad Yar (Ahmad Yār, 1768–1845) also. But such consciousness and scattered remarks cannot be taken for consistent critical statements giving rise to a systematic critical tradition.

Hence, though preceded by many pronouncements that imply some standards of evaluation, deliberate and systematic criticism in Punjabi emerges only after some centuries of creative activity. Punjabi literary criticism as a conscious literary activity developed only at the beginning of the 20th century under the influence of newly established contacts with the West. There is no clear-cut influence of Sanskrit poetics on Punjabi literary criticism. However, *Sāhitya Daṛpaṇ* has been translated into Punjabi.

Deliberate theoretical criticism begins with Bawa Budh Singh (Bāvā Budh Siṅg, 1878–1931), who adopted western methods of literary criticism in his writings. *Hans Coq* (Food of Swan, 1914), *Koel Kū* (The Cuckoo Song, 1916) and *Babiha Bol* (Voice of Peena, 1925) reveal some of the permanent features of Punjabi poetry and there is much incisive criticism of its diction, metre and construction. He attempted to preserve and emphasize the greatness of the Punjabi literary heritage. His main objective was to present a comprehensive guide to Punjabi authors and create an interest in Punjabi literature. His criticism, as an emotional activity, is based on his personal predilections and is confined to the study of medieval literature. But he holds a prominent place as a pioneer in the field of Punjabi criticism. Close on his heels, Maula Bakhsh Kushta (Maulā Bakhṣ Kuṣtā, 1876–1955) in his *Punjab de Hīre* (Diamonds of the Punjab, 1932), commented on some aspects of Punjabi poetry and its history.

Teja Singh (Tejā Siṅg, 1883–1958), an impressionistic critic with a lucid style, wrote about twenty 'forewords' to books by contemporary authors in order to encourage them. He guided budding Punjabi writers, diverted and directed many from English to Punjabi. The inspiring tone of his appreciation made him popular among the prospective

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writers of Punjabi. His writings, collected in *Sāhit Darśan* (Vision of Literature, 1951), reveal his thorough study and deep understanding of the issues at large. He differed from Bawa Budh Singh in that he made contemporary literature his object of study.

Puran Singh (Pūran Siṅg, 1881–1937) presents ideas pertaining to the romantic theory of poetry in his critical essays *Khule Lekh* (Unbound Essays, 1929). He, while formulating the conception of poetry, defines it as God's miracle that comes like natural showers from heaven. In *The Spirit of Oriental Poetry* (1921), he says, 'Our idea of the poet is that of a man who can, by the mere opening of his own eyes, enable others to see the Divine; whose one glance can be our whole knowledge.... The poet is not one of us, he is the messenger of God, His prophet; he is God in human clay.... Our highest poetry, therefore, is the birth of God on earth.' In his approach we find a blending of romantic and mystical ideas.

The hallmark of Punjabi criticism at this stage lies in its appreciative-impressionistic nature. Punjabi critics did not follow a specific conceptual framework, neither did they present a systematic theory of criticism. In fact, establishing a theory of criticism was none of their purpose. Their inferences are based on personal intuitions and are expressed in an ornate style. Bawa Budh Singh was an impressionist who expressed his impressions with regard to Punjabi literature and certain men of letters. Teja Singh's writings bear an appreciative and impressionistic imprint of the author with which he advocates the cause of contemporary literature. Puran Singh did not give any systematic principle in his loosely constructed literary essays. His writings show lack of objective critical faculty and does not present a harmonious view. He was basically a poet who loved to flutter in a romantic void. But he was the first to dwell on the nature of poetry and the status of the poet.

In the field of historical criticism, Mohan Singh Diwana (Mohaṇ Siṅg Dīvānā, b. 1889) introduced a historicist point of view in Punjabi criticism. According to him a critic, while evaluating a poet, should be well aware of his antecedents, family background etc. He was influenced by Taine's *History of English Literature* and was the first to attempt a *History of Punjabi Literature* (1933), which is regarded as a contribution of seminal importance. His history has served as a basis of several other works on the subject and has deeply influenced the course of Punjabi literary criticism.

He studied medieval Punjabi literature with greater concentration and objectivity, but analysed contemporary literature from a vantage point of self-assertion. In *Ādhunik Puñjābi Kavitā* (Modern Punjabi Poetry, 1941), he condemns outright the light and propagandist verse of the contemporary poets. He denounces the contemporary romantics as childish versifiers and vain poetasters. He advocates a historical method of study but fails to delineate a coherent theory of literature.

Gopal Singh 'Dardi' (Gopāl Siṅg 'Dardī', b. 1919) was the first to introduce classification of Punajbi poetry on the basis of form and content duality in *Puñjābi Sāhit da Itihās* (1952). This classification was somewhat helpful in creating an awareness of poetic forms in Punjabi criticism. His *Rumañcik Puñjābi Kavi* (Romantic Punjabi Poets, 1938) and *Sāhit Di Parkh* (Literary Evaluation, 1950) are based on some principles of western criticism. G. S. Talib (Gurbachan Singh Tālib, b. 1911) paid more attention to the aesthetic aspects of Punjabi literature. He laid emphasis on purity of diction and organic style. His critical essays on modern Punjabi poetry and prose bear the imprint of his deep insight and aesthetic sensibility.

So far, an ordered principle of critical norm in Punjabi criticism, is nowhere in evidence. During this period we find only the initiation of critical attitude in Punjabi studies. The critics were mainly inspired by a feeling of devotion and service to the cause of Punjabi literature.

At this point of time Punjabi criticism came to be influenced by socialist ideology and Marxist theory, which sought to establish a close relationship between literature and society.

Sant Singh 'Sekhon' (b. 1908), the originator of the Marxist approach, was the first to free Punjabi criticism from the shackles of sentimentality. Theoretical study is a discipline that requires a specialist attitude and Sekhon attended to it with competence and conviction. Sekhon is the first conscious critic in Punjabi committed to the theory and practice of socialist art and literature.

By now, advanced studies of literature had found a place within the educational set-up of the country. It was time, therefore, to recognize the autonomous and specific nature of literature. *Suigeneris Sāhityarth* (Meaning of Literature, 1957) is the first important work of Punjabi criticism wherein the author tries to grapple with the intrinsic problems of literature. His other major writings include *Parsidh Puñjābi Kavi* (Eminent Punjabi Poets, 1960), *Pāī Vīr Siṅg te Unan da Yug* (1962) and *Kāvya Śiromaṇi* (Major Poets, 1964). His theory of literature, though less deterministic, remains incompatible with his practice. His attention remained divided between literary autonomy and critical commitment. As he was working under the compulsion of the contemporary situation, the theory of poetry, as a specific discipline, formulated by him could not be advanced to any appreciable extent.

Sekhon says that old Punjabi poetry did contain a deep perception as the modern verse does. He praises Sikh Gurus for their deep perception and social awareness. According to him Baba Farid, Guru Nanak Dev and Guru Arjun Dev were conversant with both the spiritual and social values of life. He rejects and denigrates Waris Shah for his narrow vision and lack of social perception. For him Puran

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Singh is an ethereal poet with little knowledge of man caught in the whirl of history. He praises Mohan Singh's transformation of personal love into love for the masses, Amrita Pritam's advocacy of the helpless woman in a bourgeois society and Pritam Singh Safeer's revolutionary ventures. He generally rejects even great literary achievements if they fail to represent the feelings and aspirations of oppressed humanity.

Sekhon's historical materialist methodology derives primarily from the traditional Marxist frame of reference and remains uninfluenced by the later development of Neo-Marxist thought. Neo-Marxists do not interpret literary writings in a dogmatic way. There is an appreciable difference between those who accept the Marxist canon as the ultimate truth and those who regard it as a primary source of inspiration. More perceptive criticism can come from Neo-Marxists who depart from the orthodox canon for the sake of contemporary relevance. Punjabi criticism is yet to develop in this direction.

With the exhaustion of the progressive movement, the 'Sekhon dhāra' of Punjabi criticism became out-dated. It was replaced by a new school of critical thought known as the 'new criticism' which was anti-mechanistic in approach.

Jasbir Singh Ahluwalia (Jasbīr Siṅg Alūvāliā, b. 1935) worked on the harmony of creative process and 'modes of perception' and alluded to the possibility of conscious experimentation. Both Sekhon and Ahluwalia build theories of literary structure but deviate towards critical historicism in their practice. Sekhon paid some attention to objectivity and distancing so essential in a critical study; his historicism included the whole perspective of literary tradition. Ahluwalia, on the contrary, worked with a limited historical view, and operated within the narrow confines of an experimentalist objective.

With his first book *Kāvya Adhyān* (Study of Poetry, 1959) Attar Singh (Ạtar Siṅg, b. 1932) established himself as a penetrating and competent critic. He had a clear objective grounded in close literary study. He shows a wide awareness of the latest trends of western criticism. He widened the conceptual framework of progressive criticism and tried to save it from mechanistic orthodoxy.

Besides a number of articles, his two other books *Dṛṣṭikon* (Point of View, 1961) and *Samdarśan* (Balanced View, 1977) deal with the higher and serious purpose of art and literature. His writings are full of useful allusions to the theoretical insights but he does not work out an independent theory of literature. He falls short of the expectations of his admirers in evolving an indigenous system of poetics.

Kishan Singh's (Kiṣan Siṅg, b. 1911) studies of Sheikh Farid, Guru Nanak and Waris Shah adds a new dimension to Punjabi literary criticism. But he could not win general acclamation due to some of his polemical tenets of Marxist interpretation of supreme reality expressed in Gurmat poetry and analysis of religious concepts on the basis of Marxist ideology. He works in a very narrow field and with a limited vocabulary.

Undoubtedly, Sant Singh Sekhon, Kishan Singh and Attar Singh dealt with some very important issues of literary study but they remained mechanically deterministic in their approach. They were mostly concerned with the relevance of literature to contemporary life but are too committed to a social ideal to go in for a close reading of the text.

Sekhon and Kishan Singh take literature to be the image of objective reality, the former viewing it from a politico-economic angle and the latter from a cultural one. Both of them are historicists; while Sekhon relates a literary work to a creative period, Kishan Singh places it in a critical period. Sekhon treads the path of historical relativism, and Kishan Singh that of historical subjectivism. Their methods take but scant note of the texture and structure of the literary texts.

Najm Hosain Syed (Najm Husain Sayyad, b. 1936), a Pakistani Punjabi critic, is worthy of special attention. Though an adherent of the progressive tradition, he is basically concerned with the texture, pattern and structure of literature. He focusses attention on some of the *Recurrent Patterns in Punjabi Poetry* (1968) and brings out the significant functions of symbols in poetry. In his two other books *Sedhan* (Directions, 1967) and *Saran* (Perceptions, 1974), he attempts thematic studies of some of the major Punjabi writers and their writings. He consciously evades the deterministic approach; but, then, there is an inescapable fictional element in his critical prose that takes him near to the popular idiom and brings him naive recognition.

Harbans Singh's (b. 1918) *Aspects of Punjabi Literature* (1961) is a fair specimen of objective criticism based on the artistic make-up of a work of art. Roshan Lal Ahuja (Roṣan Lāl Āhūjā, b. 1904) introduced some aspects of the better-known western and Indian poetics in Punjabi criticism. In *Sāhit Śāstra* (1963), he gave some aspects of the principles of literature. Prem Parkash Singh (Prem Parkāś Siṅg, b. 1926) introduced some aspects of Indian poetics for the evaluation of Punjabi poetry. He also refers to some elements of western theory of poetry.

Though the classical principles of Indian poetics propounded by Sanskrit scholars were available in Punjabi through some writers these could not form a serious basis of literary study.

Harbhajan Singh (b. 1920), a scholar of rare critical acumen, liberated Punjabi literary study from old cliches and established effective relationship with the world of critical knowledge. Well-versed in the ontology and structure of literary texts, he provided Punjabi criticism with a much needed theoretical and conceptual grounding. His major publications, namely *Adhiyan te Adhiapan* (Study and Teaching, 1970), *Mul te Mūlāṅkan* (Value and Evaluation, 1972),

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Sāhit Sidhānt (1973), *Sāhit Śāstra* (1973), *Pargamī* (Beyond Language, 1974), *Rūpaki* (Formalism, 1976), *Racna te Sanracna* (Texture and Structure, 1977). *Sāhit Vigyān* (Science of Literature, 1978), *Systemī* (System Thinking, 1979), numerous articles and translations make him a leader of modern Punjabi criticism.

Harbhajan Singh explores such wide sources as Russian formalism, Saussurean linguistics, Prague Linguistic Circle, Parisian structuralism, New American Criticism and Soviet Semiotics in order to keep in line with the growing consciousness of a 'Science of Literature'. He is the originator of system-thinking and model-consciousness in Punjabi. On occasion, he goes far beyond the sources he refers to and evolves valuable formulations of particular relevance to Punjab's literary and cultural traditions. The distinction he draws between *Bāṇi* and poetry is an apt case in point. He is seriously concerned with evolving an indigenous poetics and explains the principles of structuralism and systemics in the concrete perspective of Punjabi literary tradition. His theorizing activity is almost always accompanied by practical criticism. His major contribution to Punjabi criticism is his emphasis on objective tools and conceptual categories.

According to Harbhajan Singh, Punjabi criticism with its short history and shorter vision has operated within a limited field. Punjabi critics generally work without a proper awareness of the distinctive nature and function of literary creations. Literary works, to be communicable, have to depend upon pre-existing conventions but they have a distinct status of their own. Literature, though a social product, enjoys an autonomous existence. Similarly, in spite of its dependence on language, the literary act transcends it and forms a separate entity. According to Harbhajan Singh, it is the function of the literary critics and literary historians to recognize this relationship of dependence and autonomy at the same time.

The structuralist thought has inspired some teacher-critics of Delhi, Punjabi and Guru Nanak Dev Universities to work on the ontological identity of literature. To wit, T. S. Kanwar (Tarlok Siṅg Kaṅvar, b. 1931) in his two books, *Mān Pratimān* (Standards and Norms, 1976) and *Badalde Paripekh* (Changing Perspectives, 1975) has made a useful distinction between the theory of literature and that of criticism. Though interrelated, they have quite different functions to perform and belong to two distinct streams of human activity.

Apart from the critics mentioned above there are some scholars who have done useful research work in the field of medieval literature, namely Pritam Singh (Prītam Siṅg, b. 1918), Surinder Singh Kohli (Surindar Siṅg Kolī, b. 1918), Balbir Singh (Balbīr Siṅg, 1896–1974), Rattan Singh Jaggi (Ratan Siṅg Jaggi, b. 1927), Dewan Singh (Divān Siṅg, b. 1921) and Piar Singh (Piār Siṅg, b. 1914). Some scholars have made contributions to the interpretative and evaluative study of Sikh scriptures, namely Bhai Vir Singh (Pāī Vīr Siṅg, 1872–1957), Sahib Singh (Sāhib Siṅg, b. 1894), Bhai Jodh Singh (Pāī Jod Siṅg, b. 1882) and Taran Singh (Tāran Siṅg, b. 1922).

In the field of folkloristics, scholars like M. S. Randhawa (Mohinder Siṅg Randhavā, b. 1909), K. S. Thind (Karnail Siṅg Thind, b. 1929), Devinder Satyarthi (Davinder Satiārthī, b. 1908) and S. S. Bedi (Sohinder Siṅg Bedī, b. 1925) have made significant contributions. The Department of Punjabi Language, Literature and Culture set up at Guru Nanak Dev University in 1969 gave momentum to the study of Punjabi folklore, folklife and culture.

University education in Punjabi is also an important factor in the evolution of Punjabi criticism. The real impetus to the critical study of literature started only after 1947 when a higher status was given to Punjabi Language. A few writer-critics like Gurcharan Singh (b. 1917) and Kirpal Singh Kasel (b. 1928) made handsome contributions to the branch of pedagogical criticism. *Sāhit de Rūp* (Forms of Literature) and *Sāhit Sidhānt te Samasiya* (Literature: Theory and Problem) are two important works of Gurcharan Singh.

Literary magazines and literary societies have also played an important role in the field of literary criticism. Journals like *Lekhari*, *Pani Darya*, *Sāhit Samācār*, *Ālōcana*, *Puñjābi Duniya*, *Khoj Darpaṇ*, *Khoj Patrika*, *Parkh*, etc. and societies like 'Punjabi Sahit Academy', 'Punjabi Sameekhya Board', 'Kendri Punjabi Lekhak Sabha', 'Lok Lekhari Sabha', etc. gave some impetus to critical activity by arranging seminars, workshops and conferences creating thereby an atmosphere of literary debate.

Though literary criticism in Punjabi has largely depended upon western thought, the basic studies on the theoretical problems of literature bear ample evidence that Punjabi critics are aware of the systematic perception of their subject. The conceptual framework of this subject is being based on the intrinsic study of literature.

Marxist and structuralist schools of critical thought have dominated the critical scene. An indigenous poetics of Punjabi is likely to be evolved out of the common concepts and significant tenets of Neo-Marxian and structuralist theories. A well-organized approach to the study of literature is being evolved and literary criticism bids fair to develop into an independent subject worthy of scientific interest. Some Punjabi scholars are working enthusiastically in this branch of knowledge and significant results are very much in the offing. Some of the recent critics who have done commendable literary research and critical work in different genres of literature are J. S. Rahi, S. S. Noor, G. S. Arshi, Satinder Singh, K. S. Kang, Pritam Singh and R. S. Rave.

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Sanskrit

K. KRISHNAMOORTHY

Introduction

Sanskrit is not only the oldest of the Indo-Aryan languages, but also the repository of one of the most ancient literary records in the world, namely, the Vedas (2000 B. C.). One of the traditional names for this vast body of religious literature is *chandas* or 'pleasing metre', which underscores its pre-eminently poetic verse-form meant for recitation or chanting, preserving the original accents. *Ṛgveda* means the Veda of hymns; and the Vedic poets (*kavis*) were also seers (*ṛṣis*). We get references therein to speech (*vāk* or *sarasvati*), personified as a goddess, who inspires the poet into a *furor poeticus*. The Vedic seers speak of their art often as a verbal craft 'like that of a carpenter fashioning out a chariot'. It is not unlikely that they had their own 'rules' (*śāstra*) of poetic composition; but they are not extant. Metres were invested with magical power and lauded as leading the chanter to heaven in the Vedic age (c. 2000-800 B.C.). We have also words like *kāvya*, *alaṁkṛti* and *rasa* in Vedic literature which became the key-terms of Sanskrit literary criticism in a later age; but they hardly have any critical significance in the Vedic texts.

Though modern scholars regard Vedic hymns as poetry, Indian tradition is reluctant to do so, because it accords the highest place of divine scripture (*śruti*) exclusively to the Veda while poetry (*kāvya*), by definition, is secular and of human authorship.

The next period (c. 800–200 B.C.) witnessed the rise of several intellectual disciplines (*śāstras*) to aid the understanding of the Veda. Etymology (*Nirukta*) and grammar (*Vyākaraṇa*) among them contain some incidental references to poetic devices like the simile (*Upamā*), besides a few citations from folk-ballads or lyrics. Patañjali (150 B.C.) testifies to the aesthetic significance of the term *rasa* when he speaks of the actor in a drama as *rasika*, and also names a few folk-tales (*ākhyāyikās*) popular in his time such as *Vāsavadattā* and *Sumanottarā*. The Buddhist canonical work *Kavi-sutta* in Pāli speaks about four types of poets: (i) meditative (*cintākavi*), (ii) scholarly (*sattakavi*), (iii) inspired (*patibhāṅakavi*) and (iv) missionary (*atthakavi*). The treatment of prosody by Piṅgala as well as Bharata reveals numerous classical measures, based on quantity as well as stress. Inscriptions in the classical *kāvya* style are found as early as the Christian era; one of them (A.D. 150) expressly mentions prose (*gadya*) and poetry (*padya*), besides literary excellences such as clarity (*sphuṭatā*) and sweetness (*mādhurya*), as well as figures of speech (*alaṅkāra*). All these evidences indicate that the cultivation of different genres of poetry and drama went hand in hand with speculations on literary criticism round about the Christian era, though none of those early attempts is available to us today.

The two great epics of India, namely the Ramayana and the Mahabharata are again ascribed by Indian tradition to poet-sages and are regarded not as models of pure poetry but as repositories embodying legendary history (*Itihāsa*) as well as ideal ethical precept (*dharma*). Hence ancient Indian poetics (*Alamkāraśāstra*) generally leaves them out of account; if they are alluded to once in a way, it is only to derive support from their example and not from their precept on literary theory.

Nāṭyaśāstra

However, the earliest treatise available to us is the *Nāṭyaśāstra* ascribed to sage Bharata (c. A.D. 200). It is a kind

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of encyclopaedia on dramaturgy, histrionics, dance, music, etc., and its concern with poetry proper is very cursory indeed. Yet, it gives us almost all the pivotal concepts of Sanskrit criticism which were to engage the attention of some of the best poet-critics and scholars of India for well over 16 centuries. These are: *rasa-bhāva*, *aucitya*, *guṇa*, *doṣa*, *alaṁkāra*, *vṛtti* and the literary genres. In the domain of drama, however, its treatment is most exhaustive; and its norms regarding plot, characters, sentiments and style in as many as 10 types of plays, have remained basically unaltered even after the lapse of so many centuries.

The Names and Nature of Sanskrit Poetics

Usually, all early writers on the subject—Bhāmaha (c. 600), Daṇḍin (c. 700), Vāmana (c. 750), Udbhaṭa and Rudraṭa (c. 800)—call their treatises by the name *Kāvyālaṅkāra* or *Kāvyalakṣaṇa*, i.e. 'the embellishment or hall-mark of poetry'. Some earlier names which are known only by references are *Kriyākalpa* and *Kriyāvidhi* which mean 'rules of the poetic art'. The designation *Sāhitya-vidyā*, 'theory of literature', is a later one (c. 900). It emphazises the perfect concord of sound (*śabda*) and sense (*artha*) as the *sine qua non* of literature. But the latest and most commonly used name is *Alaṁkāra-Śāstra*, 'science of beauty', because the word *alaṁkāra* in Sanskrit means not only a means of beautification but also beauty itself. This usage became current when poetics adopted the scientific methodology and terminology of allied disciplines like grammar, prosody, dramaturgy, erotics, logic and philosophy in the discussion of its basic concepts, especially after Ānandavardhana (c. 850), who was a philosopher of the first rank besides being a masterly poet-critic and who, for the first time, gave in his aesthetic theory of *dhvani* (implied or suggested meaning) an equal status to drama and poetry, and who blazed the trail for applied or practical criticism of not only select literary pieces but also whole works. The formal and normative approach to poetry is replaced here by an aesthetic perspective, and he represents the dividing line between old (*prācīna*) and new (*navya*) poetics. His original insights and illuminating observations paved the way for an age of systematization which includes celebrated names like Kuntaka (1000), Mammaṭa (1150), Vidyānātha (1300), Viśvanātha (1350) and Jagannātha (1650).

The systematized classics of these authors were studied throughout India and there are dozens of commentaries on them, almost from every province, which restate the discussions often in the light of new considerations.

Literary Genres

The major literary genres or *kāvya*-forms mentioned by Bhāmaha are: (1) art-epic in several cantos (*mahākāvya*), (2) drama (*abhineyārtha*), (3) prose-chronicle (*ākhyāyikā*), (4) romantic tale (*kathā*), and (5) smaller verse-units or single self-contained verses (*anibaddha*). To these should be added *campū* or mixed composition in ornate prose and verse on an exalted theme first mentioned by Daṇḍin. From time to time further subdivisions came to be noted, especially under the categories (4) and (5):

Kathā (Tale)

1. *Upākhyāna:* an episodic story in a larger work.
2. *Ākhyāna:* an episodic story, sung and enacted by a bard.
3. *Nidarśana:* didactic bird-and-beast fable.
4. *Pravalhikā:* a story in dialogue form.
5. *Matallikā:* a story satirizing society.
6. *Maṇikulyā:* a story involving an initial puzzle.
7. *Parikathā:* a tale narrating several adventures.
8. *Khaṇḍakathā:* a partially narrated well-known story.
9. *Sakalakathā:* a complete story of a hero's life.
10. *Upakathā:* an incidentally recounted story.
11. *Bṛhatkathā:* a vast repository of tales.

Anibaddha (Small verse-units)

1. *Muktaka:* a self-contained stanza.
2. *Sandānitaka:* two run-on stanzas.
3. *Viśeṣaka:* three run-on stanzas.
4. *Kalāpaka:* four run-on stanzas.
5. *Kulaka:* four to 14 run-on stanzas.
6. *Kośa:* anthology of independent verses composed by oneself and/or others. *Śataka* (century), *Pañcāśikā* (fifty)
7. *Saṁghāta:* a short poem by a poet on a single subject consisting of several stanzas.
8. *Saṁhitā:* a collection of poems on different subjects.

Again, we have a number of divisions under the head of light literature (*kṣudraprabandha*) in later works:

1. *Udāharaṇa:* alliterative and rhythmic prose paragraph with a metrical beginning and end.
2. *Cakravāla:* rhythmic prose-paragraph (following an initial verse), each component being a vocative and embodying the device of making the last word in a compound identical with the initial word of the next.
3. *Bhogāvali:* prose sections of eight or four uniformly structured sentences, beginning and ending with a stanza and containing the vocative form *deva* at the head of each unit, and describing beauties in Nature.
4. *Birudāvali:* eulogy, a bombastic parade of royal titles to serve as content in the form of *bhogāvali* above.
5. *Tārāvali:* a poem in 27 stanzas.
6. *Karambhaka:* a poem containing stanzas in Sanskrit as well as other languages.
7. *Ratnāvali:* a poem in nine stanzas.

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So also, drama (*rūpaka*) has a number of types and sub-types which can be conveniently classified in tabular form.

It should be noted that Sanskrit literary criticism is primarily schematic and formal; and a critic is expected to judge a given work by first determining the genre to which it belongs and whether it successfully fulfils all the classical norms governing it. The basic principles underlying the tabulated norms of the different literary genres are indeed broad and simple. These relate to common elements which any literary analysis or appreciation of given works should perforce include:

(1) plot, (2) characters, (3) *rasa* (sentiment) and *bhāva* (emotional state), (4) style—(i) *guṇas* and (ii) *alaṁkāras*, (5) judgement of literature—defects (*anaucitya* or *doṣa*), (6) gradations of beauty in literature, (7) *dhvani* (suggested meaning), (8) *pratibhā* (creative imagination), (9) *sahṛdaya* (critic with literary taste), (10) defence of poetry and criticism, (11) *vakrokti* (oblique expression), and (12) specimens of practical criticism.

But these involve in-depth studies in such varied, yet related, branches of learning as linguistics, semantics, psychology, grammar, aesthetics, logic and philosophy and raise even the eclectic discipline of poetics (*Alaṁkāra-śāstra*) to a prestigious and independent status in the scheme of Sanskrit studies. Incidentally, a treatment under these broad heads will meaningfully include all the important, concepts of the discipline such as *alaṁkāra*, *guṇa*, *rīti*, *rasa-bhāva*, *dhvani*, *vakrokti* and *aucitya*-cum-*anaucitya* and will help avoidance of needless repetition.

Theme and Technique of Plot-construction (*Vastu-samvidhāna*)

Whatever the literary genre, the theme serves as its very body or backbone. In the highest forms of poetry and drama, namely, *Mahākāvya* (art-epic in several cantos) and *Nāṭaka* (play extending to several Acts), it is not so much an invented story which matters, but a plot structured in a well-ordered form. The more familiar to the audience, the better it serves to catch their aesthetic attention because they can concentrate more pointedly on the author's technique or masterly art in the arrangement of various incidents or scenes. The five noticeable divisions (*sandhis*) in a good plot are: (1) opening (*mukha*), (2) progress (*pratimukha*), (3) complication (*garbha*), (4) disentanglement (*vimarśa*), and (5) happy conclusion (*nirvahaṇa*). It will be seen that this kind of constructive skill endows an otherwise uninteresting story with suspense, surprise and artistic appeal. The action (*kārya*) does not move along a predictable line; its progress is deliberately made uneven and criss-cross till the climax, when there is a sudden turn of events which removes the obstacles and eventually brings about the intended happy end. Corresponding to the uneven progress of the incidents, there will be uneven stages (*avasthās*) in the endeavours of the hero before he succeeds, and these are termed: (i) commencement (*ārambha*), (ii) effort (*prayatna*), (iii) possibility of gaining the end (*prāptyāśā*), (iv) certainty of reward (*niyatāpti*), and (v) successful attainment (*phalāgama*). Metaphorically, the main theme may be said to correspond to the seed (*bīja*), the water-drop (*bindu*) that nourishes it, and the fruit (*phala*) with two intervening accessories of sub-plot, namely, parallel incident (*patākā*) and episode (*prakarī*). Thus in the story of Rama, if Rama's coronoation is regarded as the end, we first find incidents in favour of it, then unforeseen obstacles leading to complications, with possibilities of hope with the alliance of Sugrīva, certainty with the feats of Hanumān and happy conclusion after Rāvaṇa is slain. A good plot then involves a conflict, external or internal.

Characters. Much of the human interest in literature is due to characters created by writers. A mechanical analysis of these can yield only the broad types we actually find in the masterpieces and they need not be construed as normative. High (*uttama*), middling (*madhyama*) and low (*nīca*) characters; each of them has a place if they are judiciously brought in where they belong according to the demands made by the genres. A villain, a rake, a jester and a courtesan fit in best in a low comedy like *Prahasana*; but would be out of place in a serious play or art-epic whose loftiness demands semi-divine heroes and heroines. Realism has little scope in the rarefied atmosphere of these great and idealistic literary forms. Similarly, love-lyrics are so varied in range that they demand a great diversity of maidens in love. The broad types of 'heroes' and 'heroines' are indicated in *Alaṁkāraśāstra* to provide guidelines to poets and critics.

Heroes

(*i*) *General characteristics*
good manners, sweet temper, generosity, capability, lively speech, popularity, eloquence, noble birth, steadiness, youthfulness, sharp intellect, dynamism, accomplishment in the arts, heroism in battle, firmness, radiance, learning and religiousness.

(*ii*) *Four broad types*
(1) exalted hero (*dhīrodātta*), e.g. Rama.
(2) bumptious hero (*dhīroddhata*), e.g. Bhima.
(3) sportive hero (*dhīralalita*), e.g. Vatsarāja.
(4) calm hero (*dhīra-śānta*), e.g. Cārudatta.

(*iii*) *Different stages of love in the above heroes*
(1) Courteous (*dakṣiṇa*): one who feigns sincere love to his first wife when he is really in love with another woman, e.g. Agnimitra.

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(2) Discourteous (*śaṭha*): one who does not care for the feelings of the first woman, e.g. love in Amaru's love-poem *Amaruśataka*, (c. A.D. 800), verse 109.
(3) Callous (*dhṛṣṭa*): one who does not care even to hide his tell-tale indications of guilt, e.g. the lover in *Amaruśataka*, verse 60.
(4) Devoted (*anukūla*): one who is completely devoted to one woman (i.e. wife) only, e.g. Rama.

(*iv*) *Associates of heroes*
(1) Hero of sub-plot (*pīṭhamarda*), e.g. Sugriva.
(2) Cavalier (*viṭa*), e.g. Śekharaka in *Nāgānanda*.
(3) Jester (*vidūṣaka*), e.g. Vasantaka in *Svapnavāsavadattā*.

(*v*) *Hero's rival*
(1) Anti-hero (*pratināyaka*), e.g. Ravana.

Heroines

(*i*) *Three types*
(1) Wedded wife (*svīyā*), e.g. Sita for Rama.
(2) Another (*anyā*), e.g. Sita for Ravana.
(3) Courtesan (*sādhāraṇa-strī*), e.g. Vasantasenā.

(*ii*) *Sub-types of wedded wife*
(1) Guileless (*mugdhā*), e.g. Pārvatī in *Kumārasambhava*, VIII, 2.
(2) Youthfully excited (*madhyā*), e.g. *Śiśupālavadha*, VI, 19.
(3) Love-mad (*pragalbhā*), e.g. *Amaruśataka*, verse 64.

(*iii*) *Further classes of the last two* ($2 \times 3 = 6$)
(1) Bold (*dhīrā*).
(2) Timid (*adhīrā*).
(3) Partly bold and partly timid (*dhīrādhīrā*).

(*iv*) *These six kinds, again twofold* ($6 \times 2 = 12$)
(1) First wife (*jyeṣṭhā*) e.g. Vāsavadattā.
(2) Second wife (*kaniṣṭhā*) e.g. Ratnāvalī.

(*v*) *Two types of 'another'*
(1) Virgin.
(2) Married woman.
Extra-marital love in the main-plot is strictly prohibited. However, there is no such restriction about love relating to a virgin.

(*vi*) *Eight stages of love common to all types of heroines*
(1) One whose husband is under her control (*svādhīnapatikā*).
(2) One who puts on her best show while receiving the lover (*vāsaka-sajjā*).
(3) One who suffers the pangs of separation (*virahotkaṇṭhitā*).
(4) One who is jealous of her husband's extra-marital love (*khaṇḍitā*).
(5) One who regrets her spurning the lover in a flurry (*kalahāntaritā*).
(6) One who has been deceived by her lover who misses his promised assignation (*vipralabdhā*).
(7) One whose lover is far away (*proṣita-priyā*).
(8) One who sallies forth on her own to meet her lover (*abhisārikā*).

(*vii*) *Retinue of heroines*
maid-servants, friends, washerwomen, half-sisters, nuns, artists, etc.

Such detailed classifications indicate not only a minute literary analysis of a vast range of good literary works on the part of the theorists, but also their keenness in offering practical guidelines to new writers by posing before them the technical points which they should keep in mind while exercising their choice. Had they not gone so minutely into details, poets might have thought that blind conformity to broad types of characters would be enough to produce a standard play or poem. But the numerous subdivisions made in the types of heroes and heroines from several angles cannot but convince the poets that what is expected of them is highly individualized or 'round' characters and not 'flat' types. New permutations and combinations possible throw a challenge to genius instead of curbing originality. Like the rules of grammar and of prosody, rules of poetics too serve ultimately an aesthetic purpose, though apparently tedious and boring. Here again, the principle of propriety (*aucitya*) comes to play an important part in determining the choice of particular heroes, heroines and their companions in keeping with the kind of plot on hand and sentiment (*rasa*) intended. They held *rasa* by serving as the very foundation (*ālambanavibhāva*) for the rise of emotions. Further, the proper psychological and physical responses of characters to the stimuli provided in the plot become aesthetic to the spectator as these responses shed their raw implications on life; because literature is not a copy but a stylized shadow *sui generis*. These responses then come to be termed *anubhāvas* or aesthetically distanced ensuants of *rasa* or sentiment.

Rasa and Bhāva. Perhaps these are the two key-terms in Sanskrit literary criticism which have led to endless controversy among scholars, ancient and modern. In fact, they challenge precise translation into another language because some regard them as objectively present in the poem or play, while others regard them as aspects of the subjective experience of the reader or spectator, and most philosophers raise *rasa* to a transcendental and spiritual level in their

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attempt to solve the difficulties which arise when it is viewed as an empirical experience.

Rasa is the very essence of all literature. It vitally animates all the constitutive elements of literature from within; and even like life in a living body, its existence cannot be gainsaid though it eludes our sense-perception. *Rasa* means 'sap', 'juice', 'taste', 'supreme joy', 'mental feeling' and 'aesthetic enjoyment'. All these shades of meaning somehow get fused in its ultimate connotation. So understood, it is the *ultima thule* (ultimate end) of all literature, the highest aesthetic value which is an end in itself. It can be attained only by a few gifted souls with hearts akin to the poets' (*sahṛdayas* or *rasikas*) because it is highly imaginative on the one hand and spiritual on the other. It is a state far from one's personal likes and dislikes, loves and hates. It is a disinterested, impersonal, contemplative state of ecstasy, *sui generis*.

Even granting all this, the critic cannot disown his responsibility of logically accounting for his enjoyment of literature in terms of its constituent elements. He will have to declare the reasons why he deems one work a success and another a failure. This intellectual activity on his part may presumably be post-ecstatic. But at this level he can convincingly show how each of the basic elements of the given literary work—plot, character and style—is endowed with an organic unity by the genius of the creative artist. This unity is conditioned by one *aṅgi-rasa* or ruling sentiment in the midst of other seven or eight subordinate ones, when the given work is an art-epic or a play or a romantic tale. In self-complete stanzas which breathe but a passing mood, we surely have no scope for fully delineated *rasas*. Therefore we should talk of their vital essence as *bhāva* and not *rasa*. Thus from the ineffable heights of spiritual *rasa* (in the singular) we come down to the level of diverse *rasas* and *bhāvas* which partake somehow of both subjectivity and objectivity. Yet these are not life-emotions; they are only emotions embodied in literature or literary emotions. In life all emotions and mental states (*cittavṛttis*) are fleeting; but in literature at least some emotions can be delineated in a way more abiding and lasting and hence the term *sthāyibhāvas*. They are just nine and their corresponding aesthetic counterparts are the nine *rasas*:

Sthāyibhāvas	*Rasas*
(1) Love of sexes (*rati*)	the erotic (*śṛṅgāra*)
(2) Laughter (*hāsa*)	the comic (*hāsya*)
(3) Sorrow (*śoka*)	the pathetic (*karuṇa*)
(4) Heroic energy (*utsāha*)	the heroic (*vīra*)
(5) Fear (*bhaya*)	the frightful (*bhayāṅaka*)
(6) Anger (*krodha*)	the furious (*raudra*)
(7) Disgust (*jugupsā*)	the odious (*bibhatsa*)
(8) Wonderment (*vismaya*)	the marvellous (*adbhuta*)
(9) Dispassion (*śama*)	the tranquil (*śānta*)

It will be observed that while the names of *sthāyibhāvas* are nouns, those of *rasas* are adjectives. That is because they accompany the aesthetic experience of the connoisseur, the common denominator of all the emotional states or *bhāvas* delineated at length in the literary work outside as located in characters and, at the same time, rooted within the connoisseur's heart as primordial instincts. Only the above 8 or 9 mental states can permit of such elaborate delineation in literature as they represent the most universal emotions in man. Other fleeting moods and feelings (listed as 33) group themselves with one or the other of these abiding states when delineated in literature. So while *bhāva* is a name commonly applicable to all mental states, they denote only passing moods when used alongside of the term *rasa* because it is none other than *sthāyibhāva* itself raised to a delectable and aesthetic level. Hence technically *bhāva* is tantamount to *vyabhicāri-bhāva*.

Vyabhicāri-bhāvas (33)

(1) Revulsion (*nirveda*)
(2) Anguish (*glāni*)
(3) Suspicion (*śaṅkā*)
(4) Jealousy (*asūya*)
(5) Arrogance (*mada*)
(6) Fatigue (*śrama*)
(7) Lassitude (*ālasya*)
(8) Wretchedness (*dainya*)
(9) Worry (*cintā*)
(10) Stupefaction (*moha*)
(11) Remembrance (*smṛti*)
(12) Steadfastness (*dhṛti*)
(13) Shame (*vrīḍā*)
(14) Fickleness (*capalatā*)
(15) Joy (*harṣa*)
(16) Agitation (*āvega*)
(17) Foolishness (*jaḍatā*)
(18) Pride (*garva*)
(19) Despair (*viṣāda*)
(20) Eagerness (*autsukya*)
(21) Sleep (*nidrā*)
(22) Forgetfulness (*apasmāra*)
(23) Dreaminess (*supti*)
(24) Wakefulness (*vibodha*)
(25) Indignation (*amarṣa*)
(26) Dissimulation (*avahittha*)
(27) Ferocity (*ugratā*)
(28) Decision (*mati*)
(29) Sickness (*vyādhi*)
(30) Madness (*unmāda*)
(31) Death (*maraṇa*)
(32) Terror (*trāsa*)
(33) Doubt (*vitarka*)

In life all these and many more are merely 'mental states

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with their attendant pleasures and pains. But when delineated in literary characters they become aesthetic, exclusively enjoyable, and are called by the technical term—*bhāva* (short form of *vyabhicāri-bhāva*). In short lyric poems, by and large, these find independent expression and become no less enjoyable than the dominant emotions (which are termed *rasas*) delineated in art-epics and major plays. Hence when the emotions are to be referred to at the asethetic level often they are termed *rasa-bhāvas* or *rasādis*. The latter expression *rasādi* includes besides, *rasas* and *bhāvas*, their semblances (*ābhāsas*), their germination (*udaya*) and cessation (*śānti*) as well as commingling (*śabalatā*) with other mental states.

With this background, we are now in a position to understand the significance of Bharata's *locus classicus*, namely the *rasa-sūtra*. It crisply states: '*rasa* results when there is a harmonious fusion of the three elements in drama, namely, *vibhāvas*, *anubhāvas* and *vyabhicāri-bhāvas*'. In the language of analytical theorists, all these elements and *rasa* come under the broad category of *artha* or content of literature, as distinguished from *śabda* or its linguistic form. Thus one can speak of *rasa* as the *kāvyārtha* or poetic content par excellence. Even tragic and odious emotions presented in literature become as aesthetic as pleasurable emotions because of the very nature of art-experience which is supra-mundane (*lokottara*) by definition.

Style

While the above findings are applicable in their entirety to drama which is a composite art made up of several elements like music, dance, painting and histrionics, a more formal structural analysis is required as a supplement to give us a complete idea of the art of poetry. The whole and sole medium of literature is language, and its natural qualities deserve exploitation to serve poetic ends, and new artistic patterns of expressive thought and language merit a close analysis. All these come under the broad category of style, which is indeed unique to every poet depending on his innate temperament, genius, talent and practice; yet we can distinguish some broad types of style in literature. Indeed, in this field too, Indians have shown an astoundingly remarkable flair for formal analysis. This may be set out as follows:

Poet's *rasāveśa* > *kāvya* end: *rasa* of reader

Techniques: Stylistic arrangement (*rīti*, *mārga*, *bandha*, *racana*, *Saṁghaṭanā*, *vṛtti*) including use of *samāsas*

of sound-form (*śabda*)	and	of sense-content (*artha*)
figurative (*alaṁkāra*)	qualitative (*guṇa*) and	1. Simple (*vaidarbhī*)
1. Alliteration (*anuprāsa*)	1. Vigour (*ojas*)	2. Ornate (*gauḍī*)
2. Chime (*yamaka*)	2. Sweetness (*mādhurya*)	figurative (*alaṁkāra*)
3. Pun (*śleṣa*), etc.	3. Lucidity (*prasāda*), etc.	1. Simile (*upamā*)
		2. Metaphor (*rūpaka*)
		3. Hyperbole (*atiśayokti*)
		4. Paradox (*virodha*), etc.

(i) Guṇas (Literary Qualities). It should be noted that genuine poetry springs from the poet's afflatus of *rasa* and culminates in the *rasa* of the reader. But this is achieved by a conscious and deft technique involving selection and arrangement into a rhythmic pattern of syllables, short and long compounded words, sentences, etc., with an eye to their sweetness or harshness, lucidity or pedantry, not only in respect of sound-effect but also sense-effect, in conformity with the overall *rasa* or *bhāva* in question. These qualitative considerations are significantly termed *guṇas* (of *śabda* and *artha*). Their number is usually given as three; but some theorists mention as many as 10. Some take them as rooted in sound and sense only (e.g. Daṇḍin); others opine that they belong to style (e.g. Vāmana). A few hold that they are really properties of *rasas* though they appear to be of sound and sense (e.g. Ānandavardhana); still others find them inherent in the very nature of the creative poet (e.g. Kuntaka). But all are agreed on the point that they form the most significant and conspicuous ingredients of style, accounting for its clearly discernible variations like the delicate and the ornate, though each might be appealing in its own way. Originally, the two styles were named after regions, namely, the North (*Gauḍī*) and the South (*Vaidarbhī*); but later they were renamed the Delicate (*Sukumāra*) and the Ornate (*Vicitra*). A happy mixture of the two was recognized as a third known as *Pāñcālī* or the 'Middle' (*Madhyama*). In critical judgement, the former was usually held to be the more natural and spontaneous and hence more appealing than the latter achieved by great labour. The words *mārga*, *bandha*, *saṁghaṭanā*, *vṛtti*, *racanā*, etc. are more or less synonyms of *rīti* interpreted broadly as stylistic arrangement.

(ii) Alaṁkāras (Figures of Speech). To the Indian analytical mind, discovery of new figures of speech was indeed the most favourite preoccupation for several centuries. They are devices for avoiding the obvious and achieving aesthetic form in respect of sound as well as sense, by turns of expression as well as poetic conceits. The underlying principle of all figures is therefore described as *vakrokti* or oblique expression. It is universally accepted that it is an activity of the exclusively poetic imagination, involving original

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turns of thought and language. It sees likenesses in things different (simile), talks of one as another (metaphor), fancies non-existent comparisons (*utprekṣā*) and indulges freely in exaggeration (*atiśayokti*). It means two or more things simultaneously (*śleṣa*) and revels in paradox (*virodha*). It notices strange and minute aspects of everything in nature (*svabhāvokti*); it overturns logic and reverses the roles of cause and effect (*vibhāvanā*) and makes impossible things possible (*asaṁgati*). It adduces parallels between remote objects (*dṛṣṭānta*), gives telling illustrations (*nidarśana*) and indulges in strange generalizations (*arthāntaranyāsa*). Doubt (*sandeha*), remembrance (*smaraṇa*) and even illusion (*bhrānti*) become delectable. It juxtaposes incompatibles (*viṣama*) and applauds by censuring (*vyājastuti*). It overtly speaks of irrelevant subjects like birds and beasts when it covertly means something else most relevant (*anyokti*). It uses epithets with special significance (*parikara*) and even adopts word patterns like chain (*śṛṅkhalā*), iteration (*mālā*), respective reference (*yathāsaṁkhya*), and so forth.

These and many more are all happy devices of thought invented by a creative mind as the natural medium for poetry, however remote they may be from routine ways of expression in life. Since they all serve to beautify the thought, they are regarded as *arthālaṁkāras*. As many as a hundred of them have been defined and illustrated in the classical texts, and each one of them is subjected to further subdivisions, sometimes as many as 30.

On the other hand, there are sound patterns too artistically devised by the poet such as alliteration (*anuprāsa*), chime (*yamaka*) and play upon words (*śleṣa*). These come under the head *śabdālamkāras* or figures of sound.

The importance of *guṇas* vis-a-vis *alaṁkāras* is self-evident. The *guṇas* are more intrinsic to poetry because they are intimately bound up with *rasas* while *alaṁkāras* are like external ornaments. Hence while the imagery of *alaṁkāras* is extremely desirable in poetry so long as they appear as spontaneous effusions of a creative genius suffused with *rasa*, they become sources of revulsion when indulged in excess because their artificiality is then obvious, and they mar *rasa*. There can be good poetry even without an obvious figure of speech; but not without poetic quality or style.

The formalist approach of the early theorists accommodated even *rasa-bhāvas* under a class of *alaṁkāras* or *guṇas*, in the field of poetry. In the opinion of later thinkers, this indicates a lack of philosophical judgement on their part. If virtually all figures are variations of the referential use of language, how can *rasa-bhāvas*—which, by definition, are undenotable but only suggestible—be ever classed on a par with simile and metaphor? This defect is remedied by the *dhvani*-theorists, by regarding *rasa* as the soul of poetry, while figures are ornaments of its body.

Judgement of Literature

(i) Defects (anaucitya or doṣa). In the classical tradition of Indian literary criticism, 'Defects' constitute an important concept, because all the rules of the discipline are concerned with an ideal literary work, absolutely free from blemishes of every kind. There is no writer who is silent over them. Though they are sometimes mentioned as negations of *guṇas* or literary merits, the most common view is that they are positive blemishes of poetic beauty and obstacles that block aesthetic experience. What deserves to be noted is that there are no absolute defects (*nitya-doṣas*) in poetry as in grammar, since impropriety of any kind is relative to the context. Even a merit so-called may turn into a defect if it rings as inappropriate in a given context. Hence, determination of *doṣas* demands a high degree of literary sensibility from the critic, and poetry cannot be judged mechanically.

Usually, defects are brought under five heads: 1. word, 2. part of a word, 3. sentence, 4. subjects and 5. *rasa*.

Dissonance (*duḥśravatva*), obscenity (*aślīla*), improper denotation (*anucitārtha*), archaism (*aprayukta*), vulgarity (*grāmya*), lack of full significance (*apratīta*), ambiguity (*saṁdigdha*), far-fetched meaning (*neyārtha*), distorted meaning (*nihatārtha*), wrong meaning (*avācaka*), forced meaning (*kliṣṭa*), opposite meaning (*viruddhamatikṛt*), reversal of the roles of subject and predicate (*avimṛṣṭa-vidheya*) are listed as common defects of word, word-part and sentence.

Harsh syllables (*pratikūla-varṇa*), *visarga*(ḥ) deleted or changed (*lupta-hata-visarga*), excess or shortage in words required and repetition (*adhika-nyūna-kathita-pada*), gradual decline in emphasis (*patat-prakarṣa*), hiatus or obscenity and loss of euphony (*viśleṣa-aślīla-kaṣṭatā*) in word-combination (*saṁdhi*), wrong order in the placement of words and in the use of clauses, unintended equivocation, omission of required words, wrong constructions of compound words, wrong pauses in composition, etc. are said to be other defects that might vitiate sentences.

Absence of significance (*apuṣṭa*), disorder (*duṣkrama*), vulgarity (*grāmya*), self-contradiction (*vyāhata*), obscenity (*aślīla*), obscurity (*kaṣṭa*), monotony (*anavīkṛta*), illogicality (*nirhetu*), opposite sense (*viruddha*), ambiguity (*saṁdigdha*) repetition (*punarukta*), misrepresentation of well known facts in various fields of knowledge (*khyāti-viruddha* and *vidyā-viruddha*), incompleteness (*sākāṅkṣatā*), incompatibility (*sahacarabhinnatā*), reversal of order (*asthānayuktatā*), erroneous presentation of particular as general and vice verse (*aviśeṣe viśeṣa*), etc., are listed as defects tainting meaning (*artha*).

It will be observed that these flaws mostly relate to errors in grammar, syntax and composition and arise from an inadequate equipment in general knowledge, rules of logic and commonsense on the part of the poet. They are all classed as defects because Sanskrit composition, in its very

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nature, is expected to represent the highest classical standard attainable in all respects. Want of genius on a poet's part may be pardoned, but not lack of learning.

But overriding all these is the aesthetic standard of propriety dictated by *rasa*. While the defects earlier mentioned might mar only individual parts of a poem, impropriety in the delineation of *rasa* or *bhāva*, mars the work as a whole. Briefly, these shortcomings are:

(1) Stating the intended *rasa*, etc. by name instead of suggesting it in the proper way.
(2) Elaborating the accessories of a *rasa* which is opposed to the one on hand.
(3) Rendering the comprehension of *vibhāvas*, etc., difficult by excessive attention to figures of speech, etc.
(4) Untimely elaboration or attenuation of *rasa*.
(5) Treatment of the same *rasa* over and over again.
(6) Lack of sufficient attention to the dominant *rasa*.
(7) Inordinately excessive treatment of secondary *rasas*.
(8) Violation of the canons governing different types of characters.
(9) Attribution of wrong traits to the subject.

These flaws as well as the ones noted earlier, it should not be forgotten, are never absolute, but relative and functional in character. With proper discretion, a poet can not only remove their repulsiveness, but can actually turn them into positive merits. Thus a mad man is best described when his talk is rambling, incoherent and vulgar. A person in a fit of fury should use harsh language to be effective. An obscene hint sounds quite proper in the mouth of a prostitute. Once in a way, a learned speaker may allow himself difficult and technical language. When a character is swayed by sudden bursts of passion or wonder, he can flout the rules of propriety and so forth.

Nor is it all; poets are indeed encouraged to adopt freely in their works certain poetic conventions though they flout the norms of commonsense.

(ii) Poetic Conventions (kavisamayas). These may be briefly indicated here under convenient heads, particularly those relating to our earth, ignoring the ones about heaven and the netherworld.

(a) *Describing non-existent things as existing.* Lotuses bloom in all rivers; swans reside in all waters; mountains contain gems; cobras contain gems in their heads, etc.

(b) *Existing things described as non-existent.* Mālatī flowers do not bloom in spring; sandal trees do not have flower and fruit; Aśoka trees have no fruit.

(c) *Restricting the existence of things to certain localities.* Pearls are found only in the river Tāmraparṇī; sandal trees are found only in Malaya mountain.

(d) *Abstract ones treated as concrete.* Darkness can be pierced by a needle; moonlight can be filled in a jug.

(e) *Inventions of fancy.* The *cakora* bird subsists only on moonbeams; the *cakravāka* gets separated from its mate at night; fame is white and infamy dark; anger and love are red; the god of love bears a sugarcane bow furnished with five flowery arrows and strung with a string of bees; women have a line of hair above the navel, etc.

These conventions, taken along with the legends and myths provided by the puranas, lend an atmosphere of unique grandeur to classical Sanskrit poetry; and they have become cliches of all Indian literatures.

Gradations of Beauty in Literature

As explained above, poetic beauty (*saundarya*) is a total complex made up of several elements, some relating to form, some to content, many to style and quite a few to traditional conventions. Several manifestations of beauty in its synthetic aspect are noticed by poets, e.g.:

(1) Sensuous beauty or sublimity perceived in the objects of Nature (*prakṛti-saundarya*).
(2) Beauty or sublimity (as of heroes and heroines) in man's emotions and actions as embodied in characters (*āśraya-saundarya*).
(3) Beauty inherently present in the poet's raw-material, i.e. sound or sense (*sahaja*).
(4) Beauty in the technique adopted by a poet (*āhārya*).
(5) Beauty in the creative imagination of a poet (*bhāvikatva*).

Bhāsa (A.D. 200) quotes a maxim that 'beauty is that which pleases all' while Kalidasa (A.D. 350) and Bhāravi, (A.D. 550) agree that inherent beauty needs no decoration. Kalidasa also adds significantly that beauty in outer objects may not delight always, because it is also dependent on the mood of the beholder. When the mood is attuned properly, even a slight distortion of a beautiful object may prove appealing. Thus we come to Māgha's (A.D. 680) final description of beauty as that which retains its freshness of charm every time it is viewed.

Dhvani

These insights of poets lack logical precision. It was Anandavardhana (A.D. 850), the doyen of Indian theorists, who remedied this defect by taking the analogy of a beautiful damsel. There are no doubt charming features in each of her flawless limbs, but what enchants an onlooker is her overall grace of personality (*lāvaṇya*) which is quite distinct from the perfection of parts. This overall beauty in

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literature is defined by him as *dhvani* or suggested meaning.

Dhvani is a higher kind of beauty because it is grasped at the highest level of sensitivity on the part of the connoisseur, after he has ceased attending to beauties of form and content for their own sake. The ordinary functions of language, namely, primary denotation (*abhidhā*), secondary implication (*lakṣaṇā*) and even purport (*tātparya*) of a sentence as a whole after construing the words properly, become only means to serve the ultimate end of manifesting *dhvani*. Since *dhvani* is the sole meaning intended by the poet at one end and realized by the man of taste at the other, it deserves to be regarded as the very soul or vital essence that gives life to all the other aspects of literary beauty. In short, *dhvani* is what is beautified by all the other elements analysed by specialists of poetry—be it *guṇa*, *rīti*, *alaṁkāra* or *vṛtti*.

The range of *dhvani* is so vast that it not only covers all aspects of beauty noticed earlier, but goes far beyond them. If the entire world of nature and human thought can be described as *vastu*, (subject), the *vastu* suggested in poetry is but one branch of *dhvani*. If all artistic or imaginative turns of expression can be termed *alaṁkāra* (embellishment), suggestion of associated imagery forms the second broad division of *dhvani*. But the imperial throne in the palace of *dhvani* is reserved for *rasa* because it is *dhvani* par excellence. Emotions and feelings can never be evoked in any way other than suggestion. This is true only when *rasa* reigns supreme in a given work. Such *dhvani-kāvya* will be automatically judged as a poem of the best grade, because it is an unmistakable and irrefutable index of a poet's creative art at its highest watermark. The credit for having provided room, in their wide aesthetic analysis of *rasa*, not only for the beautiful (*śṛṅgāra*), but also the sublime (*adbhuta*), the grand (dhirodātta's *Vīra*), the comic (*hāsya*), the ugly (*bībhatsa*) and the pathetic (*karuṇa*) cannot be denied to Sanskrit theorists. Everything is grist to the poet's mill and even the ugly and the repulsive can be transformed by the art of poetry into aesthetic experience.

The whole gamut of aesthetic experience is thus very sensitively traversed, the crown being reserved for spiritual ecstasy or *śānta* which may be described paradoxically as passionless passion or boundless calm. No wonder that the great mystic that he was, Abhinavagupta (c. A.D. 1000) went to the extent of recognizing *śānta* as the mainspring of all other *rasas*. Bhavabhuti (c. A.D. 700) seems to suggest that pathos deserves that pride of place; Bhoja declares that the all-embracing subjective ego's self-regard (*abhimāṅa*) comes to be technically termed *śṛṅgāra* and hence it should be regarded as the source of all other *rasas*. These divergent opinions do not affect the soundness of the dictum that the best order of poetry is constituted by *rasa-dhvani*; and even ordinary *vastu* and *alaṁkāras* come to be invested with a new halo of charm when they are suggested instead of being plainly stated, a charm that entitles them to rank on a par with *rasa-dhvani* itself. On deeper analysis, the latter too will open up their secret alliance with *rasa*, since nothing in the world can enter the realm of poetry without becoming a partner in *rasa*, at least as an indirect *vibhāva*.

It would be a mistake if one thinks that enjoyment of suggested *rasa* is a long-drawn process of reflective thinking. In fact, it flashes forth across the mind of the critic so quickly that he cannot notice any time-sequence intervening between his comprehension of the plain meaning and the suggested meaning. What *dhvani* demands from the critic is poetic sensibility and nothing else.

In the best or first-grade poetry discussed above, though we have stressed the dominance of *rasa* as vital, the invariable accompaniment of suitable *guṇas* and *alaṁkāras* therein should not be belittled; for, if *rasa* is the soul, *guṇas* and *alaṁkāras* constitute the very 'body' of poetry. How can there be a soul without a body? But the body should not distract attention from the soul. This is *aucitya* or propriety. All elements of structural beauty must become subordinate in order to let the aesthetic *rasa* have a free play.

In actual practice, however, this ideal is not often realized. The structural elements often outshine the *rasa* and other forms of *dhvani*. In rare instances, even a suggested *vastu* might outshine a suggested *rasa*. Then the latter loses perforce its claim for the highest honour. To accommodate all such border instances, *dhvani* theorists speak of another class of poetry called 'poetry of subordinated suggestion' (*guṇībhūtavyaṅgya*). In the world of literature, this class is no less wide than the first; and the critic enjoys it too, not as the next best, but as good poetry for a different reason. A reader might even prefer this kind to the earlier, according to his taste.

Though the literary masterpieces in Sanskrit can all be brought under the first or the second of the classes of poetry, there would still remain a vast body of literary work unaccommodated under them. These laborious lucubrations of boring 'experts' teeming with tedious verbal exercises and riddles would, strictly speaking, fall outside the purview of poetry. But for courtesy's sake they may be given the lowest place called *Citra* (colourful portrait) when ancient; but this does not entitle a modernist to be recognized as a poet.

Thus an adoption of the theory of *dhvani* will enable one to grade literary works and attempt applied criticism by providing him a workable yardstick, not only for evaluating short poems, but even whole epics and plays. The connoisseur trained in the dialectics of *dhvani* will unerringly lay his finger on the poet's major lapses, if any, and will also convincingly demonstrate the plus points to the poet's credit, basing his judgement not so much on the poet's blind conformity to 'rules' but on his lively innovations in theme as well as technique.

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Pratibhā (Creative Imagination)

It follows from the above considerations that Indian criticism makes heavy demands on the poet's creative originality, however trite his borrowed theme be. In the making of a poet, *pratibhā* or creative imagination is always given the highest importance; it is said to be an innate gift with which one is born. No amount of learning or assiduous practice can succeed if this primary requirement is not present. On the nature of *pratibhā* the observations made by Abhinavagupta's teacher, Bhaṭṭa Tauta (c. 950) have become classical:

> It has been remarked that no non-sage can be deservingly called 'poet', a sage will be worth his name only by virtue of his vision. By vision we mean that insight into Truth about all the manifold objects in the world and their varying states. One can win the distinction of being a 'poet in the sciences' if he possesses this vision of Truth. But in common usage the world accords that title exclusively to one who possesses both vision and imaginative expression. Thus though Valmiki was highly gifted with an abiding clear vision, he was not hailed as a poet by people until he embodied it in an epic.

Sahṛdaya (Critic with Literary Taste)

In order to be receptive enough to such rare creations of poetic *pratibhā*, it goes without saying that an equally rare gift of sensibility or good taste is expected in the critic also. That is why Anandavardhana insists on reminding us time and again that his doctrine of *dhvani* is a document based on the felt aesthetic experience of *sahṛdayas* or critics with good taste. Abhinavagupta goes a step further and declares the essential identity in the natures of the gifted poet and the gifted critic. Literally, *sahṛdaya* means 'one with a kindred heart'; but Abhinavagupta would prefer to think that the spirits of the ideal poet and the ideal literary critic are one and the same, not just similar. The names are two; but the spirit is one. Hence mere grammarians, dry logicians and science specialists have no right to attempt literary criticism. In the nature of things, it is the task of more gifted souls who have an aesthetic taste.

Defence of Poetry and Criticism

Poetry in Sanskrit originated as a handmaid of religion, to judge from our premier epics. The Ramayana and the Mahabharata were valued highly as popular and pleasing re-presentations of the ethical codes laid down in law-books. But soon secular poetry grew adding a new sensuous dimension which proved more popular, and this aroused serious protests from orthodox philosophers. Rajasekhara (980) sums up their objects in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*: Poetry should not be taught because (1) it teaches untruth (2) it teaches immorality and (3) it abounds in obscenity. His line of defence, however, is far from convincing because he merely refers to the point that even the Vedic scriptures are tainted with these very blemishes.

But Bhaṭṭa Tauta gives an effective rejoinder. He states:

> Surely, there is no real existence of sense-objects at all in the world of poetry because it is an imaginary one. How, then, can you complain that passions are profoundly excited by poetry?
>
> Should you urge that the dominant emotion delineated in poetry is itself the object, well your position contradicts the nature of aesthetic experience wherein the emotion is not felt as objective.
>
> If you should say that 'aesthetic experience' itself is passion, you fail to distinguish once again between aesthetic emotion and sexual passion. If you persist in holding that the vicious effect proves the viciousness of the cause, we have only to ask you back how a character like Sita can ever be an object for the love of two or more persons.
>
> Hence our stand is this: just as dust is used to clean up a dusty mirror, passion is utilized to remove passion in the critic.

In addition to this claim that immediate aesthetic joy or *rasa* is an end or value in itself, standard theorists are seen stating that literature indirectly serves to help people in realizing all the four recognized values of life, namely, morality (*dharma*), material prosperity (*artha*), worldly pleasures (*kāma*) and spiritual emancipation (*mokṣa*). Unlike the ordinances of the law-books in regard to these which might repel the student by their dryness, literature sugarcoats the bitter pill of instruction by way of alluring *rasas* and is thus eventually more effective. Such pleasing instruction in literature is compared to the sweet and winsome influence of a beloved (*kāntāsammita*). To these are added the prospects of everlasting fame, wealth and religious merit that a poet might well aspire for. In fact, religious theists of a later age (1250–1850) regarded multi-faceted *bhakti* itself as the 'overall *rasa*'.

Vakrokti

Deriving inspiration from the *dhvani* theory, Kuntaka (c. A.D. 980) developed his theory of *vakrokti*, 'oblique expression', to serve as an aid to practical criticism. His approach is eminently practical and he cannot accept the self-contradictory assertions of Anandavardhana that *rasa* may be sometimes dominant when it is termed *dhvani* and sometimes auxiliary when it is called an *alaṁkāra*. If *rasa* is the soul and *alaṁkāra* is the body of poetry, strict logic demands that the soul must perforce be always dominant and

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can never brook any subordination. Again, Anandavardhana had admitted two types of beauty in poetry in his scheme—the stated (*vācya*) and the suggested (*vyaṅgya*)—and recognized two classes of poetry depending on the relative preponderance of one over the other. But Kuntaka cannot accept such gradations of beauty in poetry, accepted as good by discerning critics. The only distinction logically possible in aesthetics is that of poetry from non-poetry. And there might be innumerable ways open to the poet for endowing his expression with beauty. So according to Kuntaka, the broadest principle which can do justice to all the categories of literary theory including *dhvani* (in all its varieties) is only *vakrokti* which might admit of innumerable varieties. A poem may be beautiful for more reasons than one; and it should be the task of the critic to be on the lookout for all the diverse elements that contribute to the poem's beauty as a whole. Except for these differences in principle, there is complete agreement between *rasa-dhvani* and *vakrokti* theorists who pioneered practical criticism of literature in Sanskrit.

Practical Criticism

The earlier writers on the subject had mostly contented themselves with illustrating their rules by their own made-to-order examples. Even the few who took the trouble of selecting right examples from accepted masterpieces of literature did not attempt literary assessment of whole works. Nor did celebrated commentators on particular poems like *Mallinātha* (1300) deem it their concern to attempt such literary criticism in detail. Hence the pioneering efforts in this neglected but most important field of applied criticism by Anandavardhana and Kuntaka deserve more than a passing notice here.

Two Specimens

(i) *Anandavardhana on the Ramayana and the Mahabharata.* 'In the Ramayana indeed, Valmiki has embodied the dominant sentiment of pathos as is evidenced by his own declaration 'sorrow has taken the form of a stanza'. It has indeed been maintained as predominant till the very end of the work because the poem closes at the point of the irreparable loss of Sita.

In the Mahabharata too, which combines both the elements, instruction and poetry, it will be seen that its conclusion in a note of despair consequent on the miserable deaths of Vṛṣṇis as well as the Pāṇḍavas, devised by the great sage Vyasa, reveals his primary intention of preaching the moral of renunciation through his work and throws light upon the fact that he intended final emancipation as the foremost of human values and calm (*śānta*) as the most predominant sentiment in the work as a whole'.

(ii) *Kuntaka on Kalidasa's 'Sakuntala'.* 'In a whole literary work too, an attainment of aesthetic effect owing its origin to the inventive power of the poet will present a new shade of charm even like a new touch-up given by a painter to an old faded portrait.'

For example, in the play *Abhijñāna-śākuntala*, we see in the hero so faint a recollection of the sweet impression of Śākuntala's matchless beauty in her exquisite youth as soon as he sees her (in Act V) when she removes her veil that it does not rule out the possibility of his rejecting her as a wife of another person. Sakuntala does everything to revive his memory by relating intimate incidents of their first honeymoon when both were filled with deep love for each other, incidents which are at once so intimate and delicate that they are bound to infuse cofidence. The reason why Dushyanta is unable to recognize her even after listening to it is a mystery left unexplained in the original Mahabharata. For explaining it adequately with a cogent reason, the poet has invented the episode of the curse of sage Durvāsas. Durvasas is a sage blind to all soft feeling and highly irate by temperament, one who flies into a rage even at the slightest lapse. In that episode of Durvasas, it is seen that Sakuntala is completely overwhelmed by the excruciating pangs of her first separation from her lover; and as she is lying in her cottage in such a state, there comes this great sage to her door-step, and flies into a fit of anger at being unnoticed and pronounces a curse:

> He whom you are thinking of with such raptness
> That you cannot see even me, a sage arrived,
> Let him not recall you, though reminded,
> Like one drunk who cannot, a statement his own
> (tr. IV. 1)

Such is the curse flung upon Sakuntala. And at once the sage starts moving out. Yet when he is appealed to by the two friends of Sakuntala, the great sage yields to the extent of limiting the duration of his curse to the sight of the signet ring given to Sakuntala by the king. And when Sakuntala is on her way to meet her spouse, the ring adorning her tender shoot-like finger slips down without her notice and falls into the waters of a stream which she had entered for bathing. Mistaking the glittering glow of the ruby set in the ring for a fresh lump of flesh, a fish swallows it. In course of time, the fish gets killed by a fisherman who catches it and the ring recovered by him is at last presented to the king himself. Such an art of plot-construction may surely be regarded as the best medium for delineating literary sentiment. Thanks to it, the entire play has acquired a unique beauty.

Again, in due time, we have the incident of the song outwardly reviling the bee, whose inner significance is caught by the king, though his memory has been blacked out by the curse of the sage; deep down in his mind we

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notice that traces are still left of the old love on account of which he is very much upset.

Seeing things lovely and hearing sounds sweet,
If a happy man should get perturbed,
It means his mind is recalling unawares
The deep impressions of a former birth. (tr. V. 2)

Here such a recollection of his beloved (so deep down in the subconscious), at once guileless and charming, appeals very much to the hearts of connoisseurs. What is more, she is turned down later; her story about the ring is dismissed as false; the account of her marriage with him and pregnancy, given by sage Kaṇva's disciple is discredited, and the king is seen in a fit of anger. Then, even transgressing the limits of natural shyness, Sakuntala's veil is removed from her face suddenly. Yet the king is under the illusion that she is another's wife. Though her bubbling youthful charm superior to that of all the women seen by him so far, impresses him highly, and though her narration, sweet like the notes from a lyre, of intimate incidents of their mutual love—like their pleasurable excursions in the penance grove—arouses his appreciation, still he shows the rudeness of rejecting her. Such rudeness too becomes understandable only by the intensity of his later repentance at the termination of the curse, a repentence which is indicative of the depth of his unmitigated love for her in his heart. And it is most appealing to the connoisseurs. And in devising the end of the curse, the poet prefaces it with a description of the intense wretchedness of the mental state of the king, who is now frenzied with the pangs of unbearable separation from his beloved Sakuntala, after the slow return of his memory of the forgotten incidents. Synchronizing with it comes the recovery of the lost ring too which again delights the readers very much. The chamberlain of the king observes: 'Gone are all his personal decorations'. (VI. 6–7).

All these epithets given to the king in suffering are full of artistic beauty. There is artistic beauty of 'number' in the word *gotreṣu* (where the plural is aesthetically used to refer to the name of a single rival in love). They all add to the aesthetic appeal of the situation. When the king, looking at the picture of his beloved drawn by himself, speaks gallantly of the sweet recollection of his love, his words bear the deep impress of his darling:

O bee, if you dare to touch any more
My darling's lip so red as 'bimba' fruit,
.....I shall jail you in a lotus bud. (tr. VI. 20)

the speech finds a ready echo in our hearts.

If the exquisite episode invented by the genius of the poet were not there in the play, the unbearable fact of the king's forgetting his wife without any reason would become a blemish as much in the play as in the original story of the Mahabharata itself.

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Sindhi

MOTILAL JOTWANI

Historical Background

Of all Indian literatures, Sindhi literature presents at once the most complex and the simplest literary situation, corresponding to the socio-cultural one. The complexity is due to the fact that Sind was subjected to many alien invasions and onslaughts, beginning with the one by the Arabs as early as A.D. 712, these political conditions interfering with the growth of indigenous literary content and forms, both creative and critical. Nevertheless a very literary situation was also created by these conditions: they helped evolve a composite literature that is basically pan-Indian in character.

When the Sanskritical Sindhi language reached a definite stage of development around A.D. 1000, it had been under the influence of the alien Arabic from A.D. 712. From 1058 to 1737, Sind, wholly or partly, was under the sway of the Arghuns, the Tarkhans and the Mughal subedars. As a result, the Persian way of life and letters had their impact on Sindhi society and literature. Sind was then annexed by the British in 1843 and the English language threw open the flood-gates of modern knowledge for Sindhi, as it did for other Indian languages. With the attainment of Independence in 1947, India and Pakistan shared Punjabi, Urdu, Sindhi and Bengali (till Bangladesh was formed in 1971), the first two having an influence on Sindhi.

Sind saw two periods of native rule during medieval times—from 1058 to 1520, when the Sumras and Sammas ruled, and from 1737 to 1843, when the Kalhoras and the Talpurs were the rulers. In spite of these two early periods of native rule, the Arabic, Persian and English influences (in that order) have remained part of the Sindhi psyche. This explains why Sindhi literature has not been able to evolve any native idiom of critical evaluation. Very few of the principles of Sanskrit poetics—the very bedrock of the indigenous system of poetics in any Indian language—formed part of the Sindhi curricula until 1947. It was only in the recent past that a few standard Sindhi works dealing with various branches of the *Kāvya Śāstra* were published —and those too only on the Indian side of the border.

Though Sindhi may have failed to develop an indigenous system of poetics, it has a good share of the composite critical culture of India. Sind, once the cradle of the Mohen-Jo-Daro civilization, has a great literary tradition. And a great literary tradition includes creative as well as critical writing.

Despite the generally reverential Sindhi attitude towards scriptural literature, they brought a questioning attitude to bear on it; even the sacred writings did not go undiscussed. For example, though the Vedic literature was produced in the Sapta-Sindhu Desa, in the area served by, among others, the Sindhu river, the Sindhis helped spread, if not originate, the non-Vedic Buddhist and Jain religions. Likewise, though the Quran was introduced there in the 8th century, it was the Sindhis who developed the Sufi way of life, which is not strictly Quaranic. But despite all this, no indigeous system of poetics could be evolved. While other Indian literatures can find in their history honest attempts made at such poetics, the Sindhis cannot

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possibly do so, for Hindu literary works did not survive Muslim rule in Sindh (cf. Muhammad Siddiq Memon, *Sindh Jī Adabī Tārkīkh*, vol. 1, Hyderabad, Sind, 1937) despite the secular outlook of the Sindhi people in general.

Early Phase (Before 1947). An early form of literary criticism was the stray observations of poets and writers about their own works and those of their contemporaries and successors. Connoisseurs of literature, who prepared random selections of poetry and poets' sayings (*malfūzāt*) in prose also added their own observations to these collections. Besides these, some appraisements were made by the contemporaries and successors of the early poets in historical accounts of the times or the journals they kept. Though not strictly literary criticism, the opinions offered in the journals are of some literary importance.

The random selections of poetry were considered a form of literary criticism in embryo, because the persons who made these selections exercised their critical acumen. Thus the way was paved for *Bayāns* (accounts), *Muqadammas* (prefaces) and *Tazkiras* (critiques, memoirs) as well as short biographical accounts with critical assessments. Muhammad Reza Thattawi's *Bayān al-Ārifīn* (1628) was such a book. Though in Persian, it discussed Sindhi poets and personages, paying considerable attention to Shah Abdul Karim. *Śāh Karīm Bulrī-a Vāre Jo Kalām* (Poems of Shah Karim of Bulri, 1937), is a Sindhi adaptation by U. M. Daudpoto (Dāūdpoṭo, 1896–1956) of this Persian work.

Under the influence of western literature and with the introduction of printing, critical articles and books appeared in greater numbers in Sindhi. In Lutf Allah Badwi's *Tazkira-i-Lutfī* (Lutf Allah's book of Memoirs, Hyderabad, vol. I, 1943; vol. II, 1946) are found *Tazkiras* of various forms. By the time Badwi wrote this work, this form of criticism had undergone a big change—from a study of a poet, or a group of poets, personally known to the author, to that of the subject(s). Now, it did not confine itself to the prosodical and rhetorical study of poetical works: it probed deeper into their significance and meaning. In some cases, as in the case of Lutf Allah Badwi's *Tazkira-i-Lutfī*, it almost assumed the design and proportions of a literary history.

Dayaram Gidumal (Dayārām Gidūmal, 1857–1927) is considered the first literary critic in Sindhi. His essay *Sāmī-a-Je Salokan Jo Tātparju* (Quintessence of Slokas of Sami, 1885) interpreted the great Sindhi Vedantic poet Sami's *slokas* in the light of Indian philosophic thought and established, through a discussion of the 'high seriousness' in them, links between poetry and religion. But literary criticism, in the modern sense of the term, first appeared only with Lalchand Amardinomal's (Lālcand Amarḍinomal, 1885–1954) *Śāhāṇo Shāh* (The Great Shah Abdul Latif, 1914), *Sūṅhāro Sacal* (Beauteous Sachal, 1916) and *Berangī Bāgh Jo Gul Sindhī* (Sindhi Flower from the Attributeless Garden, 1920), all published by the Sindhi Sahita (sic) Society founded by him in 1914. These three small pamphlets are sketchy critical estimates of the early classical poets Shah Latif and Sachal as well as Gul Muhammad Gul of a later period (19th century, first half).

Jethmal Parsram (Jeṭhmal Parsrām, 1886–1948), who launched the Naeen Sindhi Library series of books and booklets, wrote *Sacal Sarmast* (Sachal, the Intoxicated, 1922), an inter-disciplinary work that tackles the problems of logic, philosophy and psychology in the poetry of Sachal (*nom de plume* of the Mystical poet Abdul wahhab, 1739–1829). Adopting the same critical method, H. M. Gurbakshani (Gurbakṣāṇī, 1884–1947) wrote a scholarly introduction (*Muqadame Latīfī*) to his *Śāh Jo Risālo* (1923) dealing with the poet's life as well as various aspects of his poetry, namely, the poet's religion, Vedanta and *Tasawwuf* (Sufism), the *Risālo*'s matter and manner, language and grammatical form etc. Lalchand Amardinomal, Jethmal Parsram, H. M. Gurbakshani and Bherumal Meharcand Advani formed themshelves into a 'critics quartet' and their valuable critical writings appeared in the *Sindhū*, a reputable journal edited by Bulchand V. Rajpal. Of the four, Gurbakshani alone expresses elaborately his views on poets and poetry. He asserts that a poet should have not only the capacity to observe beauty and understand truth but also something called poetic art. Reiterating the Persian principles of poetry, he said, poetry should possess *fasāhat* and *balāghat* (eloquence), *Silāsat* (lucidity and facility of expression), *jiddat* (novelty of expression) and *joṣ* (feeling).

In 1937, there appeared, U. M. Daupota's *Śāh Karīm Bulrī-a Vāre Jo Kalām*, based on Muhammad Reza's *Bayān al-Ārifīn*. It established Shah Abdul Karim (1536-1624) as the first major poet in Sindhi. This position Karim enjoyed till 1962, when N. A. Baloch's *Sindhī Bolīa-jī Mukhtasir Tārīkh* (1962) conferred the status on Qazi Qadan (1463–1551), though only seven of his *baits* were known at the time. Daudpota also wrote *Abyāt-i-Sindī* (Sindhi Couplets, 1939) in which he assessed and evaluated Khwaja Mohammad Zaman's (1713–74) poetry.

By this time, the Progressive Movement had penetrated the field of Sindhi letters. And with it were introduced Marxist principles of literary criticism. Barkat Ali Azad's essay *Adab ain Zindagī* (Literature and Life, 1942) and Gobind Malhi's prefatorial essay *Sāhita main Inquilābi Tahrīk* (Progressive Movement in Literature) to *Pirah Phutī* (a collection of short stories, 1945) set the Marxist trend of literary criticism which remained in vogue till 1962, the year the Chinese invaded India. After the Partition of India, Asan Uttamchandani (Uttam) and Kirat Babani gave an impetus to progressive criticism through their periodicals *Naīn Duniyā* and *Sindhū Dhārā*, and the Sindhi Sahita Mandal of Bombay, promoted by them, became a beehive of progressive writers and critics. While Uttam was a die-

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hard, Kirat settled down to a sociological approach to literary criticism. Curiously enough, Uttam hardly distinguishes between Jethmal Parsram, a socialist of the emotions, and Haiderbux Jatoi (1900–70), a socialist by commitment. M. U. Malkani (Malkāṇī, 1896–1980), who sympathized with the progressives, became increasingly more distinguished in his moral approach to Sindhi literature. His monumental work *Sindhī Nasr Jī Tārīkh* (History of Sindhi Prose, 1968) speaks of his moral concerns like F. R. Leavis. This work marks him out as a critic of broad human appeal.

With the spread of education in Free India and the consequent deeper interaction between Indian literatures, Sindhi critics have been showing greater awareness of critical problems manifest in their assessments of literary works.

Basic Books on Poetics and Principles of Criticism. Literary criticism is an over-extended term today: it includes literary scholarship and a grasp of critical theory. While the former is complementary to it, but not exactly part of it, the latter is a philosophical activity within its orbit. Critical (literary) theory deals with the analysis and judgment of concepts rather than with the literary works themselves. Since creation precedes criticism, critical theory gets systematized by such works. Muhammad Fazil Shah's (Fāzil Ṣāh, 1836–1900) *Mīzān al-Ṣair* (Balance of Poetry, 1885) is perhaps the first work in Sindhi to concern itself with the theory of poetry. It discusses various forms of the elements of poetry, providing illustrations from Sindhi poetical works. Mirza Qalich Beg's (1855–1925) *Sindhī Vyākaraṇa*, vol. IV, (2nd ed., 1961) deals with Islamic rhetoric and prosody. The section on prosody (pp. 50–94) discusses (i) the art of writing poetry as distinct from that of writing prose, (ii) the three principles of *sabab*, *vatad* and *fāsilā* (terms of Arabic prosody), the eight *arkāns* (pillars) on which rest the metres and scansion of metres; (iii) *qāfiā* and *radīf*, or rhyme and word or a group of words succeeding the rhyme; and (iv) some common defects noticed in the practice of this art. (*Sabab* is a syllable or word of two letters of which the first is movant and the second is quiescent, whereas *vatad* is a syllable or word composed of three letters, of which the first two are movant and the third is quiescent. *Fāsilā* is a word composed of four letters of which the first three are movant and the fourth is quiescent.) The book is marked by its failure to properly appreciate and scan the *candas* (metre) employed by the early Sindhi poets such as Qazi Qadan, Shah Abdul Karim, Lutf Allah Qadri, Shah Inat and Shah Abdul Latif (pp. 52–54).

In 1935, the Sindh Muslim Adabi Society, Hyderabad, published Sheikh Muhammad Ibrahim Khalil's (b. 1900) *Rahunumā-e-Ṣairi* (Guide to Poetics, vol. I). Khalil undertook to write for the Society a series of four books designed to elaborate the four chapters in the *Ilm-e-Arūz* (prosody) section of vol. IV of the Sindhi *Vyākaraṇa*. Curiously, neither the author, Khalil, nor the Honorary Secretary of the society, Muhammad Siddiq Memon, himself a distinguished Sindhi scholar of the day, made reference to Mirza Qalich Beg's pioneering work in the field. The first, second and third volumes in the series by Khalil appeared in 1935, 1936 and 1948. The third book toes the line of Mirza Qalich Beg in its metrical estimate of medieval Sindhi poetry. Khalil too, like the Mirza, calls poetry based on *Chanda Śāstra* crude and unmetrical (p. 138). Between the publication of vols. II and III there appeared, in 1937, two books by Asanand Chataram, *Ilm-e-Arūz* and *Hindī Piṅgala*. As the very titles suggest, these books deal with both systems of prosody current in Sind.

Lekhraj Aziz's book *Gul va Khār* (Rose and Thorns, 1955) appeared soon after Partition. It deals with the rules of Islamic metres and their application in the various works by modern Sindhi Hindu poets. While pointing out the defects in the actual practice of the rules, Aziz appears to be less than fair to his contemporaries as he bores wide the small holes he picks in their works. Yet the book remains the best in Sindhi on the practical aspects of the subject.

J. K. Bhāvanāṇi (b. 1903), in 1953 and 1954, published two books, *Chanda Sugandha* (Aroma of Chandas—Indian System of Prosody) and *Itre Arūz* (Perfume of Prosody) under a common title, *Sindhī Ṣ'ir*. While *Itre Arūz* is largely a rehash of earlier works on the subject in Sindhi and Urdu, *Chanda Sugandha* evinces a greater understanding of medieval Sindhi poetic forms such as *Dohā*, *Soraṭhā* and *Caupāī*. Since earlier scholars like Mirza Qalich Beg, Muhammad Siddiq Memon and Khalil were conversant only with the *Ilm-e-Arūz*, they saw these forms as being based on the laws of the jungle and not on those of prosody. They, therefore, called them *Jhengalī S'ir* or shaggy, non-metrical poetry. J. K. Bhavnani, through this book and in a learned paper in 'Mehrāṇ' (No. 1, 1955), acquitted the medieval Sindhi poets of this unfair charge. But he too did not identify properly the Sindhi *baits* composed on the models of *Tūnverī Dūho* (*Dohā*) and *Baro Dūho* of Dingal and Gujarati, and arbitrarily named them 'Ardha Dohā, Ardha Soraṭhā' and 'Ardha Soraṭhā, Ardha Dohā', wrongly considering these two varieties of *Dohā* a 'Special Sindhi contribution'.

Among other works on critical theory, mention should be made of M. U. Malkani's *Adabī Usūl* (1950) and J. K. Bhavnani's *Pañja Gañja* (Five Treasures, 1974). While the former is mainly introductory, the latter, as its title suggests, opens up to Sindhi readers, for the first time in many years, the five treasures (*i.e.* works) of *Nāṭya Śāstra*, *Rasa Śāstra*, *Alaṅkāra Śāstra*, *Sāhitya Śāstra* and *Chanda Śāstra*. Bhavnani in the first part gives Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra*, the principles pertaining to dramatics. In the second part, he deals with the *bhāvas*, *rasas* and allied subjects. His *Alaṅkāra Śāstra* is valuable for a comparative study of the Sanskrit, Persian and English figures of speech. The fourth

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part, *Sāhitya Śāstra*, discusses the principles of *sāhitya* or literature, as the term 'literature' is used today in its manifold aspects. The last part is the *Chanda Śāstra*, which Bhavnani has made useful by giving corresponding terms of English and Persian prosody. These are rarely found in similar books in other Indian languages. Bhavnani's book achieves its objective of introducing the *Kāvya Śāstra* to students and laymen alike and arouses them to a deeper study of the subject.

Summing Up

Literary criticism in Sindhi has now come of age. It has developed from the stage when the 'externals' of works like rhyme, rhythm and rhetorics were discussed to where their 'internals', such as significance and meaning, are under close study. Literary works of the past were essentially in verse, in *nālikera pāka* (like the coconut with the hard shell but soft kernel), and called for commentaries on the 'externals'; today, they are mainly in prose, so much so that even poetry is often written in prose in *drākṣa pāka* (like grapes), making analysis and exposition of the externals more or less irrelevant.

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Tamil

M. RAMALINGAM

Early Phase

Tamil has a long literary heritage. Tolkappiyar, the author of *Tolkāppiyam* (300 B.C.), the earliest Tamil writing available, may be considered the originator of Tamil literary criticism. He had a clear perspective in framing his literary principles. They are of two kinds, i.e. thematic conception and poetic convention which are mutually related. He explains the two themes of *aham* (*akam*) and *puṟam* which denote romantic poetry and heroic poetry respectively and these in the main constitute *Poruḷadhikāram*, the third book of *Tolkāppiyam*.

Theory of Literature in Tolkappiyam. The subject-matter of *aham* theme is divided into five types: *Kuṟiñci*, *Pālai*, *Mullai*, *Marutam* and *Neytal*, named after these flowers found in the regions. These five divisions are concerned with the central and related phases of love, viz. the union, separation, patient waiting, sulking and grief. These form the essential subject matter of *aham* poetry. Each of these phases is called *Uṟipporuḷ*. Every poem is conceived by Tolkappiyar as a 'dramatic monologue'. He lays down that characters of *aham* poetry should be impersonal; that is, no personal name should be given to the characters in the drama of *aham*. Among the various principles of

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literature laid down by Tolkappiyar, the most important are termed by him *uḷḷurai* and *iraicci*. *Uḷḷurai* is a kind of implied simile devised for the exclusive use of *aham* poetry. It is arranged from the fauna and flora of the region technically called *Karupporuḷ* (distinctive regional features). *Iraicci* is a kind of suggestion, occurring in more than one hierarchic layer. *Uḷḷurai* and *iraicci* (suggestive meaning) may be compared to the idea of *dhvani* which was expounded by Anandavardhana in Sanskrit. Tolkappiyar divides the usage of poets into *Nāṭaka vaḻakku* (dramatic convention) and *ulakiyal vaḻakku* (factual usage). He also divides prose compositions into five kinds: *nūl* (a systematic treatise), *vāymoḻi* (oral expression), *pici* (riddle), *ankatam* (satire) and *mudu col* (proverb). These classifications show that he had paid attention to the literary forms also. He adds that scholars may approve of anything not mentioned in his treatise if it is current in poetic writing. This remark reflects the right attitude towards literary criticism.

Theory of Literature in the Sangham Poetry. The earliest poetic literature in Tamil, classified as 'Sangham (*caṅkam*) Literature' (100 B.C.–A.D. 200) is a group of anthologies compiled from the various poets of the age. *Sangham* poems are lyrics by nature. Nature is portrayed in them not merely for its own sake but as a backdrop to depict the human emotions. In *puṟam* poetry historical elements are incorporated and it is a reliable document of many ancient historical references. Pathetic fallacy and personification are found in many of the poems. Sangham poets, being possessed of a high degree of moral integrity, felt that literature should instruct and guide the audience by providing pleasure.

Āṟṟuppaḍai is a literary form of the Sangham age. It is a long poem in which a bard or minstrel is recommended to go to a patron to get help from him, by another who had received such help. *Kaiyarunilai* (Elegy), a poem expressing grief on the death of a friend, husband, king or warrior is also found in the Sangham poetry.

The poets of the Sangham age had the correct critical attitude. It is a well known fact that there were Tamil Academies in ancient Madurai where Tamil scholars used to gather and discuss contemporary writing. One anecdote regarding Nakkirar, one of the great poets of the Sangham, is noteworthy here. He found fault with a poem produced by a young Brahmin, which is a rhetorical interrogation by a lover to a bee praising his lady-love: 'Is there a sweeter fragrance in flowers than that of these tresses of my lady's hair?' When Nakkirar boldly denied the natural fragrance of woman's hair, Lord Siva came forward to defend the Brahmin. Even in the presence of Lord Siva, Nakkirar refused to go back on his stand. This anecdote, whether true or not, shows the critical integrity of the Tamil poet. Besides the Tamil academy, we also know about 'Paṭṭimaṇṭapam' of which there are references in the ancient Tamil epics. It was an assembly of poets and philosophers who were earnest seekers after Truth. Their debates created many controversies and thus emerged an intellectual and critical climate in the period.

Theory of Literature in Kuṟaḷ. The aim of literature is to make man realize his individuality which would lead to the ultimate goal of the cosmic process, i.e. the self-realization of man. The supreme values of human life have been expressed as *Mummutar poruḷ* (three basic categories) by Tolkappiyar. The three phases of human endeavour *aram*, *poruḷ* and *inbam* are represented by this term. These correspond to *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* in the Sanskrit lore. *Aram* represents the moral values, *poruḷ* implies economic values and *inbam* indicates psychological values (pleasure).

The Sangham poets always upheld the moral aspects of life dealing with *aham* and *puṟam* themes. Among their verses we find only in *Puṟanānūru*, some poets treating of didactic themes fully. At the end of the Sangham age, Tiruvalluvar, the 'Bard' of Universal Man, enunciated a comprehensive moral philosophy of the Tamils in his *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, considered one of the eighteen *Kiḷikkaṇakku* group. He lays down a code of ethics which is universal and at the same time eternal. Eleven out of the eighteen books treat of ethical subjects. They point out the impermanance of life and the importance of a righteous life. Epigrammatic brevity, verbal economy and fine felicity of phrasing are some of the distinguishing qualities of these works.

Theory of Poetry in the Epics. The Sangham poems are lyrical in nature and not narrative. About the end of the Sangham age the narrative poem comes into existence. Only after the development of religious faith and growth of myths, did imagination and exaggeration gain entry into the literary field. Only after this was the genre called epic born. The epic period in the Tamil language starts from *Śilappadhikāram*. The first three epics *Śilappadhikāram*, *Maṇimēkhalai* and *Peruṅkatai* are assigned to a period between A.D. 200 and 700. Dramatic representation of human experience has been faithfully rendered in these epics.

It is remarkable that from the early periods Tamil was classified into three divisions, *iyal*, *iśai* and *nāṭakam* i.e. poetry, musical composition, and dance and dramatic composition. This classification is unique in the language. *Śilappadhikāram* combines this three-fold division and hence it is called *Muttamiḻ Kāppiyam*. This great epic employs the folk song motif with great effect. The epic poem was considered a powerful medium to propagate the views of the poet. *Maṇimēkhalai* is a good example of this concept. The author here carries a propaganda for Buddhism.

In *Jīvaka Cintāmaṇi* (c. 900) the author has embodied some new features in the structure of the epic. Visualization

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of an ideal land and an ideal city as a backdrop is one of the conventions introduced by him. This gained popularity in the latter-day epics. *Cūḷāmaṇi* (950) reveals the influence of the Sanskrit school of rhetoric. *Kamba Rāmāyaṇam*, the greatest epic in the Tamil language (composed in 885) paved the way for, and influenced the growth of, all later epics.

Daṇḍi alaṅkāram (12th century) is the first independent treatise to deal elaborately with the characteristics of an epic. Though *Kāvyādarśam*, the original Sanskrit work written by Dandi of Kanchipuram, belongs to an earlier period (7th century) the Tamil epics do not appear to have been influenced by it. The Tamil grammarian Dandi thinks of ten aspects of the epic: (i) prologue, (ii) content, (iii) the hero, (iv) nature and description, (v) home life, (vi) political life, (vii) internal structure, (viii) external structure, (ix) poetic sentiments and emotional expressions, and (x) metre and style. These general rules regarding epics might have been evolved from the many epics prevalent in Tamil, earlier than the author. Dandi gives *sandhi* (division into parts or scenes) as an epic element. The commentator of *Śilappadhikāram* also explains this. The five *sandhis* are: *mukham* (commencement), *pratimukham* (development), *karuppam* (nucleus), *vilaivu* (denouement) and *tuyattal* (culmination). These are comparable to the five parts of a plot enumerated by European scholars, namely the exposition, developing action, climax, catastrophe and denouement. Regarding the treatment of character, Dandi emphasizes that the hero must be the ideal man, having no equal in any aspect.

Theory of Literature in Devotional Poetry. The Bhakti Movement was set afoot by the spiritual preceptors both in Saivism and in Vaishnavism from the beginning of the 7th century. The songs of these saints enriched the dimensions of Tamil literature. The subject matter of this poetry is religion and God. There are two types of religious poems, viz. poems sung by the learned poets who are always aware of the secular living world and the poems sung by the poets who have intoxicated themselves with the transcendental mystic experience and are not having the awareness of the existing world in their sub-conscious mind. The first kind of poem, even though it possesses the religious theme, fails to inspire us. On the other hand, the second type of poem, which is a spontaneous outpouring of the poet's spiritual experience, breathes a blissful joy into our very soul.

The four great hymnists in Saivism are saints Sambandhar, Appar, Sundarar and Manikkavachakar. In their songs, poetry with music becomes a path leading to God. Periyalvar (Periyāḻvār), Andal (Āṇḍāḷ), Kulasekharar (Kulaśēkharar), Tirumangaiyalvar (Tirumaṅgaiyāḻvār) and Nammalvar (Nammāḻvār) also reveal their experience of God in their poetry. In the songs of the Āḻvārs (Vaishnavite saints), we find the revival of the Sangham tradition. Hymnal literature of all religions in Tamil has employed the *aham* concept to portray the intimate relationship between soul and God as if they are related to each other in a bridal mystic relationship.

These poets modified the existing literary forms of their age, to accommodate their powerful thoughts. Andal and Manikkavachakar (Māṇikkavācakar) freely use the folk-song patterns. Periyalvar invented a new kind of poetry, singing the childhood of the divine child Krishna. *Tiruppallāṇḍu* (song of benediction), *Tiruppaḷḷieḻucci* (a song sung to awaken God) and *Tiruvelukuṟṟirukkai* (a poem whose component words are represented by numerals in seven continuous rows of squares) are some of the new literary forms employed by these poets. They have experimented with many new verse patterns.

Theory of Literature in the Minor Poems. Minor poetic forms came into vogue even in the Sangham age. They were called 'Prabandha' in Sanskrit. *Prabandha* means 'well-composed'. *Prabandha Marapiyal* (16th century), a short grammatical manual on poetics, mentions for the first time that the prabandhas are of 96 categories. The latter-day grammatical works like *Panniru Pāṭṭiyal* (10th century) and *Vaccaṇandi Mālai* (12th century) have framed rules for the structure, content and verse form of these minor poems.

Among the minor poems, *Āṟṟuppaḍai* was the earliest. *Antādi*, *Kōvai*, *Ulā*, *Bharaṇi*, *Piḷḷaittamiḻ* and *Dasāṅgam* are some of the important minor literary patterns. *Antādi* is a kind of poem of several verses in which the last syllable, word, or words of one stanza is the first of the succeeding. *Kōvai* is another genre which is exclusively formed of *aham* verses linked up in story-like sequence. *Ulā* is a species of poem which praises a hero by describing how women of the seven different ages fall in love with him when he goes in a procession. *Dūtu* is a long poem like the *ulā* in the *kali venbā* metre, where a lady love sends, in the frenzied ardour of her love, animate and inanimate objects to her lover, who is generally the Lord enshrined in the local temple, to receive some sign of his requiting her love. All these types of poems are available in scores from the 9th century. The *dūtu* is comparable to the *dūta kāvyās* (message poems) in Sanskrit. *Bharaṇi* was sung in honour of the victory of kings who destroyed a thousand elephants and a proportionate number of chariots, horses and infantry in a battle. *Piḷḷaittamiḻ* celebrates the different stages in the infancy and childhood of a hero in ten graded chapters, each having a separate refrain. *Kalampakam* is a poem of one hundred verses, employing all the metres known and depicting both the *aham* and *puram* themes.

Treatises on Alaṅkāram (Rhetoric). The first Tamil treatise on poetics, *Vīracōḻiyam*, was written by Buddhamitrar

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(1060-90), a Buddhist grammarian. It was written with the avowed purpose of introducing the Sanskrit tradition into Tamil. Dandi (12th century), patronized by the Chola Emperor Kulothunga II, broadly classifies the figures of speech into two categories, *Porulaṇi* (figures of speech which go by sense) and *Collaṇi* (figures of speech which go by sound alone). Dandi had coined afresh many illustrative verses for his book. In the 16th century Tirukkuruhai Perumal Kavirayar wrote *Māran Alaṅkāram*, following the line of the same Sanskrit tradition. But it is an original work expanding the 35 *alaṅkārās* of Dandi into 100 with fresh illustrative verses also written by him. *Candrālōkam* and *Kuvalayānandam* were also translated from Sanskrit in later periods. (P. S. Subramaniya Sastri translated Anandavardhana's *Dhvanyālōkam* in 1939).

According to Tolkappiyar the simile or the metaphor is used to bring out the significance of the idea in poetry; the other figures are but its varied forms. Hence some of the grammarians concentrated only on the simile.

The Development of Tamil Prosody

Form in poetry, simply defined, is the manner in which a poem is composed. It may be its metre. The bulk of the Sangham poems was composed in the *ahaval* metre. *Vañci*, *kali* and *paripāṭal* metres had also been employed by the Sangham poets within a limited range. The *ahaval* was like the blank verse of larger rhythm, easy to handle. Epigrammatic rhythm of the *veṇbā*, quatrain and couplet followed. *Patinēnkīḷkaṇakku*, a collection of eighteen works, are in the *veṇbā* metre, except *Mutumoḻikkāñci* which is in *Veṇturai*, a variant of *veṇbā*. The old metres such as *veṇbā*, *ahaval* and *kali* developed into the more musical *viruttam* (metre; Skt. vṛttam). This name was first applied to what is later on described as *kaṭṭaḷaikkalittuṟai*, which consists of four lines of five feet. The name *viruttam* is later on used for denoting all such developments. *Tirukkuṟuṅtohai*, the fifth book of the Saiva Canon, is in the short kali *viruttam* (having just four feet in the line), a verse form having the simplicity of the *veṇba* and the music of a *viruttam*. Tirumular had written all his 3000 verses in this metre. *Tirunēriśai*, a six-foot viruttam, and *Tiruttāṇḍakam*, eight-foot long-drawn rhythm suitable to the varying emotions, were employed by Saint Appar.

The author of *Cintāmaṇi* was probably the first to use the *viruttam* for a long narrative poem (3150 verses) changing it to suit the varying needs of the narration. He gave a new impetus to the development of *kāvya* literature in Tamil. Kambar was the greatest in handling this metre. He has employed a large number of the variations in this metre to keep the rhythm of the verse in tune with the particular emotion represented. His Ramayanam runs to 11,000 verses. *Cantaviruttam*, having a mechanical arrangement of syllables in each foot, was a kind of verse which was easy and flowing, majestic and musical; it came into prominence through the *Tiruppuhaḷ* of Arunagiri Nāthar. The number of feet in a line goes on increasing from four to one hundred and twelve feet in the hands of Saint Ramalingar (19th century).

A Convention in Literary Criticism. Saint Umapati, a Saiva acharya (spiritual preceptor), by the opening years of the 14th century, laid down a very fine guideline for critics. He says: 'All that is ancient is not necessarily good; and all that is written today need not be construed as of poor value. Those that seek only the good, do not consider the accretion on the gem as bad but remove it and rejoice in the true lustre of the gem. Others that would steer a middle course would esteem only the beauty of classicism. Yet others who do not have any sense of discriminating between the beauty or blemish in any given work, will praise it if others do, and will decry it if others do so, because they do not possess any sense or judgement' (*Śivaprakāśam*, 12). Literary criticism implies also appreciation. Two instances from Tamil literary history may be mentioned. An *antādi* poem of Prince Varatunagarama (16th century) was fondly called by later generations *kuṭṭi* (miniature) *Tiruvācakam* because of its supremely devotional nature. A grammar by the name *Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam* by Vaidyanatha Desikar (17th century) was later called *kuṭṭi* (miniature) *Tolkāppiyam*, indicating its eminence as a grammatical treatise.

The convention of writing a prefatory and a laudatory verse came into vogue in the second millennium A.D. *Tiruvaḷḷuva mālai*, a collectoin of about 50 verses in praise of *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, was written at the beginning of this period. Later, what is called a *siṟappup-pāyiram* (laudatory verse) was considered a must for all minor poetry. This was supposed to highlight the salient features of the poem although it would not point out any defects in it.

Literary Theories as Revealed by Commentators

The commentators of ancient Tamil books may be considered the best critics. Here we find original thinking.

Atiyarkkunallar (12th century), the learned commentator of *Śilappadhikāram*, seems to be a sensitive critic. He probes deep into the expression given in the original text about the characters and tries to elicit their full significance. He is thus able to present several aspects of a character.

Parimelazhahar, the greatest writer on *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, and Pērāśiriyar and Senavaraiyar, great writers on *Tolkāppiyam*, (all of the 13th century) open up critical windows for us to gaze at the vast seas of literature and grammar.

The critique of Naccinārkkiniyar (14th century) on *Pattupāṭṭu* consists of word meanings, special notes, grammatical explanations, parallel quotations from various sources, connecting of the various verbs to the finite verb

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ending a sentence, and several other features. His commentary on *Kalittohai* (*aham* poetry of the Sangham age) is quite delightful while his gloss on the epic *Cintāmaṇi* shows his great reverence for the author, a feature which seems to be the creed of all commentators. But his writing on the grammar *Tolkāppiyam* is laboured and cumbersome.

The Vaishnava commentators of the medieval period (12th–16th century) were scholars endowed with a creative talent. They have successfully replanted the experience of the Alvars in the minds of the reader focussing more light on their philosophical approach. The theory of inspiration, held by these commentators, explains that the poets are recipients of divine grace. Therefore the commentators equated the hymns of the Alvar with those of the Vedas.

Sivajnana Swami (18th century) was a prolific writer and a bold critic. He is always strong in condemning the views of others. He has written an elaborate commentary on the *pāyiram* (preface) and the first *cūttiram* (sūtṛam) of *Tolkāppiyam*. There he criticises the views of the various commentators and points out where they have gone wrong and establishes his own view. His sharp attack on Iḷampūraṇar for his lack of Sanskrit knowledge is misplaced. He holds the view that a true critic should be well versed in more than one language.

Theory of Literature as Revealed in Latter-day Writings

The poems of the Siddhas are popular. The Siddhas believed in the oneness of all creation and preached the philosophy of love and of inward contemplation. In their hands Tamil poetry took an altogether different mystic quality, dressed in the popualr rhythm of speech. The folk-song pattern has been freely used by them.

When Saivism and Vaishnavism developed into various sub-schools, Tamil poetry loaded itself with philosophy and took up a sectarian outlook. From the beginning of the 16th century *purāṇa* literature began to dominate the literary scene. The old mythological stories had become the subject matter of poetry. *Purāṇam* means 'an old story'. Most of the *puranas* have been conceived and written in an epic pattern, in thousands of verses.

Tāyumānavar (18th century) and Ramalingar (19th century) are remarkable saint poets. They preached the doctrine of tolerance and compassion. In their poems the metaphysical ideals have played a major role.

Second Phase

The 19th century is regarded as the period of Renaissance in Indian life and literature. With the rise of British power in India, the social and cultural life of the country suffered a partial setback. But the uprising against the British in 1857 (labelled by them as the Sepoy Mutiny) caused an all-India awakening from its long torpor of several centuries. The Renaissance in Tamil was ushered in as a consequence of this general awakening. One of its first fruits was the rapid expansion of prose and its evolution as a powerful branch of literature. New writing like the novel, short story, drama and essay emerged in the Tamil language. When Tamil literature liberated itself from the rigidity of formal classicism and moved away in new directions, it was inevitable that new standards of criticism also should evolve.

Modern Tamil literary criticism began in the first decade of the 20th century. In that formative stage, Tamil scholars had drawn their inspiration from the study of western literature. The work of collecting Tamil manuscripts had already been started by scholars like C. V. Damodaram Pillai (Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai, 1832–1901). U. V. Swaminatha Aiyer (1855–1942) did the greatest service in rescuing innumerable classics from oblivion and editing them with correct textual renderings. In addition to maintaining the highest standards of accuracy of text and thoroughness of method, Swaminatha Aiyar always gave a valuable and exhaustive introduction, a summary of the work and copious notes with cross references and several indexes which were of immense value to the student and the critic. It is a marvel today how Dr Aiyar, who was not English educated and who did not know Sanskrit, but was steeped only in the orthodox Tamil scholarship, could produce such brilliant editions which were the most scientific and critical by any modern standards. V. Kanakasabha Pillai (Kaṅakacapai Piḷḷai, 1855–1906) wrote *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago* (1904) which opened the eyes of the Tamil scholars, and made them realize the greatness of the Tamil tradition. He was the first scholar to use the available materials systematically for re-constructing the history of the ancient Tamils. Thus the vast literary treasures of classical antiquity were rendered accessible to the modern world and a new era was opened up for literary criticism.

Neo-classical Criticism

In the history of Tamil criticism the first three or four decades of the 20th century may be called the period of the neo-classical criticism. V. G. Suryanarayana Sastri (Cūriyanārāyaṇa Ćāstriyār, 1870–1903) published his *Nāṭakaviyal* (a treatise on Drama, 1897), but this made no mark on the literary field. He compared the Tamil dramaturgy with those of Sanskrit and the western languages and wrote his treatise to suit the modern period. Maraimalai Adikal (Maṛaimalai Aṭikaḷ, 1876–1950) gave a new direction to contemporary criticism, applying the principles laid down by western writers. His aim as a critic was to inculcate a sounder appreciation of literature by improving the standards and methods of criticism. He defines poetry as an aesthetic creation of beauty. His independence is shown by his fearless challenging of earlier commentators like Nac-

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cinarkkiniyar, by whom he was definitely influenced. His critical study of *Mullaippāṭṭu* (1903) and *Paṭṭinappālai* (1906) attempts to explain their real meaning in a very simple and natural way.

Modern Criticism: Its Dimensions

Some Pioneers. T. Selvakesavaraya Mudaliyar (1864–1921) is one of the pioneers of modern literary criticism. He was a good essayist and his essays on 'poetry' and 'prose' contained in his *Tamil Viyāsaṅkaḷ* (Tamil Essays) are brilliant. He goes deeply into the nature of poetry and elaborately discusses the various elements—form, imagination, poetics and style. His short books on Kambar and Tiruvalluvar held the field in literary criticism for a long time.

V. V. S. Aiyer (1880–1925), who played a historic role in the Freedom Struggle, was one of the outstanding Tamil men of letters of his day. As an erudite scholar in Tamil, English and Sanskrit, he was able to apply the canons of western literary criticism and bring out the significant features of the grand epic in his critical study of *Kamba Rāmāyaṇam*. He claimed that Kambar was not only equal to Homer, Virgil and Milton but was also superior to them in certain respects. In the Tamil version of the study, named *Kamba Rāmāyaṇa Racanai*, he used the term *racanai* for criticism.

Aesthetic Approach to Poetry

T. K. Chidambaranatha Mudaliyar (affectionately called T. K. C., 1881–1954) was responsible for the new wave of aesthetic enjoyment of poetry. He condemned in strong terms the anatomical dissection of a poem, which the older generation of scholars was doing. He shaped the artistic and poetic taste of his generation and introduced a new dimension in literary criticism. To him, rhythm, form and *bhava* were the soul of poetry. The new wave of aesthetic study of Kambar's Ramayanam owes its surge to T. K. C.'s exposition. Through poetic enjoyment, he was able to attain an *advaita* state, where the poem, T. K. C. himself and all his audience, irrespective of age, sex or literary status—all merged into a full union with poetry. He was responsible for discovering the fine lyrical and poignant dramatic quality of *Muttoḷḷāyiram*, a large *veṇbā* poem of the early Christian era, which had all but perished except for about a hundred verses. A short collection of his essays was published in the name of *Idaya oḷi* (The Heart's Whisper) which gives us a peep into his fine perceptive mind. *Bhāva* (the emotioned context) was a new concept introduced by him in the elucidation of all classical poetry and this element raised him to the supreme level of the true aesthete in literature.

A. Muthusivan intelligently applied the fundamentals of English criticism to Tamil literature. In his book *Aśōkavanam* (The Asoka Bower, 1947), A. C. Bradley's conception of Shakespearean tragedy has been succinctly interpreted in Tamil with adequate illustrations from Tamil classics. A. Srinivasa Raghavan (1905–1975), a teacher-critic, showed great enthusiasm in criticism. His *Kāviya Araṅkil* (In the Stage of the Epics, 1956) is a study of some of the minor characters in *Kamba Rāmāyaṇam*. It sounds very like the V. V. S. tradition in criticsm.

Following the line of V. V. S. Iyer, A. S. Gnanasambandham (Ñānacampantam, b. 1916) wrote many fine books on *Kamba Rāmāyaṇam*. He elaborately discusses the method of characterization in Kamban in his books *Kamban Kalai: Araśiyar Mūvar* (The Art of Kamban; the Three Queens, 1954) and *Kamban Kalai; Tampiyar Iruvar* (The Two Brothers, 1955). In *Rāvaṇanin Māṭciyum Vīṭciyum* (The Glory and Fall of Ravana, 1948) he analyses the tragic end of Ravana and gives his interpretation in the light of the Aristotelian theory of tragedy.

T. P. Minakshisundaram (Mīnāccicuntaram, 1910–1980) is a critic of refinement endowed with profound scholarship in various fields. As an author of many books on a variety of subjects, he may well be considered one of the makers of modern Tamil criticism. *Kānalvari* (The Seaside Song, 1959) and *Kuḍimakkaḷ Kāppiyam* (The People's Epic, 1961) are two of his remarkable books. He does not admit of set rules and principles in judging literary works. He approaches literature in the spirit of pure investigation and his assumption is that the laws of art should be discovered in the practice of the artist himself. He writes almost commentary-like critical exposition.

All the above writers had come under the spell of T. K. C. in varying degrees.

M. Varadarajan (Varatarājan, 1912–74) was an academic critic. *Ilakkiya Ārāicci* (Literary Study, 1953), and *Ilakkiyat Tiran* (Literary Tradition, 1954) are two of his important books. The latter deals with the elements of literature and is heavily documented with quotations from western scholars. He closely follows the principles of literary criticism enunciated by C. T. Winchester. His books are more useful to the students of literature as hand-books of criticism.

Some Milestones

Ilakkiyar Iyal, A. A. (The ABC of Literary Study, 1974) by N. Sanjeevi (b. 1926) is a grammar of literary criticism. The author presents his subtle ideas with the aid of numerous diagrams.

The criticism of prose fiction was born more or less simultaneously with the emergence of prose fiction. We find a critical essay on *Prēma-Kalāvatīyam* in a very old journal *Vivēka Cintāmaṇi* in the last decade of the 19th century, written by P. S. Subramaniya Iyer (late 19th century). It is a comprehensive examination from various

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viewpoints of the novel, *Prēma Kalāvatiyam* of S. V. Guruswamy Sarma. P. S. Subramaniya Aiyer comments on the plot, structure, characterization and style of the novel. He coined two technical terms *Guṇadōṣa Viḷakkam* and *Cāyilai*, which mean criticism and style respectively. He explains the inconsistencies and improbabilities of the plot and yet pays a tribute to the novelist for his psychological treatment. After Subramaniya Aiyer no one has paid attention to the criticism of prose fiction. Only during the fifth and the sixth decades of this century did it find its development.

K. N. Subramaniyam (b. 1912), primarily an impressionist, introduces in *Mutal Aintu Tamil Nāvalkaḷ* (The First Five Tamil Novels, 1957) the earlier prose fiction to the general reader. In *Vimaricanak Kalai* (The Art of Criticism, 1959) and *Ilakkiya Vicāram* (Opinions on Literature, 1959) we find his views of blending the western concept of 'Art for Art's Sake' and the eastern 'Vedic Philosophy'. C. S. Chellappa adopted his own method *alacal vimaricanam* or analytical method. His *Tamiḻil Ilakkiya Vimaricanam* (Literary Criticism in Tamil, 1974) and *Tamil Cirukatai pirakkiratu* (The Birth of Tamil Short Story, 1974) deserve mention.

When literature attains new dimensions, criticism also gains a similar dimension. *A Study of the Sociological Novels in Tamil* by R. Daṇḍāyudham (b. 1940) is the first systematic study of Tamil novels. M. Ramalingam (Rāmaliṅkam b. 1939) wrote his *Novel Ilakkiyam* (Novel Literature, 1972) in which he elaborately discusses the theory of the novel, in the light of western criticism. In *Punaikatai Vaḷam* (The Wealth of Fiction, 1973) he has critically assessed the literary merits of twelve fiction writers. The writer seeks to evaluate modern Tamil literature in terms of the literary canons evolved in the West.

R. Daṇḍāyudham's *Tamil Cirukatai Munnōṭikaḷ* (The Pioneers of the Tamil Short Story, 1972), M. Ramalingam's *Viṭutalaikkuppin Putiya Tamil cirukataikaḷ* (A Critical Study of Modern Short Stories after Independence, 1977), D. V. Veerasamy's (b. 1932) *Tamiḻil Camūka Nāvalkaḷ* (Sociological Novels in Tamil, 1978) are some of the books in the field of fiction criticism.

Progressive School of Criticism. Among the present-day critics of the Progressive School, K. Kailasapati holds an important position. He seeks to explain a work of art in terms of its social content. He regards literary work as a product of social factors and forces prevailing in a particular society at a particular time. Mention may also be made here of other critics like the late N. Vanamāmalai who, having a strong conviction in the Marxist philosophy, is able to understand the social milieu and probe the extent to which, and the manner in which, the artist responds to it.

S. R. Margabandhu Sarma belongs to the school of Neo-Criticism. His critical studies of *Śilappadhikāram* show new frontiers in this field. His first book *Śilappadhikāra racanai* (A critical study of Śilappadhikaram) came out in 1949. Having assimilated eastern concepts and western ideas, he skilfully brings out the intrinsic values and immortal architectonics of the given work of art. In his later critical works, *Cilambin pūkkaḷ* (The Flowers of Silambu, 1963) and *Cilambin Koḍikaḷ* (The Creepers of Silambu, 1963), he tries to show the new facets of critical art. He borrowed his method from A. C. Bradley and F. R. Leavis.

Comparative Literature. Comparative critlcism seeks to evaluate a work by comparing it with other works of the same type either in the same language or in other languages. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai (Vaiyāpuri Piḷḷai, 1891–1956), with an eye on world literature, often insisted upon the importance of comparative literature. In his valuable work *Kāviya Kālam* (Epoch of the Epics, 1952), in which we find the depth of his knowledge and the logic of his arguments, he appeals to the scholars to adopt the comparative method. Xavier S. Taninayakam's *Nature Poetry in Tamil* (1953) is one of the pioneering works in this field. He compares Tamil nature poetry belonging to the classical period to the classical poetry in Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and English. Another important work in this field is *Tamil Heroic Poetry* (1968) by K. Kailasapati (b. 1933) of Sri Lanka. He has approached the Sangham poems afresh by relating them to many important studies of heroic poetry in other languages, especially the Greek, which enabled him to place them in the proper perspective. The comparative method helps to throw new light on a number of unsolved problems in the study of early Tamil poetry, and makes a distinct contribution to our understanding of the bards and bardic traditions of early times and of their social function. V. Ramakrishnan's *Kambanum Milṭanum* (Kamban and Milton, 1962) attempts to evaluate the greatness of the two poets. Raghunathan's *Bhāratiyum Ṣelliyum* (Bharati and Shelley, 1960) is a remarkable book in this field, comparing the Tamil poet Subramanya Bharati with Shelley. S. Sankararaju Naidu published his Comparative Study of *Kamba Rāmāyaṇam* and *Tuḷasi Rāmāyaṇam* in 1969 and K. D. Tirunavukkarasu's excellent critique *Tirukkuṟaḷ Nīti Ilakkiyam* (*Tirukkuṟaḷ* as a didactic writing) came out in 1971. Tamilannal's *Oppilakkiya Arimukam* (An Introduction to the Study of Comparative Literature, 1973) introduces the basic principles of comparative literature to the general reader.

The Study of the History of Tamil Literature. Many books have been written on the history of Tamil literature so far, some of which contain critical assessments of important literary works. Among the writers in Tamil on the history of literature, K. S. Srinivasa Pillai (1852–1929) is the pre-eminent pathfinder. His *Tamil Varaḷāru* (History of Tamil) in two parts ending with A.D. 1000 is incomplete.

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He had an encyclopaedic mind, bringing to bear on the history his legal training and weighing every bit of legend, internal evidence and the latest epigraphical information, to arrive at the truth in every small detail. His scientific method has not been followed by anyone before or since. Among the English writers Purnalingam Pillai's *History of Tamil Literature* (1929) is a pioneering work, giving considerable information but it is neither scientific nor critical, but relies mostly on legend. The well written History by the Jesudasans (1961) is more satisfactory but it lacks the empathetic perception necessary in dealing with saint-poets. T. P. Meenakshisundaram's short history (1965) is no doubt balanced but falls short of a complete picture because it was addressed to the American readers and has omitted many aspects of the Tamil writing.

M. Arunachalam has written a comprehensive history of Tamil literature, century-wise, under the title *Tamil Ilakkiya Varalāṟu*. Eleven volumes have been published by him so far, from the 9th to the 16th century. In these volumes he deals not only with the lives and dates of the poets but also gives a critical assessment of their poetical works. As a mine of information these volumes are unequalled.

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Telugu

K. VISWANATHAM

Though modern literary criticism in Telugu stems from the efforts of C. P. Brown (1798–1884) and K. Viresalingam (1848–1919), the instaurator of modern Telugu literature, critical faculty has been operating right from the beginning; in the selection of theme, in observing the principle of propriety, and in achieving artistic balance. As remarked by T. S. Eliot 'The critical function operating in poetry is far in advance of the critical function operating on poetry'.

Poets and scholars were influenced by theories of literature, propounded by Sanskrit rhetoricians, and tried to interpret the spirit of ancient classics and comment upon the works of great poets. The first commentary upon *Rāghava Pāṇḍavīyamu* by Pingali Surana (1520–80) was written by Muddaraju Peda Ramana in the 16th century.

The impact of western education helped the development of literary criticism and gave it an impetus to achieve a distinct identity. C. P. Brown, the son of a Christian missionary, served in various official capacities in Andhra and rendered great service to Telugu literature. 'In 1825 I found Telugu literature dead. In thirty years I raised it to life', remarked C. P. Brown, whose efforts promoted the historical and critical approach to the study of Telugu literature.

Viresalingam was a bold pioneer in the field of literary criticism. He published many critical essays in the journals edited by him. He published a remarkable work named *Telugu Kavula Caritra* (1886) which was inspired by *Lives of the Poets* by Samuel Johnson. He rendered signal service to Telugu literature, by determining the dates of many leading poets as well as minor writers of earlier times. A Puritan in taste, he was shocked by the erotic and obscene features of the *Prabandhas* written during the period of decadence (1700–1850). He was more interested in condemning the faults than in commending the beauties of literary works. He pointed out in his short play *Sarasvatī Vilāpam* (1895), that the creative spirit of literature was stifled by the weight of meaningless ornamentation and verbosity.

At a later stage in literary criticism there arose a bitter

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controversy between the champions of *grāndhika* (classical) and *grāmya* (colloquial) styles of prose composition. A purely literary style may not usher in great literature. It may be a series of deadening cliches like the diction of the poets of the 18th century in English. It is propriety that decides the use of words, 'the common word exact without vulgarity, the formal word precise but not pedantic'.

Allied to this is the attitude of pedants stretching a work of art on the 'Procrustean' bed of grammar forgetting the great dictum that poets extend the domain of grammar and usage. Language does not stay put. Grammar today is not prescriptive or proscriptive but descriptive. It is a pity that some critics forget that grammar should follow usage, which in its turn follows what is current among the people.

There is another raging controversy about the relationship between poetry and society. Some who have not thought deeply about literature shout from roof-tops that great literature should be an instrument of social reconstruction. Poets merely interpret the world; their business is to reflect it. There is great literature which has little or no social relevance. Those who write political poetry shall not forget that it should be poetry first and then politics.

Traditional and Modern

Literary criticism in Telugu bifurcates into (a) the traditional, (b) modern—influenced by western critical methods.

Among the traditional critics mention may be made of Kasibhatta Brahmayya Sastry (1863–1940), who made a trenchant attack on *Manucaritra*, a classic of the 16th century by Allasani Peddana, the poet laureate of Krishna Devaraya, branding it as obscene and immoral. It created a sensation and provoked controversy. Vedam Venkataraya Sastry (1853–1929) established a tradition of editing Sanskrit and Telugu classics with illuminating commentaries displaying sound sense of judgment coupled with profound erudition. Pundla Ramakrishnayya (1860–1904) is remembered as the editor of a magazine which brought to light and published several literary works of earlier times. His critical appreciation of poets and writers was perceptive and judicious. His *Amudrita Grantha Cintāmaṇi* on unpublished classics has rendered a unique service to Telugu literature.

Coming to the modern school of criticism, it is accepted that C. R. Reddi (1880–1950) has initiated it with the publication of *Kavitva Tatva Vicāram* (An enquiry into the nature of poetry, 1919). It is a pioneering work which glorifies the role of imagination in poetry and condemns verbal bombast devoid of thought and emotion. While recognizing the merits of *Kalāpūrṇōdayam* (The Emergence of Kalapurna) he points out the artificiality, shallowness and obscenity found in the *prabandhas* in general. He praises the dexterity of plot construction in *Kalāpūrṇōdayam*, which may be called a novel in verse. He was a trend-setter who gave a boost to modern poetry by writing brilliant introductions to several collections of poems. He evolved a prose style which is classical in form but which is full of the verve and vigour, wit and humour, ease and flow associated with the spoken style.

In the history of Telugu literary criticism the discovery and publication of Nannechoda's *Kumārasambhavam* by Manavalli Ramakrishna Kavi is an event of capital importance as this disturbs the primacy of Nannaya. A. Rajeswara Sarma's *Nannecōduni Kavitvam* (1958) is an authentic book on this topic.

Research in Educational Institutions. In *Mahati* the research done in the Andhra, Osmania, Sri Venkateswara and Madras universities is tabulated. Telugu literature was almost a virgin field. Literary criticism as practised today was rare earlier, rare even in Sanskrit. The 'Alaṁkāra' books do not constitute literary criticism that is, elaborate and detailed study and appreciation of single works of art like Bradley's of the Shakesperian Tragedy, or of C. S. Lewis of *Paradise Lost*. Literary criticism is an extremely difficult art. Poets are perhaps born but critics are born and made. To write poetry is much easier than commenting on it, as Forster pointed out. A critic has to be intellectually richer than a poet (K. Viswanatham, *The Critic Richer than the Poet*) 'One who knows only the Bible does not even the Bible know'. One who reads only the *Śākuntalam* and comments on drama betrays one's inadequacy.

There is not just one road to Xanadu; many are the approaches; perspectivism is the only solution to problems in literary criticism. Eminent critics in Telugu like C. R. Reddy and Viswanatha Satyanarayana (1893–1976) are cited to stress the importance of architectonics. But take a book like *Tristam Shandy*, a classic in English literature. This book is amorphous but is kicking and alive. What has become of our principle of architectonics? A novel should not be a fantasy. But *Jane Eyre* is a fantasy and a classic. According to I. A. Richards a poem is bad if it appeals to stock responses. But Gray's *Elegy* appeals to stock responses and is a triumph. Jane Austen's novels show shocking indifference to the political upheavals of the age and are great. All these instances show that literary criticism has to make very delicate manoeuvres and cannot go about with a decalogue of do's and don'ts.

The Field of Literary Criticism

Literary criticism may be categorized as follows for clarity and convenience:

(1) Histories of Telugu literature and language
(2) Lives of Telugu poets

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(3) Translations of Sanskrit *Alaṅkāra Śāstras*
(4) Scholarly editions and classics
(5) Studies of major authors or works in Telugu literature
(6) Books on modern trends or writers
(7) Character studies
(8) Specialist studies of *rasās*
(9) Volumes of critical essays
(10) Specially planned symposia on Telugu literature
(11) Essays and reviews published in magazines.

This categorization may be illustrated by a few select books with brief comments on each.

History of Literature. Among the histories of Telugu literature, the first to be mentioned is *Āndhra Vāṅmaya Caritra* (1928) by K. Venkata Narayana Rao, alias Kavitavedi wherein the author discusses the literature with the political, socio-economic background.

The same author deals with the Telugu literature under the Vijayanagar Empire, giving a complete account of the Telugu *Kāvyās* written from the beginning of the establishment of the Vijayanagar Empire till about the end of the 15th century. His critical estimate of the poetical merit, characterization and other literary aspects of the various poets is fairly sound.

V. Venkata Rao published two volumes on Telugu literature—the first dealing with the poets of the age of *Purāṇās* and the second with the southern school.

K. Lakshmiranjanam's *Āndhra Sāhitya Caritra Saṅgraha* gives a brief account of the history of Telugu literature upto the end of the 18th century. Divakarla Venkatavadhani published *Āndhra Vāṅgmaya Caritra*, which gives a brief account of Telugu literature with a critical approach. (See D. V. Avadhani, *Literary Criticism in India: Telugu.*)

G. V. Sitapati's *History of Telugu Literature* was published by Sahitya Akademi, Delhi, in 1968. Written in precise, lucid and readable English, the work covers the entire field of Telugu literature from the early period to the modern age, with meticulous care for details, dispassionate approach and masterly sweep. The author referred to the achievements in various literary forms proving that the Telugu writers are not only imitators but also creators.

Arudra's *Samagra Āndhra Sāhityam* was published in 1965. Written in racy colloquial style, the work brought literary history and criticism close to the lay reader by making it readable, interesting and popular. Unfortunately the study is incomplete and inconclusive.

Navyāndhra Sāhitya Vīdhulu (Pathways of Modern Telugu Literature, 1949) by Kuruganti Sitaramayya and Pillalamarri Hanumanta Rao) runs into four volumes. It was written with a crusading zeal to popularize modern literature. The work has greatly influenced writers and critics in the fifties, by its popular treatment and broad-minded approach to diverse literary trends.

Lives of Poets. Lives of poets are useful though literary criticism should not be the camp follower of poetry. Reference has been already made to *Āndhra Kavula Caritra* by Viresalingam. Similar attempts were made by Chaganti Seshayya whose *Āndhra Kavi Taraṅgiṇi* (10 vols.), published in 1947 presents the biographical data relating to several poets along with some critical evaluation of their literary achievements.

Madhunapantula Satyanarayana Sastry (b. 1920) has brought out a commendable volume, *Āndhra Racayital* (1950) presenting the lives of many poets of this century, offering illuminating critical comments along with interesting biographical material. Admirable pen-portraits of a hundred writers are drawn by the author with rare skill and delicacy.

Gurajada Sriramamurthy Pantulu wrote on the lives and works of some of the classical poets, in his *Kavijīvitamulu* (The Lives of Poets). His views are, however, not taken seriously as he has included many baseless stories that were current about these poets. Mention may also be made of Bulusu Venkataramanayya's *Āndhra Kavi Sapta Śati* in which he has given a brief account of 700 Telugu poets and their works.

Srimati Utukuri Lakshmikantamma's (b. 1917) *Āndhra Kavayitrulu*, (1953) supplied a long felt need by revealing the genius of poetesses who enriched Telugu literature through the ages.

Translations of Works on Poetics. Translations of the great *Alaṁkāra* classics into Telugu are a great fillip, though they are not applied criticism as understood today. Sannidhanam Suryanarayana Sastry's (b. 1897) translation of *Kāvyālaṅkara Saṅgraha* is a superb, comprehensive work of literary criticism which is almost encyclopaedic in its range and scope. C. Ganapati Sastry's treatise *Sāhitya Saundarya Darśanamu* (1972) is equally comprehensive and valuable as the author seeks to correlate the views of eastern and western masters of literary criticism. The various sections deal with *Alaṁkāra Śāstra* from A to Z though the value and relevance of such theorizing is questionable.

It should be borne in mind that *alaṁkāras* do not beautify poetry; poetry beautifies *alaṁkāras*. So compiling interminable catalogues of the *alaṁkāras* found in Greek or Sanskrit books is a rhetorician's hobby and harmless drudgery and *alaṁkāra* has no place in a proper definition of poetry.

Though more than one scholar rendered into Telugu *Dhvanyālōkam* either partly or fully, due credit must be given to Vedala Tiruvengalacharyulu (1900-68), who not only translated the great classic but also illustrated the verses by drawing copiously from the works of several Telugu poets. This work is not just a translation but almost a transcreation.

Editions of Great Classics. An authentic edition of any classic

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is the very basis of criticism. Veturi Prabhakara Sastry (1883–1953) was a pioneer in the field of historical approach to criticism. Owing to his untiring efforts the songs of Tallapaka Annamacharya which were engraved on copper plates in the shrine at Tirumala got printed with critical comments. His introduction to Srinatha's *Krīḍābhirāmam* has become a classic like Pingali Lakshmi Kantam's (1894–1968) preface to *Palnati Vīra Caritra* (The Saga of the Heroes of Palnadu). Nidadavolu Venkata Rao (b. 1904) wrote learned prefaces to *Śabdaratnākaram* (a Dictionary), *Dāśarathi Śaṭakam* and works of Saiva poets. He threw fresh light upon many poets of the Tanjore School that flourished in the 17th century. His critical acumen is motivated by relentless pursuit of truth. He has kept alive the tradition set up by Vedam Venkataraya Sastry, the doyen among scholarly editors and critics.

Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi published classical works with elaborate critical introductions by learned scholars like M. Kodanda Rama Reddi (*Karṇa Parvam*), K. Mahadeva Sastri (*Kumāra Sambhavam*) and K. Lakshmiranjanam (*Haravilāsam*). Mention may also be made of *Cētanāvartam* (2 vols.) published by Sahitībandhu Brindam in 1967 and 1970, which divides the modern poets into two groups, and *Mahasankalpam* (1975) a collection of poems of the period 1947–75, published by Chaitanyabharati with an exhaustive note on the new dimensions in modern poetry. Introductions given to 'Citi-Cintan' of V. Mohan Prasad by Ronanki Appalaswamy, Sanjivadev, K. V. Ramana Reddy and Nagalla Guruprasada Rao contain an elaborate discussion on free verse among other things.

Digambara Kavitā (Naked Poetry) has been highlighted by way of introductions to works published in 1965, 1966 and 1968. They also contain critical appraisals of the new wave of poetry.

Studies of Major Authors and Their Works. Veturi Prabhakara Sastry's book on Srinatha is said to be a model for a series like the English Men of Letters, offering a happy blend of biographical details and critical assessments. Rallapalli Anantakrishna Sarma's (1893–1979) book on *Vēmana* (1929) as well as his other critical essays collected in *Sārasvatālokamu* (1954) won for him an esteemed place among critics. He is an apostle of sweetness and light, moderation and balance, disinterested endeavour to explore beauty and truth enshrined in books. V. Prabhakaramatya's (b. 1924) book on *Amuktamalyada* (1758) by Krishna Devaraya, Hari Sivakumar's book on *Kētana*, and G. Subramanyam's survey of *Mārana* have picked up the trail blazed by the venerable Vedam Venkataraya Sastry's monumental exegesis of Srinatha's work and Veluri Sivarama Sastry's (1892–1967) book on Nachana Somana, great though short. K. Sriramamurti and B. Papayya Sastry have critically exploited Srinatha, a master poet of the 15th century. *Manucaritra*, a classic of the 16th century, continues to attract the attention of scholars and critics because age cannot wither it nor custom stale its infinite variety and unfathomable beauty. J. Seshadri Sarma (1881–1953), Vemparala Suryanarayana Sastry and P. Duragayya may be mentioned among those who sought to unravel this fascinating work. T. Kotiswara Rao (? –1971) and Puttaparti Narayanacharyulu offered studies in depth exploring the beauties of *Amuktamālyada Soundaryamu* and *Vasu Caritra*, classics among the prabhandhas of the 16th century. Yasoda Reddi's critical interpretation of *Pārijātāpaharaṇa* (1973), another classic of the same period, portrays the interesting character of Satyabhama.

The lectures arranged on *Āndhra Mahābhāratam* in 1955 and *Āndhra Mahābhagavatam* in 1957 by Andhra Saraswata Parishat in Hyderabad have been published. Reputed scholars like Korada Ramakrishnayya (1891–1961) participated in those symposia and contributed substantially to the success of the project which sought to highlight the beauties of those classics and to reiterate their message which is timeless.

Tapi Dharmarao's (1887–1969) commentary is entitled *Hṛdayōllāsam* (1968). *Vijaya Vilāsamu* (1630), a classic of the Tanjore school, also deserves special mention because of its brilliance and insight. It enlightens and entertains the scholar and the general reader by its penetration and lucidity of exposition. Though it is not confined to literature, *Āndhrula Sāṅghika Caritram* (Andhra's Social History) presents a critical analysis of the literary achievements of the race. In a span of 450 pages it deals exhaustively with the various facets of life during a period of nine centuries. It was written by Suravaram Pratapa Reddi (1896–1953) and received in 1955 an award from the Sahitya Akademi. The presentation of facts has an artistic touch and the writer's creative vision breathes life into the narrative, lifting it to the level of a literary masterpiece.

Khandavilli Lakshmiranjam (b. 1908), who guided many research scholars, published *Lakṣmīrañjana Vyāsāvali* (1968) which contains essays in literary criticism that bear testimony to his profundity, sagacity and sensitivity.

Modern Trends. Books on modern trends, literary forms and writers are understandably not as many as on the classics. Akkiraju Umakantam (1889–1932) made a devastating attack on Romantic poetry in his book *Nēti Kalapu Kavitvamu* (Present Day Poetry, 1928) written in virile, spoken Telugu style. He condemned the vague sweetness of lyrical poetry as obscurity. Such slating of new trends is quite natural as the conservatives always run down any departure from the beaten track. His preface to *Palnāti Vīra Caritra* is unconventional and brilliant.

Narayana Reddi's dissertation on 'Modern Telugu Poetry—Tradition and Experiments' is an elaborate and exhaustive thesis written in a fluent and elegant style. Dispassionate discussion of divergent views, judicious

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evaluation of literary works and sympathetic approach to the different schools of thought elevate this thesis to the level of a masterpiece of literary criticism.

Telugulō Kavita Viplavāla Svarūpam (The Nature of Poetical Revolutions in Telugu), by Velceru Narayana Rao, is based on the theory—literature is moulded by society and not vice versa. The author reviews the whole of Telugu literature on the basis of this theory. On the other hand, C. Narayana Reddy in his 'Tradition and Experiment in Modern Telugu Poetry' emphasizes the aspect of *anubhūti* (experience).

Full length studies of literary forms like drama and novel were attempted by painstaking and competent research scholars. P. S. B. Apparao's *Telugu Nāṭaka Vikāsamu* (1967) is a full dressed debate on all aspects of drama, not ignoring the western canons of dramaturgy. The book is informative and comprehensive. It deals with the origin and development of drama as a literary form in Telugu, tracing all the influences that left their impact on the writing as well as presentation of plays. It is an authoritative work on the subject. *Telugu Navalā Vikāsamu* (The Growth of the Telugu Novel) by M. Nagabhushana Sarma, and *Āndhra Navalā Pariṇāmam* (The Evolution of Andhra Novel, 1971) by B. Kutumba Rao portray the history of novel as a literary form from its inception in the closing decade of the 19th century upto the seventies. They discuss the problem connected with the first novel and trace the various phases of its gradual development and growing popularity.

Character Studies. Some critics have followed character *paddhati* (method), the main preoccupation of western literary criticism, and published studies of characters found in epics and *prabandhas*. Puttaparti Narayanacharyulu (b. 1905) published an interesting book on the heroines of famous *prabandhas* like Girika in *Vasucaritra* and Varudhini in *Manucaritra*. K. Narasimha Sastry's book on the characters in *Prabandhas* (*Prabandha Pātralu*) presents the different facets of men and women portrayed by *prabandha* poets like Allasani Peddana and Ramaraja Bhushana of the 16th century. It should be noted by critics in Telugu that this type of character study is debunked by C. S. Lewis in his British Academy Lecture 'Hamlet: Prince or Poem.' After all, character is one of the elements and a literary critic is not justified in considering only one element ignoring the others which are equally significant. From another angle creation of character is debunked today. The desire to abolish the traces of the human has remained a major feature of 20th century art. As remarked by Kermode, the most appropriate means of dealing with human beings is to turn them into lamp-shades. (*The Situation of the Novel*, p. 48)

In-depth Studies. Specialist studies are valuable. To know more and more about less and less is one aspect of specialization. The theses prepared at various universities come under this category. S. V. Jagarao's thesis on *Yakṣagāna*, 'Āndhra Yakṣagāna Vāṅmayamu' (Musical Play, 1957) K. Virabhadra Rao's incisive study of the impact of English on Telugu literature (1960), K. V. R. Narasimham's survey of Prabandha Genre ('Prabandha Vāṅmayamu', 1945), B. Ramaraju's dissertation on folk literature ('Telugu Jānapada Sāhityamu,' 1956), M. Kulasekhararao's account of the Development of Prose (Telugu Vacana Vāṅgmayamu, 1964), G. Nagayya's thesis on 'Dwipada Vāṅgmayamu' (1966) (Poems written in couplets) and P. Madhava Sarma's (1910–72) study of Chandas or Metre in the Mahabharata ('Āndhra Mahābhāratamu Candas Śilpamu,' 1966) are specialist studies which push literary criticism ahead or navigate hitherto unchartered waters. The sentiment of heroism (*vīra rasa*) is elaborately analyzed and illustrated by G. V. Subrahmanyam. The risible (*hāsya*) became the theme of dissertations written by M. Sangamesam, M. Narasinga Rao and M. V. Tayaramma. R. Doraswami Sarma wrote a thesis on the off-beat topic *Tiṭṭu Kavitvam* (Poetry of Abuse or Barracking).

Critical Essays. Volumes of critical essays are legion. Not all can be of the same quality or insight. Some stand out prominently and command attention. Viswanatha Satyanarayana (1895–1976) towers above all others as a critic and a poet. His critical interpretations of classical poets like Nannaya, Nachana Somana and Allasani Peddana, and his creative revaluation of classical works like *Śākuntalam* are landmarks in impressionistic criticism. They are unparalleled for the richness of variety and illuminating insights. To praise him is to paint the lily. What was said of Oliver Goldsmith by Samuel Johnson is applicable to him. ' He left hardly any style of writing untouched and touched nothing that he did not adorn.' But some feel that Satyanarayana's interpretations are often far-fetched and that he sees beauties which are not there in the work. But in criticism there is always the liberty of interpreting.

Racamallu Ramachandra Reddy, the editor of *Samvēdana*, wrote a number of critical essays on different topics in the magazine. Later they were published in book form under the title *Sārasvata Vivēcana*. This is a very valuable contribution to modern criticism.

Textual Criticism and Linguistic Approach. Veturi Prabhakara Sastry made a significant contribution to textual criticism. Chilukuri Narayana Rao (1890–1950) tried to prove that Telugu was derived from Sanskrit while G. J. Somayaji (b. 1900) maintained that Telugu is a member of the Dravidian group of languages. The controversy resulted in the publication of two valuable books—*The History of Telugu Language* by C. Narayana Rao and *Āndhra Bhāṣā Vikāsamu* by G. J. Somayaji.

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Literary Criticism in Periodicals. Leading literary journals like *Bhārati* and the English quarterly *Triveṇi* devote considerable space to reviews of books. Telugu dailies like *Āndhra Prabhā*, *Āndhra Jyoti* and *Āndhra Patrikā*, weekly magazines like *Āndhra Jyoti* and *Āndhra Prabhā* devote space to critical evalution of current literature. Magazines like *Samvēdana*, *Navalā*, *Kalākēḷi*, *Janadharma* and *Abhyudaya* publish literary articles, book-reviews, etc. Marupuri Kodandarama Reddi, R. S. Sudarshanam, K. V. Ramana Reddi and Kodavatiganti Kutumba Rao (1907–80) have gained reputation as reviewers, who display penetrating and incisive critical acumen and catholicity of taste.

Among collections of critical essays, *Sārasvata Navanītam* (1955), by Devulapalli Ramanujarao, has been widely acclaimed. Amarendra's *Bhava Vīṇa* (1967) is a collection of essays in literary criticism, which seeks to introduce the literary masterpieces of East and West to the general reader in a light and interesting manner.

Symposia. Specially planned symposia on Telugu literature give a boost and up-to-dateness to unchronicled developments. *Mahati* (1972) published by Yuva Bharati is an excellent example of this category. It is an encyclopaedia, a superb reference volume containing 101 essays by specialists in several literary forms. The variety and richness of Telugu literature are here captured by various scholars in their wide-cast nets. It deals with literary trends which came into vogue during the post-Independence period from 1947–72 in Andhra.

Among contemporary critics D. Venkatavadhani strides like a colossus with his collection of critical evaluations, *kāvyalahari* (1971). Bandaru Tammayya's studies of Saiva poets, *Vyāsāvaḷi* (1968), is of great pioneering value. Gunturu Seshendra Sarma's volume on comparative poetics, entitled *Kavisēna Manifesto* (1978) reveals his profound erudition and massive intellect which can take in a stride the ancient Indian rhetoric and ultramodern dialectic polemics. His *Sāhitya Kaumudi* (Moonlight of Literature, 1968) displays his critical approach to classics.

Conclusion

Any account of literary criticism in Telugu cannot be complete without a reference to the collection of essays entitled *Sākṣi* (Spectator) by Panuganti Lakshmi Narasimharao (1865–1940) where the critical spirit operates vigorously on the diverse spheres of human life, stripping it of all trappings and shams and carrying on a fervent as well as relentless struggle to uphold the basic values of life. In an essay on literary criticism the author remarks that while a poet has the knack to enter the minds of all, the critic must possess the rare capacity to enter the mind of the poet. The creative spirit and the critical faculty must co-exist and their concerted efforts alone can make this world a better place to live in. To vivify the imagination, to amplify the scope of emotions, and to purify the taste of readers critics of Andhra Pradesh shall continue to strive 'to seek, to find and never to yield'; comparison and analysis shall be the tools of criticism. Grammar and criticism shall be the camp followers of creative genius, not its arbiters. With wider coverage of the trends in western criticism and a deeper understanding of our own heritage we may get over the attitude of 'the frog in the well', and avoid the tendency to praise the little at the expense of the great, to praise the chaff of the local and the temporal at the expense of what is permanent and universal.

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Urdu

MOHAMMAD HASAN

Urdu is one of the few Indian languages which carved out its own critical idiom different from Sanskrit, classical Arabic or Persian poetics though it benefitted greatly from these same sources. Early compositions hardly show any tendency towards critical formulation, so much so that Kalimuddin Ahmad, a literary critic of the 20th century, in his *Urdu Tanqid Par Ek Nazar*, denied the very existence of literary criticism in Urdu.

Even the first poet in Urdu, however, had some conception about the essential canons of criticism. After the models of the Arab and Persian poetry, poesy was deemed a divine gift bestowed upon genius to enthuse and sublimate fellowmen by conveying to them a new vision of life expressed through the artistic use of imagination and an interplay of emotions, thought and sensibility communicated through the most appropriate, effective and melodious words. What is important is that since its inception, poetry and with it the canons of literary criticism, have been a part of culture—a way of life lending significance and colour to an otherwise drab existence.

The poet (and the writer) was something of the troubadour of the tribe, the court scribe, or the reporter of the ruling chieftains. The earliest Persian treatise, *Chhar Miqala* of Urudhi Samarqandi, enumerates various examples which scribes communicated to the court the happenings on a battlefied in short, precise, enjoyable and suggestive sentences. In its definition of literature (poetry) it gives the highest priority to the role of imagination as a systematizer of observation, cognition and expression. This may be traced in the compositions of the first Urdu poet, Amir Khusrau, whose *Anmils* (Couplet & Couplets versifying disparate words) and *Pahelis* (Versified riddles) combine various objects into a single, meaningful and enjoyable sequence through a flash of imagination.

In the Deccan, the poet emerged as the chronicler of myths, legends, historical events and battles. Wajhi (?—c. 1660) was perhaps the first to include the idea of excellence in poetry in the introductory lines of his *mathnavi Qutub Muṣtari* (1600). He emphasizes lucidity, coherence, brevity and its impact on listeners and readers. Undoubtedly, the approach to literature was mainly that of a craftsman with an eye on its utility, significance, artifice, diction and technique.

At this stage, it would not be irrelevant to point out the function and format of art as envisaged more or less in all Asian countries. In fact the motifs, themes and genres are all fixed and the function of the poet—or prose writer—is to show his excellence and ingenuity within the given framework of theme, diction and form. For example, Chinese poetry, Indian music and Japanese painting all have their themes and forms clearly delineated. Genres are defined. Special vocabularies, idioms and imageries are all neatly fixed. All that the artist was expected to do was to express his genius within this framework.

Anonymity was no crime and even the best specimens of all art were anonymously executed according to the set pattern. Urdu poetry was, in this sense, a happy blend of the Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit traditions, at times suggesting Persian models in their details. Shipley's *Dictionary of World Literature* observes:

> The etymology of the *ṣāir*, poet, the 'knower', points to the religious or magic origin of his art. The standard form of the classical poem was the *qaṣīda*, whose compass and composition were strictly conventionalized: and amatory prelude (*nasib*) is followed by a journey undertaken to assuage the poet's love-pains and providing ample opportunities for description of the desert, of the poet's mount, of certain animals and of hunting. In the end, the poet either acts as the political mouthpiece of his group, indulges in self-glorification, or praises the chieftain to whose tents the perilous journey had been directed. Convivial scenes occur. (Notes on Arabic Poetry).

The *nasib* of the *qaṣīda* developed as a separate genre with mystical, ethical and/or romantic overtones and a rich symbolic idiom.

Ranging from 5 to 19 separate couplets united by a rhyme scheme it came to be known as *ghazal*. *Qaṭa* was a thematically coherent set of couplets with a single rhyme scheme and *rubāi* claimed the same coherence within two couplets of specific metres while *mathnavi* was a coherent narrative of an episode or a scene in couplets in the same metre with different rhymes and *marthiya*, the elegy composition versified in straight couplets or in the form of three couplet stanzas.

These generic forms were the main links with Arabic and Persian poetics which were amended and enriched by Urdu literature and formed the basis of the critical idiom. Poetry was mainly judged by its fidelity to the prescribed rhyme-scheme, metric flawlessness and syntactical authenticity.

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Bayadh and Tadhkira

The earliest specimen of this critical literature was provided by the *bayadh* notebooks containing selected couplets of ardent readers or listeners of poetry. These random selections betray a critical pattern. Early *bayadhs* contain only stray couplets and names of poets but later ones include also a short note on the poet, thus providing the structure of the *tadhkiras* (selected couplets with short notes on the poets arranged either alphabetically or according to their specific periods). These short notes sometimes contained critical comments and were illustrative of poetic taste. Scores of such *tadhkiras* were compiled over a long period of two centuries. Their periodization indicates an awareness of literary history, their categorization of poets expresses critical standards, and their comments—though often stylized—show critical judgement.

Among them are the compilations of Mir Taqi Mir, Mir Hasan, Gurdezi, Ghulam Hamdani Mushafi, Qudratullah Shauq, Qudratullah Qasim and Nawab Mustafa Khan Shefta. But before discussing their critical signifiance, two more institutions deserve mention—the *muṣaira* and the tutor-pupil tradition.

Muṣaira

Dating from the 18th century, the title was reserved for poetic symposia where Persian *ghazals* written in the same metrical and rhyme scheme used to be recited. Poetic symposia for Urdu *ghazals* were called *murakhta* and, later on, *muṣaira* came to be used for Urdu *ghazal* symposia also. The main components of the *muṣaira* are the poets, the listeners (of high literary taste) and the *ghazals* with common metrical scheme and rhyme. Thus the audience had an occasion to judge how a particular poet used the same rhyme within the same metre with acumen and imagination.

Here a new critical standard was being evolved where creative, correct and imaginative use of words was judged as a criterion of the poetic art. The *muṣairas* being public recital, naturally required ready wit, quick imagination and grip over creative use of words—and, above all, communicability of thought, emotion, symbols and rapport between the poet and the audience.

The second interrelated institution was that of the poet-tutor relationship, during which new written and unwritten traditions and conventions were set up. Practically all important poets had their styles and, in order to perpetuate them, had formulated certain principles mainly guided by the concepts of *faṣahat* (the lucidity arising from the use of appropriate words, with pleasant sounds compatible with other sounds in a manner conforming to the rules of syntax and grammar) and *balaghat* (it contains all the qualities of *faṣahat* with an added quality of suggesting in very few words, a whole panorama of feeling). Vocabulary was always under review, and antiquated or unfamiliar words were regularly pruned. Long lists of poetic 'do's' and 'don'ts' were drawn up and pupils were advised to abide strictly by them. Among the 'don'ts', for instance, was *tanafur* (unpleasant alliteration of sound in adjacent words), *ta'qid* (absurdity or lack of communication arising out of either the breaking up of syntactical sequence (or of words) or of lack of adequate expression of meaning), *zam* (alternative meaning with obscure or vulgar connotations) and *susti-e-bandiṣ* (lack of crispness and lucidity in expressions.)

The *tadhkiras* mirror the critical temperament nurtured by these two age-old institutions. Mir was the first to classify the various poetic styles in vogue in his times in an epilogue to his *tadhkira* ending with his own style which called for a cautious and careful blending of colloquial speech with lucidity and sublimity of poetic sensibility. (He systematizes forms of poetic diction such as couplets with one line in Persian and the other in Urdu, or half a line in Persian and the other half in Urdu etc.) Hatim concludes his *tadhkira* with a short note on the usage of certain words and changes in the poetic idiom of his age, a statement of significance to literary history as well as to criticism. Again, the attempt to categorize certain poets into different periods or to evaluate their poetic worth, as seen in the *tadhkiras* of Mir Hasan, Qudratullah Qasim and Karimuddin shed some light on the critical standards of the period.

It is undoubtedly difficult to evolve a coherent theory of criticism from the stray reflections scattered in these *tadhkiras*. Yet art seems to be a reflection or imitation through imagination of the common socio-cultural ethos rather than of individual reality expressed through socially accepted norms and diction. Myth, history, mysticism, ethics and human relationships—mainly romantic—were the accepted themes to be dealt with in approved poetic idiom, and criticism was used to guard these norms jealously through various institutions and their unwritten laws.

Western Impact

By the end of the 18th century, more particularly by the beginning of the 19th century, with the establishment of the Delhi College (1825) and the Fort William College, Calcutta (1801-3), a new awareness penetrated the literary standards as seen in the editorial notes of Master Ram Chander's journal *Mahibb-i-Hind* (1855-56) criticising the *ghazals* recited in the *muṣāiras* in Delhi and accentuated with the 1857 debacle. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's (1817-98) movement for social reform and enlightenment brought about a new consciousness of literature and its close relationship with society. The idea of natural poetry emanated from Sir Syed and was elaborated by Hali (Altāf Husain

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Hāli, 1837–1914) in his celebrated preface to his *Dīvān*, *Muqaddama-i-Şer-o-Şāirī* (*Dīvān* is generally a collection of *ghazals* arranged alphabetically, rhyme-wise) discarding all stylized conventional poetry and laying emphasis on (i) narrative and descriptive poetry with compactness and coherence and (ii) poetry depicting the natural and 'real' emotions and experiences of life and (iii) poetry with a social purpose.

Hali's *Muqaddama-i-Şer-o-Şāirī*, therefore, marked a turning point in the history of Urdu criticism. Mainly inspired by Milton, his critical theory rested on the concepts of the 'simple, sensuous and passionate thought.' Hali gave his own interpretation to these terms to make them relevant to Urdu poetry and also to his ideas of social reform as embodied in his long poem *Musaddas-i-Hali* or *Mad-do-Jazr-i-Islām* (Ebb and Flow of Islam. It is a poem depicting the rise and fall of Muslims).

Hali waged a lone battle against the unreal world of conventionalism and imagination. He champions the cause of this worldliness. Even when he lists imagination as one of the necessary components of all art, he never forgets to advise some clipping of the wings of imagination to guard against hyperbole and unbridled exaggeration, which was deemed to be a cornerstone of poetry in the East for long.

The aesthete Shibli (Şibli, b. 1914) in the course of his voluminous *Şerul Ajam*, a literary history of Persia, developed a critical theory based on the twin concepts of *takhayyul* (imagination) and *mahākāt* (depiction of internal feelings motivated by external stimuli). Evidently influenced by Carlyle, Shibli, however does not name imagination as a source of all knowledge. For him, imagination is merely an organizer of all perception into a compact whole. What gives it its artistic value even surpassing the limitations of painting is the power of depiction (*Mahākāt*) which depicts not only the real but also the inner feelings and emotions in a manner not possible in any other art form.

In 1874, under the inspiration of Colonel Holroyd in Lahore, Anjuman-i-Punjab (an organisation mainly devoted to the preparation of Urdu textbooks) held a different type of *muşāira* where themes and topics instead of rhyme and metre were circulated among poets who were asked to write compact and coherent poems on them. This marked the birth of a new genre *nazm* (a compact poetic composition with a single theme unlike the couplets of *ghazal* which are not necessarily of the same theme) in Urdu. The organizer of the *muşāira* was Muhammad Husain Azad (1832–1910), who blossomed into an epoch-making critic and literary historian of all time. Though primarily an essayist with a remarkable literary style of his own, his *Āb-i-Hayat* (Fountain of Eternity) was not only the first authentic history of Urdu poetry but also a gallery of sketches of immortal poets with an unmistakable aroma of their cultural and social milieu. His assessment of poets expressed in metaphorical and allegorical terms, though often ruthlessly criticized, has seldom been improved upon.

Azad in his Preface to his poetic collection *Majmūa Nazm-i-Āzād* (Collection of Azad's Poems, 1885) has laid great emphasis on faithful depiction of reality and criticized the excessive use of metaphor and hyperbole in Urdu poetry, which, according to him, robs it of natural realism. To drive the point home, Azad compares the depiction of the same scenes in Brij Bhasha and Urdu and remarks that in Urdu the poet readily takes to similes and metaphors and ignores the depiction of the reality and its components along with their material details.

Thus the golden period of Urdu criticism was dedicated to this worldliness. The main endeavour of the critics was to bring poetry back to the contemporary sensibility and to make it socially purposive. The need, perhaps, arose due to the bifurcation, for the first time, between the individual and the social ethos which were up till now somewhat unified. The middle class was being born and it wanted to be sure of its own realities and its separate sensibility. The 'Trans-Individual' of Lucien Goldmann was increasingly succumbing to the responses of the newly emerging middle class.

The impact was truly epoch-making. Hosts of writers and poets emerged as harbingers of the new consciousness. Without the trio of Hali, Shibli and Azad, there would not have been poets like Iqbal. Chakbast and Akbar Allahabadi and prose writers like Nazir Ahmad, Ratan Nath Sarshar, Abdul Halim Sharar and Mirza Mohammad Hadi Ruswa. The First World War marked the high water mark of this critical consciousness, for it was in 1914 that both Hali and Shibli breathed their last.

Romanticists and Comparatists

By the turn of the 19th century, writers and critics had taken to romanticism. Criticism, too, echoed the same voice and soon afterwards critics like Sajjad Ansari and Abdur Rahman Bijnori and Niaz Fatehpuri emerged as pioneers of the new mood. Sajjad Ansari was primarily an essayist with aesthetics as his religion but his critical opinions did carry weight with his contemporaries.

Abdur Rahman Bijnori shot into prominence with his incomplete preface to a new version of Ghalib's *Dīvān*—most of which was rejected by the poet and was hence lying in a corner of a Bhopal Library. Bijnori began his preface with the astounding sentence—'There are only two divine books of India—the Holy *Vedas* and the Ghalib's *Dīvān*'. Here was a brand new voice of criticism, full of the zest of a vibrant personality. Criticism to him was no mere assessment of a poet's effusions in terms of his personality and his age or in terms of the criteria accepted as genuine or valid but a rediscovery, even reshaping, of these

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experiences by the critic himself and representing it as a wonderland of his own sensibilities.

In the course of this voyage of Ghalib's discovery, Bijnori cuts across the boundaries of region and language and endeavours to study Ghalib in the light provided by the study of great masters like Goethe, Rembrandt and Hafiz, thus providing a new basis for comparative criticism in Urdu. While Bijnori's critical opinions were not without exaggeration, yet, his pioneering efforts in introducing world standards in Urdu literary evaluations and his attempts at the popularization of standards of comparative criticism deserve recognition. With him, western critical standards assumed new creative dimensions.

Niyaz Fatehpuri, on the other hand, was a thorough orientalist, born and bred in the traditions of Persian and Arabic poetics, though he got himself acquainted with modern western norms. Niyaz, in fact, introduced romanticism in Urdu fiction and started highly sentimental poetic-prose but in the field of criticism, he was a thorough classicist who insisted on the strict observance of all norms of the olden times. His preference of the love-lyricist, Momin (Momin, 1800–52), over Ghalib (Ghālib, 1796–1869), because the classical definition of *ghazal* was restricted to that of a love-lyric, or his preference of Ali Akhtar (Alī Akhtar, 1899–1972) over the famous poet Josh Malihabadi (Joṣ Malihabādi, b. 1896), or his trenchent critique of Jigar Moradabadi's *ghazals* (Jigar Moradabādi, 1890–1961), to which he devoted a special number of his literary monthly *Nigār*—all point to his adherence to the norms of classical formalism.

Textual Criticism and Literary History

But at this stage, two new trends appeared on the literary scene—emergence of textual criticism and the compilation of literary history.

Even today, literary texts in Urdu lie buried in oblivion, and those which are known to some extent need proper editing to be made available in their authentic form. Abdul Haq (1872–1960) and Mohiuddin Qadri Zor (Muhīuddīn Qādrī Zor, 1904–1964) discovered a number of highly valuable literary texts and published them with learned introductions, though not always edited properly. The work was improved upon by eminent researchers like Hafiz Mahmud Shirani (? –1942), Masud Hasan Ridhvi (1893–1975), Imtiaz Ali Arshi (b. 1895), and Qazi Abdul Waddud (1895–1984).

Their efforts and discoveries—particularly those of the first two scholars—pertaining to the literary works written in Deccan in the 15th and 16th centuries extended the period of literary fruition of the Urdu language by several centuries.

It was in this period that literary history was conceived as a total view of all literary genres and presented as a continuum of the social and cultural ethos of a nation. Up till now, poetry alone was taken into consideration but Ram Babu Saxena's *History of Urdu Literature* (1927) for the first time surveyed the whole span of language and literature as one unit and, even though cursorily, did make an attempt to study literature in its totality. The book, originally written in English, was later translated into Urdu (*Tārīkh-i-Adab-i-Urdu*) by Mirza Muhammad Askari.

By this time, the rhetoricians and formalists came into vogue while parallel to them another trend of critical liberalism which drew upon the western and oriental canons of criticism also continued to flourish. Yet, the most significant critical writing of the period was the despatches of Mirza Muhammad Hadi Ruswa, who tried to discuss the theoretical aspect of literary criticism in the light of Avicenna's anatomical theories and tried to connect literary taste with the physiological *vitae* of human beings.

Another major development was marked by the publication of Masud Hasan Ridhvi's *Hamārī Ṣāirī* (Our Poetry, 1926) which tried to reinterpret the scope and significance of the seemingly narrow field of love-lyric poetry of *ghazal*. He explained the multi-dimensional symbolism of *ghazal* and in the process, sought to review the critical standards set by Hali in his celebrated Preface to his Urdu Dīvān—the concepts of the 'Simple, the Sensuous, and the Passionate'.

The critical writings of creative writers like Firaq Gorakhpuri (1896–1982), Rashid Ahmad Siddiqi (1898–1976)—the former a lyrical poet and the latter a renowned satirist and humorist—gave criticism an enlivening touch of impressionism. For them every critical reappraisal was, in fact, the re-creation (by the artistic sensibility) of an intelligent reader out of the original poet's works. And in this process, literary taste, the readers' own experience and sensibility rather than the set norms and standards of the law-makers provide a dependable guide.

The new criticism has by now found its moorings in the English-educated middle class which was seeking to re-interpret and enjoy Urdu literature according to the enlightenment provided by western education. This 'rationalization' of their literary taste was different not only from the classical norms but also from Hali and Shibli, which gave rise to critical liberalism and a new kind of personalized critical essays.

Progressives and Radicals

Towards the end of the twenties the struggle for national independence assumed a new urgency while the emergence of Fascism and various forms of authoritarianism and the struggles against them brought about radical changes in the contemporary sensibility. In 1936, it culminated in the setting up of the Progressive Writers' Association, the first session of which was held in Lucknow under the

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presidentship of Munshi Premchand (1880–1936). In his presidential address, he unequivocally declared the need of 'bringing about a change in our sense of Beauty'.

In Urdu, this change was marked in the critical articles of Akhtar Husain Raipuri (b. 1910), Ahmad Ali (b. 1912), now in Pakistan, and, much more authentically, in Majnu Gorakhpuri's (b. 1904) *Adab Aur Zindagi* (Literature and Life). The first two critics went to the extent of castigating all classical literature as 'feudal' and hence decadent and elitist in character, thus judging literature by its class roots and the 'ideology' it communicates. Ideas were mainly discussed in terms of their social implications and literary judgement was subjected to class considerations.

Majnu and, after him, the celebrated Progressive critic, Syed Ehtesham Husain (1912–72) applied these standards provided by the understanding of the relationship between literature and society in a more scientific manner. For them, what was important was the working of the social process as reflected and influenced by the work of art. This was not a mechanical relationship but the expression of not only the individual but also the 'trans-individual' and the collective ethos of the age. This resounds in that particular age and also in the times to come till the social structure keeps these values alive.

For about three decades, Progressivism remained the dominant critical theory and gave birth to writers like Sajjad Zaheer (1905–76), the founder of the movement, Sardar Jafri (b. 1913), Mumtaz Husain (b. 1924) now in Pakistan and others, with three tangible gains. Firstly, it linked up literary criticism with a wider and much more scientific understanding of social life and hence with all branches of knowledge with direct and indirect bearing. The critic was much more wide-awake and brought to bear new tools of analysis on critical assessment, which appeared to be breaking its morbid links with metaphysics. Secondly, new respectability was gained by folk literature and folk artists. In Urdu, for instance, Nazir Akbarabadi (1735–1830), the folk poet who sang of mundane everyday objects, was rediscovered by literary critics as the harbinger of the democratic urges of the people. Thirdly, new insight was brought to bear upon the voice of social protest as manifested in classical literature, particularly in the medieval mystic poetry, and in the process sought to delve deep into the social roots of the creative process and its impact on contemporary sensibility.

Progressive Criticism has often been deemed a monolith. Its critics have been taken to hold the same approach. In fact, it ranges from critics of sociological bias to those with a clear Marxist sense of class-analysis. Now, when many more variations in the Marxist understanding of literature at the international level have emerged ranging from Caudwel and Ralph Fox to George Lukacs, Bertold Brecht, Raymond Williams and Terry Eagleton, these finer shades of criticism can also be identified in Urdu.

Eclectics and Liberals

Side by side with Marxist and sociological criticism, there ran a parallel thread of non-Marxist, rather eclectic criticism mainly inspired by F. R. Leavis and T. S. Eliot, and to a lesser extent, by the ideas of the French Decadents.

Kalimuddin Ahmad, with his rigid application of the definition of poetry as a well-integrated composition of thought and emotions giving aesthetic delight through its sense of unity, sought to introduce a new concept of Form in Urdu criticism. Al-i-Ahmad Suroor (b. 1911) with his radiant eclecticism gave a wider awareness while Muhammad Hasan Askari (1914–78), who later migrated to Pakistan, tried to lend a touch of metaphysics to the critical concepts.

Later, another revival of the New Criticism attracted attention around 1960 which gave primacy to the formal analysis of the text, advocating the abandonment of all sociological considerations from the critical orbit; it adversely affects artistic appreciation of a piece of art. Under the banner of modernity, many trends saw the light of day-ranging from close text analysis and stylistics to the crisis of communication and ways and means to overcome it. Symbolism and use of esoteric terms came into vogue. The 'New' critics, however, are yet to make their mark.

Pakistan Scene

It will be proper to mention the development of Urdu criticism in Pakistan, for this has affected the pace of Urdu criticism in India. Soon after Partition, Progressivism was tabooed in Pakistan and in their zeal for finding a new critical idiom to suit the political search for an identity in religion, some Pakistani critics started over-emphasizing the role of religion and metaphysics in critical understanding. Among them were Askari followed by younger critics like Salim Ahmad (b. 1944) and Fateh Mohammad Malik (b. 1936), Jilani Kamran (b. 1944) and others. They tried to link up literature with the religious ethos of a nation.

Another set of writers tried to introduce archetypal criticism in Urdu. Vazir Agha (b. 1940) in his *Urdu Şāirī Ka Mizaj* (Temperament of Urdu Poetry) tried to analyse Urdu poetry in the context of the Aryan archetype and the Chinese theory of its development. Other rigidly formalist critics include Iftekhar Jalib (b. 1938) while the more balanced critics who blend literary standards with the tools provided by psychology and sociology include Salim Akhtar (b. 1940), Mohammad Ali Siddiqi (b. 1938), now in Pakistan, and Jamil Jalibi (b. 1928). But this formal trend in Pakistan has affected its counterpart in India too.

Summary

Urdu is probably the only literary tradition in India which

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has not entirely based itself on the concepts and methodology of Sanskrit poetics but has insisted on developing its own critical standards. In this respect, its classical criticism needs special attention for it tried to combine the essentials of the indigenous sensibility with the canons of Oriental criticism as prevalent in West and Central Asia—a tradition not wholly alien to the Indian genius. Certainly, it is difficult to name one or two treatises which may be deemed as source books of all such critical concepts, yet the development of these concepts did take place.

It should be noted that Arabic translations of the works of Plato and Aristotle did play an important role in acquainting the world with the thoughts of these highly significant thinkers and these thoughts included the formulations of critical import. The translations, however, were not always very faithful to the originals but the idea of mimesis (imitation-reproduction/representation) did appeal to the Arab mind and through it to the Persians, Turks and others in West and Central Asia. Thus the genesis was that the poet presents the 'soul' of the material object and the beauty of the work of art evokes kindred response in the heart of the listener or reader because of the aesthetic affinity found in the material objects (of its representation) and the listener or reader. Both are united in the 'divine' power of imagination, which magnifies, or belittles things and objects, creates new relationships between them and refashions them into new units.

This left a respectable margin for the hyperbole and the 'artistic' use of exaggeration which was a prerogative of the creative writer. This developed into a highly stylised jargon, detracting poetry—and prose—from faithful depiction with exactitude and precision.

But poetry soon developed to become such an integral part of social life that no lively conversation or communication was possible without an apt poetic quotation. The *muṣāira* gave this convention a greater social cohesion and communicability and the tradition of poet-tutor-poet-studentship established it as a continuum. This resulted in focussing attention on form, rhythm and rhyme, and above all, on the lucidity and standardization of language. At least two critical terms—*Ada bandi* and *Sahl-i-Mumtina*'—were based on the simple colloquial idiom of everyday speech. *Ada bandi* concentrated on versifying the common everyday action or mood in such couplets as the following:

Gar nāznin kahe se bura mānte ho tum
Meri taraf to dekhiya main nāznin sahi

If you resent to be addressed as a delicate beauty,
Just look at me, you may call me one. (tr.)

Ap ke paon ke niche dil hai
Ek zara ap ko zahmat hogi.

My heart is beneath your heel.
Take a trifle trouble, So that I may take it out. (tr.)

Sahl-i-Mumtina was the art of versifying in the simplest words so as to retain the prose order in its original form, as in the following couplets of Ghalib and Momin:

Dil-e-nadan tujhe hua kya hai
Akhir is dard ki dawa kya hai

My heart, what ails you—?
What is, after all, the cure of your ailment.? (Ghalib)

Tum mere pas hote ho gaya
Jab koi dūsra nahin hota.

You remain with me
When no one is. (Momin)

This strong bond of critical sensibility with social communicability remains one of the distinguishing features of Urdu criticism. Even in prose tales, which in the early phases had been associated with the tradition of *dāstān*—a long extempore prose tale narrated to an audience—social communicability was then a criterion along with purity and lucidity of language and catholicity of expression.

With the advent of the British, western influences began to play a major role in determining the critical mood, but despite all pervasiveness, these could not supplant the longing for the *ghazal* and the retention of a significant segment of the classical critical idiom essential for the evaluation of the genre. Hence, Urdu criticism retains its classical base, at least to a certain extent, even today, though it has, by and large, accepted western criticism as its model.

With the advent of Independence, regional languages and their literatures came into prominence. Awareness of the various genres popular in these regional literatures and the tools of criticism in vogue for their assessment also grew. Urdu criticism also benefited from this awareness and modern sensibility, has fallen in line with the general mood of various other literatures, facing the same stresses and strains which happen to be the predicament of the modern world and its literary consciousness.

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Section 11

CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

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Introduction

K. S. KARANTH

In writing this introduction to the section on Children's Literature, which forms a part of *Comparative Indian Literature*, I feel a bit hesitant. The articles are no doubt contributed by prominent men of letters from the various languages of India. But a reader like me who is not conversant with the many languages can get only a partial view of the literary contributions coming under the genre from the surveys which, by their very nature, have their own limitations. It is true that some contributors have quoted some bits of poetry, some bits of nursery rhymes, etc. that have pleased children. But these are not many. Children's poems, with their stress on alliteration, rhythm and sound patterns, are hard to translate. And hence they cannot be properly appreciated from the translations. Some of the contributors have taken pains to indicate the motivation that led the authors to such creations. While discussing them, a few writers have questioned the relevance of motivations like patriotism, moralization, the glory of self-sacrifice, etc. Some have even criticized the attitude of individual writers such as idealization of objectives and sentimentality in approach. A few writers have applauded the success of a book based on large circulation figures and frequent reprints. From such assessments and appraisals it is hardly possible to ascertain the quality of the works as children's literature.

The Child's World

According to me two things are basic as regards children's literature. Firstly, the child has to be its central figure. A child is born into the world as an adventurer or explorer gifted with the sense of touch and audio-visual perception. From the moment of birth he tries to discover the world around him. He does so by hearing, seeing and touching. His curiosity to learn everything that surrounds him makes him an adventurer. When he cannot understand certain things, he asks his people 'Why?' or 'How?'. Children's books should meet such questions. Answers to such questions, that hold the interest of children of different ages, can provide suitable themes.

Secondly, the themes which interest children have to be rendered in a language they can understand and in a manner they can appreciate. The adult's vocabulary is unsuitable for the child and hence a simpler vocabulary becomes a necessity. This vocabulary with appealing sound patterns provides charm to nursery songs. That is why quite a few nursery songs have survived for generations in our languages. Examples of such songs cited demonstrate that the child can get a feel of their beauty even without fully grasping the meaning. These songs fascinate a child's mind and in course of time he becomes conversant with the language and its special charm. When the sound patterns please a child's ears, the content can even be absurd and that is not going to matter. In the early stages of childhood, nursery rhymes ought to take precedence for this very reason.

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A child wants entertainment of one sort or another. This can be provided through play and song. During play, which is a physical activity, nonsense words and phrases give pleasure. While the child is actively engaged in hopping and jumping, songs are a natural accompaniment. Such patterns have come down from the past; but our own addition to this aspect is meagre.

We all know children are very, very fond of stories; and our grandmother's stories have come down to us from the day the first man learnt to speak. What is it that really moves a child in a story? Not its subject matter; but the characters that appear and move around in them, whether real or unreal. Such characters should have at least some fanciful relationship to things and beings that belong to the child's world and also satisfy his desires and interests. To a child, reality and dreams are of equal appeal. His capacity for imagination is vast. In his fancy a non-realistic world can be real to him. Hence, characters like an ant, a tiger, a fox, a demon or a fairy hold great interest for him. For a good number of years, a child's world continues to be a world of fancy. He finds immense pleasure in living in it. Hence in a narration, the quality of holding his interest and making him identify himself with the characters of the story plays an essential part. Such a story may be short or long, eventful or simple. But when told, it must have such vividness of expression as can conjure up appropriate visions of the various situations in his mind.

A child expects every one to talk to him whenever he wants. Stones, trees and animals are no exception. If they don't respond, the child will fulfil that role himself. At this stage the child seems to like even absurdities. The unusual way of doing things provides mirth. When elders tell him that *this* is the way to do a certain thing, he asks, 'why not *that* way?' He has yet to face the problems of the real world. 'If the bird can fly, why can't I?' is the child's query.

Another tendency of the child is to conjure up an unexpected result posed by a situation. This provides humour which all children like. They like to hear Tenali Rama's stories or Birbal's stories for the umpteenth time for this reason—the appreciation of the ludicrous!

It is from this angle that I see children's literature and accept it as the primary stage. The next stage comes, in due course, when the child begins to seek adventure in his real world. This needs discovery by which more knowledge about the world is gained, so that he can undertake such adventures on his own.

The Indigenous and the Borrowed

From this angle let us consider the question of various types of story material that have been mentioned by our contributors. Many of them have cited numerous examples of stories translated from Sanskrit into modern languages. Some of them have cited the existence of a vast amount of folklore, which their languages have inherited from the past.

Translations of English writings meant for children first appeared in some languages towards the end of the 19th century. This activity has continued in the present century also. Some of the western books so translated are Hans Anderson's *Fairy Tales*, the Arabian Night stories (like those of *Ali Baba*, *Allaud-din's Lamp*, *Sindbad the Sailor*, *The Treasure Island*, *Robinson Crusoe*, etc.). In fact it was this impact of the West that opened our eyes to our inadequacies in this realm.

Folk Items. We have already referred to the survival of nursery songs and their continued fascination for the child. Folk literature consisting of folk-songs and folk-tales contains many pieces which interest children. But it is wrong to think that all folk items can form part of children's literature. In all our languages folklore is found in plenty. They are mostly material orally communicated from generation to generation and in this long process they have undergone considerable changes in form, and to an

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extent, in content as well. Many such songs and tales are listened to by children with great interest. But there is need to sift and select the items which can legitimately be considered children's literature from the vast mass of folk literature. We should be able to gather a lot of nursery songs, nonsense rhymes, riddles and tales and offer them to our children, properly edited, so that they do not lose touch with the soil and culture of our country.

Translations. I should like to deal with translations of Sanskrit material like *Pañcatantra* and those from foreign languages like *Aesop's Fables* in a different light. They are like parables, quite short, interesting, and sweet too. But they leave no room for imagination or involvement, both because of their brevity and because of their moralistic approach. *Pañcatantra* has brought forward animal characters like wolves, tigers, bulls, monkeys, etc. *Aesop's Fables* and *Jātaka* tales also do that. But the emotional involvement of the child with the characters and situations of such stories is not achieved. For that, much more is needed on the part of the writer. He needs an understanding of animal behaviour in the various circumstances they are placed in. Animals merely used for the purpose of moralizing may provide some interest and fun, but that may not quite meet the demands of literature.

In this respect Hans Anderson excels all other writers in creating characters that a child can easily identify himself with. Books like *Treasure Island* and *Robinson Crusoe* can take the children to a different land altogether and enlarge their vision of the world. These stimulate in them a spirit of adventure. Such stories are unfortunately few in modern literature.

Even in our *Bāla-Rāmāyaṇas* and *Bāla-Bhārathas* meant for children, the stories are narrated as a series of events, one coming after the other. A child certainly would like to know what happens towards the end. But a story narrated with such terrific speed, lacking vivid descriptions of events or environment and emotional reactions of various characters can be literature only in name. A child who reads it must be able to visualize the entire situation so that he can identify himself with the characters he likes and hate the ones he dislikes in order to feel the thrill of involvement from beginning to end. As materials that have to provide a child with the cultural background of his society and his family, their beliefs and superstitions, their gods, demons, sages, etc. they have a place, no doubt. But in order to gain the status of literature these materials will have to be presented in such a manner that the characters and situations are vivid and lively. Here the writer's literary capacity and flair come into play.

Our vernaculars have enriched themselves with translations of materials from the vast store of Sanskrit literature. These form the major stock-in-trade of school texts. But the proof that children have enjoyed them lies in their remembering them for a long time. For gaining that hold on a child's memory, it is neither the moral of the story that is important nor the fact that animals like cats, rats and foxes in these stories speak. The writers of moral tales never treat their characters as individual beings capable of thinking, feeling and acting on their own. They speak for the story-teller and act the roles for his moralizing needs.

All our epics, puranas and myths have a relevant place as reading materials, but their motive is different. They try to enlighten children about their cultural past. They have to know the background of the beliefs and attitudes of their parents, society and the people of their country. But these epics, legends and myths, by their very nature, can also raise questions about many implicitly accepted beliefs and assumptions. Banning such questions would mean suppression of their independent thinking. This would make them rebels or cynics.

As children grow up and attain adolescence, we expect their vision of the world to enlarge. Their curiosity should grow and a sense of adventure develop. For stimulating such a spirit in them, travel tales and stories of adventure will help. Books like *Robinson*

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Crusoe and *The Treasure Island* are bound to be relished by them. Real life stories of explorers will provide them with intellectual food.

Our Limitations

We in India have seldom bothered to delve into the inexhaustible treasure of nature. How many of our poets and literary men are bird watchers, wild life enthusiasts and lovers of nature in all its aspects? There is no dearth of material for writing for the young, but when we elders lack experience and appreciation of the above-said repository, very little will come through our pens.

This basic drawback has come from our own lack of proper education. We have made childhood a sort of vessel, which has to be filled up, by elders and teachers with material that they consider useful, or worthwhile. Knowledge so provided has to be useful in facing life in all its aspects. When one looks at the vast array of text books imposed on children by nationalization, one feels miserable about their future. Books written without any charm or imagination are thrust upon them. Their interests and capacity to imbibe and assimilate are not at all considered. At the time, we can see numerous types of attractive books on a variety of topics meant for children produced in the West. Writers who love children should glance through western productions, study them and try their best to present such material in our languages in a manner that could feed a child's thirst for knowledge. Appropriate drawings, illustrations and photographs should supplement such writings when written words alone cannot successfully put across our ideas.

Common Areas

Lastly, coming to the question of common areas in the writings for children in the various Indian languages, we have already given some indications though not explicitly. Surveys reveal that Sanskrit has been a common source for all our modern languages. Translations and adaptations of *Kathāsaritsāgara*, *Pañcatantra* and Puranic lore have appeared in all the languages. In the same way *Aesop's Fables*, Grimm's *Fairy Tales*, the Arabian Night stories, Hans Anderson's *Fairy Tales*, etc. have also been welcomed by our writers for children in many of the languages. *The Treasure Island*, *Robinson Crusoe* and such literary masterpieces also form a part of the common core in our children's literature.

A comparison of the folk items which form an important part of children's literature in the various languages will definitely reveal a common approach and common taste which is an expression of the common culture. Even a casual reader will feel this unity in the perplexing diversity; but it is for the researcher to identify clearly and explicitly the common strands and the national quality of this deep-rooted unity.

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Assamese

NIRMAL PRABHA BARDOLOI

The child's world is an irrational one, free of the burdens and sorrows that come with experience. It is an imaginative, romantic world containing only curiosity and a thousand wonders. In all places and at all times, this is the child's world, a world of literary fantasy of folk songs and stories.

Folk-songs

The Lullaby (Nichukanigīt). Songs and rhymes are the earliest samples of children's literature in Assamese. They very often serve a dual purpose. For instance, a lullaby such as *Śiyālī e Nāhiti rāti* not only subdues the mischievous child by instilling the fear of unfamiliar creatures like the fox, monkey or the civet cat in his mind, but also causes him to sleep by its soothing, long-drawn-out tune.

Śiyālī e Nāhiti rāti
Tore Kāṇe Kāti lagāme bāti
Śiyālir mūrare Maruwā phūl
Śiyālī Pālegai Ratanepūr

Oh; she fox, do not come at night
Or your ears would be cut off and made lamps of.
With the *marua* flowers on the head of the vixen
She has run away to Ratanpur. (tr.)

The following are further examples of *Nichukanigīt*: *Nichukani* means the act of quietening a weeping baby.

The *Lai* plants quiver in the afternoon wind
The *Lafa* plants quiver in their leaves
Our darling too quivers in the same way
For her stomach is still empty. (tr.)

Go to sleep, O dear Kānāī (pet name of Shri Krishna)
Here comes the ear-eater
He goes on eating the ears of all children
Until at last he comes to you. (tr.)

Very often lullabies like these and marriage or religious songs get intermixed. Together they then draw up a picture of Assamese rural life, reflecting rural beliefs and the creative mind of simple villagers. However, with the dawn of the industrial age, such village-based lullabies as the one quoted below are falling into disuse in the urban areas.

Āmāre Mainā śuba e
Bārīte Bagarī ruba e
Bārīre Bagarī paki sariba
Maināi butali khāba.

Our darling will fall asleep
A plum tree will grow up in our backyard
And all the plums will ripen and fall down
When our darling will pick them up and eat. (tr.)

Dhāinām. The songs of children at play (omalāgīt) are commonly called *Dhāinām* in Assamese. *Dhāi* means a nurse and *nām* or *gīt* a song. Naturally such songs reflect the child's mental make-up as well as a diffused imagination and intense curiosity. For example, in one *Dhāinām* 'a child asks of the sister Moon a little star: sister Moon says she has no leaf with which to wrap a star, then how could she give one? Yellow birds are pecking at the paddy field and the son of the father-in-law is rowing his boat away; his boat is shaking; in the evening the temple drums are being beaten.' There is hardly any connection of ideas, as one can easily see. Such nursery songs, as *O phul O phul nuphula kiya, Jonbāi e tarā eti diyā*, or *Bagali e sabāhalai nagali kiya*, also originated in the attempt to satisfy the child's eternal curiosity and to bring natural reality and imagination together. Such nursery rhymes may have originated in a particular place, but they have spread to several other places. For instance, songs like *O phul O phul* are to be found not only in Assam but also in Orissa, Karnataka and Maharashtra.

O Phul, O Phul, nuphula kiya
Carue je ag khai, maino phulim kiya....

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Flower, O flower, why don't you bloom?
The cow eats up the top, how should I bloom?
Cow, O cow, why do you eat up the top?
The cowherd does not tend me, how can I stop?
Cowherd, O cowherd, why don't you tend the cow?
The cook does not cook meals, why should I do?
Cook, O cook why don't you prepare meals?
The wood-cutter brings me no firewood
How can I cook meals?
Wood-cutter, O wood-cutter, why no
firewood supply?
That large tree fell down there,
why doesn't it dry?
Tree, O large tree, why don't you dry?
The clouds rain so much,
how can I help?
Clouds, O clouds, why do you shower rain?
The frogs croak so much, how can I stop then?
Frogs, O frogs, why should you croak at all?
Should I give up the practice of my ancestors at all? (tr.)

Jonbāi e tarā eti diyā....

Lady Moon, Lady Moon, please give me a needle.
But what's the use of a needle at all?
Why, it is to sew a purse as I will.
But what's the need of a purse again?
It's, of course, to save money in.
What would you do with money, dear?
It is surely to buy an elephant here.
But why an elephant of all the things?
It is just to have daily joy-rides
And our Paniram then daily goes for joy-rides.
When people gaze at him with admiring eyes. (tr.)

And yet once more:

O dear crane, why did you not go to the fair?
Of course I did, of course I did!
But it was the rain that stopped me in the way.
I then went for shelter in a house,
When, alas! a spotted dog bit me.
Go away, dog, go away!
Come out crossing the fence-gate.

Stumps of bamboo-trees,
Powders of plum-seeds,
From where do you come,
You old man, making a face? (tr.)

Play Songs, Riddles. Children's play songs are invariably connected with games of the soil. They, of course, do not have any meaning worth the name. But their alliterative sounds and rhymed endings produce a pleasant sensation in the minds of the participants. Examples of such songs are *Ukuli mukuli kukuli, kahi, Māgur, māgur māgur Jali*, etc. which have no meaning at all. According to J. Das (*Folklore of Assam*), 'They often describe immediate surroundings with the peculiar nomenclature by which children get acquainted with the songs and to that extent they are educative also. A love for the elements is perhaps generated through some of the songs so that children may learn to bear with them in life. Sunshine is evoked and offered a seat; sunshine and shower at the same time remind them always of the wedding of a fox with a stunted tail. They find it great fun to crack jokes about a snub-nosed bride and a big-bellied groom or to invite a pot-bellied Govinda on a fishing expedition.' In addition to these, rhymes such as *eito kār dol, rajār dol* and *tāi bāi, lone māche sāni khāi*, which are composed for children's pastimes, should also be noted:

Eito Kār dol, Rajār dol
Bhāṅgiba pāy ne Nepāy?....

Whose dome is this?
That of a king.
Could one break it?
Of course, not.
Should I call the black bitch?
No.
Should I call the white bitch?
No.
Come, O black bitch
Come, O white bitch
Bang! (tr.)

Tāi Bāi, Lone māche Sāni Khāy.....

Tāi Bāi, fish and salt squeezed and mixed together
Let him take this, let him take that,
And let this remain for the cowherd.
And now you go for water and you for firewood
And you for fishing while the old man would stay here
as a watch.
The cowherd has returned, open the door,
But ho! it is not here.
Who has taken it?
Have you eaten it? No.
Have you eaten it? No.
Have you eaten it? No.
It must be the old man then who has eaten it.
Catch him and beat him,
Why should he eat up our curd and cream?
The cat of the high family moves to the low
Removes the cover and gulps down
All the remains of their preserved food. (tr.)

'Tongue-twisters' and riddles (*Sāthar* in Assamese) are also found in the playful world of children. Both 'teasers' are interesting, brief and precise and are used for recreation.

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The 'tongue-twister' is full of alliteration (*Lāi puli Lorāi rulo* or *Raṅgat lari larat rolo*, etc.) while riddles are mostly in rhyme.

Ethengia Bagalī
Nitau Nāche gadhūli

One legged heron
Round and round it dances. (The Fan) (tr.)

Folk-tales

The folk-tales of Assam, traditionally narrated by older persons to children, are closely associated with the tribal background of the area. The influence on this background of the several cultural stories that have had an impact in Assamese culture—Mongoloid, Austrian, Dravidian and Aryan—is best seen in the folk literature of the region. For example, puranic tales, locally modified, have been absorbed by several tribals. Tales from the *Jātakas* or the *Pañcatantra*, adopted suitably have become part of Assamese folk literature. There are Assamese tales which reveal a close relationship to tales told in the Gond areas of central India. The trickster tales of Assam seem to be a Mongoloid contribution.

Most folk-tales relate stories of the heroic, the supernatural, the rogue, the beasts, etc. They are not character studies, but simple tales painted with a broad brush, imagination transforming even historical figures into supernatural beings and the animate into the inanimate with human consciousness (P. D. Goswami, *Folk Literature of Assam*). The following tale of Kamala Kumwari is typical of the Assamese folk tradition:

Once there was a severe drought. The fields were parched, people and cattle died of thirst. So the king had a large tank built, but no water oozed from its bed despite days of digging. Then one day the king had a dream: if he sacrificed his charming queen Kamala to the Water-God, there would be water. The desperate king saw no other way out but to sacrifice his wife.

The queen stepped into the tank without a murmur. Her people, who loved her dearly, waited in suspense. The king cried out:

O lady of my heart, Kamala,
How much is the water?

The queen replied:

O Lord of my heart,
To my ankle is the water.

The water rose higher and higher. Again and again the king asked his queen how high is the water. Once she replied that the water was up to her knee, then she said it was up to her waist, and so on. At last, there was no reply, for she had disappeared in the final surge of water.

Some stories are created for the child's world alone. The stories from the *Hitopadeśa*, with their moral lessons, influence children only indirectly, because children are directly attracted only to those things with which they can identify themselves. For instance, when a child listens to or reads the story of the crocodile and the monkey, and learns that the monkey is taken across the river on the crocodile's back, it unknowingly identifies itself with the monkey and imagines itself riding on the crocodile's back, even hearing the sounds of the ripples in the river. Stories such as these rouse the curiosity of the child unfailingly.

Krishna Stories. The saints Sri Sankaradeva and Sri Madhavadeva have composed a number of works based on the life and activities of the child Krishna. The childhood of Krishna, as portrayed in the *Kirtana*, in the *Bargīts* (*Bargīta*, a highly devotional Vaishnavite song written by the two saints) and in some *Jhumurās* (Assamese Vaishnavite religious opera) of Sri Madhavadeva, is a depiction of a child's character for all times, for all countries, and catches the interest of not only children but also adults.

Ramasaraswati's (16th century) *Bhīm-carit* (a famous Assamese *kavya* influenced by the Mahabharata) is a children's classic. The treatment of figures such as Bhima, Parvati and Mahadeva in *Bhīm-carit* is in popular vein. Bhima, in fact, is partly modelled on the Assamese cowherd, a favourite of the family, a boy strong of build, resourceful and mischievous.

Kaṇkhowā (Ear-Eater) is a long poem written in a similar style by Sridhar Kandali, a contemporary of Sankaradeva. Kandali portrays a highly imaginative version of Krishna, who, according to this rendering, had divine knowledge even as an innocent child. His mother Yasoda attempts to lull Him to sleep by trying to make Him frightened of the ear-eater. But clever Krishna foils her by questioning the identity of the ear-eater, whom He has not met anywhere even though He has taken the form of all the ten *avatāras* (incarnations) and has had so many experiences at different times.

The two classics by Ramasaraswati and Kandali, although written for illiterate village folk, are equally entertaining for children, for they create situations and actions that are the consequences of their deep understanding of child psychology and behaviour.

Arunodai Age

The transition from folk literature to children's literature begins with the *Aruṇodai Age* (Sunrise, 1846–80) of Assamese literature. The American Baptist missionaries pub-

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lished small books containing simple stories with religious instructions. Eliza Brown and others wrote these books based on stories from the Bible and other sources and provided a perennial spring of enjoyment for Assamese children and adults. Of course, there was a foreign bias in them as they were written by persons not conversant with native idioms and expression.

These books were followed by Anandaram Dhekial Phookan's (Ānandrām Dhekiāl Phukan, 1830–59) major publication, *Asamīyā Lorār Mitra* (1841), a book aimed at imparting modern knowledge to children. This book, prepared with the help of English Encyclopaediae, contains considerable information on history, science, etc. Hem Chandra Barua (Hem Candra Baruvā, 1835–96), seeing the dearth of children's books, worked whole-heartedly to create an Assamese children's literature and was followed by Lambodar Borah (Lambōdar Barā, 1860–92), who wrote and published *Lorabodh* and *Jnānodaya* in the eighties of the 19th century. The poetic creations of Baladev Mahanta (Baladev Mahanta, 1850–95) with moral teachings incorporated in *Ujupāṭh* (1884), were also very popular at the time, even though his style was somewhat archaic as a result of his adherence to the Vaishnava style of versification. Bholanath Das (Bholanāth Dās, 1858–1929) is another of this period who produced engrossing material suitable for juvenile minds.

Though all these books were mainly text books, they nevertheless contributed to the congenial atmosphere for children's literature already created by the missionaries.

The Romantic Age

The year 1889 marks the beginning of the Romantic Age, the Jonaki Yug, in Assamese literature. During the period, foremost among those who contributed to the development of children's literature, were Lakshminath Bezbarua (Lakṣmināth Bezbaruvā, 1868–1938) and Padmanath Gohain Barua (Padmanāth Gohain Baruva, 1871–1946). Bezbarua's *Burhī Āir Sādhu* (Tales of a Grandmother, 1911) and *Kakādeuta Aru Nātilarā* (Grandfather and Grandson, 1912) are two collections of popular, hitherto orally transmitted Assamese stories. In 1913 he published *Junukā* (The Tinkling Bell). Bezbarua's style, even in his writings for children, is inimitable, couched as it is in idiomatic and racy Assamese. Padmanath Gohain Barua, on the other hand, applied himself wholeheartedly to the task of writing mainly schoolbooks. Of the same era was Durga Prasad Majinder Barua (Durga Prasād Majinder Baruvā, 1870–1928) who wrote, in informal language, simple poems of didactic value. His poems were published in two collections, *Uju Kavitā* (1895) and *Larār Kavitā*. Panindranath Gogoi (1871–1900) provided graphic pictures of the land and its customs in his writings for children, while Dhani Bora's tone is didactic, though his style is lucid.

Ananda Chandra Agarwala's (Ananda Candra Agarwala, 1874–1940) evocative *Komal Pāṭh* (1900) and *Ādi Pāṭh* (1920) are very popular. He translated many English poems with such great felicity that they are transcreations rather than translations. Benudhar Rajkhowa (1872–1955), Muhamad Suleman Kha, Bisay Biswas and Ratneswar Mahanta (1864–93) are other successful names in this field.

In addition to these poetic creations for children, a number of collections of stories were also published during this period by such authors as Trailokeswari Devi Baruani, Sarat Chandra Goswami, Jnanananda Jagati and Kumudeswar Barthakur.

The Modern Era

During the next era of Assamese literature, which began in 1920 and continued till Independence, remarkable progress was made in the field of children's literature. Banikanta Kakati's collected stories *Pakhilā* (Butterfly, 1951), Benudhar Sarma's *Rāṅgpatā* (1949), Hari Prasad Barua's *Mainā* (1945) and *Birochitiār Deś* (1953), Mitradev Mahanta's *Jun-juni* and Atulchandra Hazarika's poems for children are remarkable works. In *Pakhilā*, Banikanta Kakati (Bāṇikānta Kākati, 1894–1952), deals with comparative mythology. He tackles this difficult job in a language so easy and expressive that children are fascinated by it. Benudhar Sarma (Venudhar Śarmā, b. 1896), a chaste prose writer in Assamese in its purest form, gives the language an extraordinary flow. Mitradev Mahanta (b. 1894) uses very successfully the jingling elements of nursery rhymes in his book *Jñānalahari* (1943). The language of Hariprasad Barua (1889–1974) and Atulchandra Hazarika (b. 1903) has a special appeal for children.

Several other writers of this period also work for children entertaining stories based on the tales of the *Jātaka*, the *Hitopadeśa*, the *Pañcatantra*, the Mahabharata, the Ramayana, the *Bhāgavata*, the various *Purāṇas*, the *Kathā-saritsāgara* and the Upanisads. These stories have given children a greater knowledge of the environment and the romance in India's past.

Translations and Adaptations

Children's literature contains, in addition, a number of works translated or retold, abridged or modified. Stories from several countries have been rendered in such forms. Amongst the foreign literary works adapted for Assamese children are *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Robinson Crusoe*, Tolstoy's tales, *Oliver Twist*, *Don Quixote*, *Arabian Nights*, *Treasure Island*, *Alice in The Wonderland*, *Gulliver's Travels*, etc. Writers who have specialized in this field include Jnandabhiram Barua, Harunar Rachid, Atul Chandra Hazarika, Prafulladutta Goswami, Maheswar

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Neog, Mohendra Bora, Abu Lais, Kirtinath Hazarika and Ajalitara Neog.

A child's mind is considerably influenced by the lives of great men. Of course, it must be remembered that biographies achieve their aim only when the important events in a great man's life are presented in a manner suitable to the mental development of the child and in a language easily understood by it. In this respect, the efforts of Kamaleswar Chaliha, Mahadev Sarma, Harendranath Sarma, Kasinath Barman, Binanda Barua, Nilima Dutta and Priyadas Talukdar's are commendable. A large number of booklets on the lives of great men have come out between 1950 and 1975. Though written in simple language, most of them are dull productions. Mere summaries of lives do not produce inquisitiveness and suspense.

Original Writing for Children

Despite all these developments, there is a shortage in Assamese of novels, science fiction, plays and travel stories for children. To write a novel which can keep pace with the fast-moving imagination of a child is not an easy task. But a few successful attempts have been made. Among them are Navakanta Barua's *Śiyālī Pālegai Ratanpūr* (The Fox has Gone to Ratanpur) and *Ākharar Jakhlā* (The Ladder of Alphabets). In *Śiyālī Pālegai Ratanpūr*, Barua attempts to capture the spirit of the nursery rhymes as it would appear to a child. In *Ākharar Jakhalā*, the world of fantasy of a school-going child is created from the material it receives from the primary class textbooks. Jogen Sarma, Premadhar Dutta and Anantadev Sarma are others who have dedicated themselves to writing children's novels. Premadhar Dutta uses animal characters to narrate a child's experience in an enjoyable manner. Anantadev Sarma is serious and humorous at the same time. Haragovinda Sarma, Premnarayan Dutta, Suchibrata Raichoudhury, Kailash Sarma, Hari Bardoloi are among others who have contributed some good children's stories.

Popular books on scientific subjects for children have been written by Rohini Barua (*Bigñānar Sādhu*, 1943), Raghunathdev Choudhury (*Mānab Sabhyatā*, Human Civilization), Jogendranath Saikia (*Pataṅgar Kathā*, Insect's Life), Kalinath Sarma (*Prakritir Putalāghar*, *Kekorā Kair Biyā*, The Marriage of Brother Crab), Binoy Kumar Tamuli (*Mahākās Abhiyān*, Space-Expeditions), and Bhuban Mohan Das (*Ādimjugar Ādim Kathā*, Primitive Life). Prasanna Goswami's (*Phular Sādhu*, The Story of a Flower), Biswanarayan Shastri's (*Nair Sādhu*, and *Sāgarika*) should also be mentioned in this context. They have made their subjects interesting by weaving a story element in their writings. Following their lead, a few new writers such as Amrit Phookan, Swarna Goswami, Anu Barua and Mamani Goswami have made some contributions in this field.

Science fiction, however, is written only by a few, of whom only Dinesh Goswami and Santanu Tamuli have been effective. A four-volume science encyclopaedia for children (Prāthamik Bigyān Kosh, vols. I, II; 1969, 1971), prepared by the Assam Science Society, has also been published.

Collections of poems for children are few. Five poetical collections of Anantadev Sarma and a few other collections by different writers hardly meet the demand of the growing audience. The numerous poems of Navakanta Barua, Kirtinath Hazarika, Atulchandra Hazarika, Lila Gogoi, Nirmalprabha Bordoloi, Hiren Gohain, Gagan Chandra Adhikari etc. have remained scattered in the pages of journals and newspapers. Even the poems meant for children written by earlier writers such as Ananda Chandra Agarwala, Dhanai Bora, Raghunath Chowdhury, Nalinibala Devi etc. have not still been collected in a volume.

Though there is a great demand for children's plays, the demand has not been adequately met. The musical plays of Kirtinath Bardoloi and Muktinath Bardoloi are of special significance. They depicted the various aspects of Assam, such as her geography or nature in a very skilful and artistic way in *Luit Konwar*, *Meghāwalī* (1952) and *Bāsantīr Abhiṣek* (The Coronation of Spring, 1929). Jagannath Bardoloi's *Dhruva*, Padmadhar Chaliha's *Kene Majā* (1944) and Kirtinath Hazarika's *Phutukār Phen* (Worthless Pursuit) are the better known children's plays. Tafazul Ali and Keshav Mahanta have given a new shape to long narrative poems by organizing them in the form of plays, while Navakanta Baruah's musical *Kereluā and Company* (Kerelua & Company), *Beliphul* and Nirmalprabha Bardoloi's musical fantasies *Raja*, *Bandhu* and *Putalā Nāch* are new kinds of creative efforts in Assamese children's literature.

Traditional Assamese nursery rhymes have been collected together in a book, *Amatar Mat* (The Voice of the Inarticulate, 1976) by Birendranath Dutta and Benu Mishra. *Asamīyā Omalā Gīt* (Assamese Nursery Songs, 1978), however, is an original work by Nirmalprabha Bardoloi. Bhupen Hazarika's *Bhupen māmār A-Ā-ka-kha* (1975) is another similar work.

Chil chil chila bagi chil mila by Nirmalprabha Bardoloi, is, perhaps, the only book of its type in Assamese for children, based as it is on indigenous and foreign games. Nabin Chandra Sarma has tried to teach physical exercises based on Yoga in his *Śarīr Carcca*.

Assamese literature lacks children's journals. Starting with *Larā-bandhu* in 1883, a large number of children's journals, such as *Akaṇ* (1916–18), *Arun* (1926), *Pārijāt* (1940), *Dīpak*, *Jonbāi* (1962–72) and *Radali* (1972–74), were published from time to time, but no magazine could survive more than five years. *Pohar* and *Raṅg The Pākhi Meli* are the latest in this field.

To create worthwhile children's literature, an author's identification with the child's mind is necessary, but most

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Assamese writers lack this quality. This explains the lack of creative works in Assamese for children. For centuries there have been didactic books for children, with morals to teach, but there have been few books to bring joy to a child's mind. Few Assamese writers are aware that children's literature should be so presented as to be in step with the mental development of the child. Few are also aware that the language and presentation should attract the child.

If we take it that childhood continues till the 14th year, then children's literature should be divided into three stages—from three years to six years, from seven years to ten and from ten to 14 years. Such categorization is necessary for children's literature, because as the child develops, his ideas of the world also change as he continuously adds new dimensions to his mind and new words to his vocabulary. Secondly, children's books and journals should be colourfully and attractively got up. The majority of Assamese publications are lacking in this aspect.

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Bengali

LILA MAJUMDAR

The Beginnings

The first child's book ever printed in Bengali was edited by an Englishman named John Clarke Marshman and published by the Baptist Mission at Serampore, near Calcutta, in 1818, was in very simple Bengali, suitable for an unlettered public, but there was nothing truly Bengali in the little publication. It was called *Digdarśan* and its avowed was the dissemination of knowledge for the benefit of young people. True literature, on the other hand, blooms like a flower, naturally, and not with a set purpose. *Digdarśan* contained translations from English originals of short essays on geography, history, animal life, elementary science and so on. As there were no printed textbooks in Bengali, for use in schools, this endeavour was highly appreciated and did yeoman's service in the propagation of learning and in inspiring an awareness of children's needs. There were no play-books for infants, either.

At the same time, there was a rich treasure-house of spoken literature for children, almost as old as the language itself. It was literature at its best, spontaneous, witty, of a natural growth, reflecting the daily lives and thoughts of the people through centuries. To this category belong the marvellous folk-songs and folk-tales, later collected by talented and enterprising writers of the 19th and 20th centuries. The very spirit of the land still lives in these songs, poems and stories handed down by illiterate grandmothers from generation to generation, full of proverbs, catch-words, superstitions, ancient history, legend, mythology, and thus pulsating with the life of the land itself (see article on Folk Literature). Rabindranath Tagore called them the most patriotic of literatures.

In those days there was no differentiation between stories for children and those for adults. The *jātrās* or the village theatricals, which were the highlights of most social and religious festivals, entertained old and young equally. In the early days *jātrās*, readings and recitals by popular pundits and Kathaks from the Ramayana, Mahabharata, Puranas etc. were part of the daily life of the village people. This partly satisfied their thirst for literature and, like the folk-tales, made a living personal experience of the great epics and scriptures. All folk literature is direct, simple, natural, emotional, idealistic and eminently fit for children, who have the ability to disregard matters they do not understand.

Raja Rammohan Roy. The social reformer Raja Rammohan Roy (Rāja Rāmmohan Ray, 1772–1833) introduced the western system of education into Bengal and established

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or helped to establish a number of modern schools teaching science, history, geography and English instead of the purely Sanskritic studies of the village schools. He also opened up the whole field of modern thought and literature.

Before his death in England, Rammohan had simplified written Bengali, introduced the western system of punctuation, composed a simple grammar, translated a number of the Upanishads into readable Bengali and prepared the way for the emergence of an original Bengali literature for children. Literature, to be of any worth, must be nourished by the ancient books of the country and refreshed by the best literatures of other lands, but must germinate in the land of its birth to be a genuine creation. The genuine creation, however, may seek its material from all places of the earth, or even outside, in the sphere of imagination.

Iswarchandra Vidyasagar. The second great figure without whose lifelong ministrations the vigorous growth, which was a characteristic of juvenile literature in Bengali, would have been delayed by many years, was Pundit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar (Īśvarcandra Vidyāsāgar, 1820–91), who devoted his life to the spread of education and the betterment of the condition of women in this country. He may be called the father of children's literature in Bengal. He had a colossal job before him, the popularization of new books for children. The foundations had been laid by Rammohan Roy, but he had served society as a whole and not children in particular. Parents and guardians were not yet very co-operative.

The 'Vidyasagar Age' began in 1847, when he published a Bengali version of the *Betāl Pañcabiṅśati* (1847), based on the Hindi *Betāl Paichiśi*. Ishwarchandra also composed a fine Bengali grammar, which proved for all time that though derived from the original Sanskrit, it no longer needed Sanskritic supports. The language he used in *Ākhyān-Mañjarī* (1863), a collection of stories, and *Śakuntalā* (1854), is ample proof of this.

Grammar is for adults; children need to know their letters first, in order to read and enjoy books. In 1855 Iswarchandra published his slim little *Varṇaparicay* (A Primer,) in two parts, a simple introduction to single and compound letters and their use in easy texts, which carries nostalgic memories of adults even to this day. Then followed his *Ākhyān-Mañjarī* in three parts, collections of real-life stories from foreign countries, containing moral lessons, yet attractive and interesting. His *Bodhodaya* (1851) series and other books are read to this day, a fact which speaks for itself.

Followers of Ishwarchandra. Ishwarchandra wrote very few original stories and is more remembered as an educationist and linguist. But there is no denying the fact that he taught a whole generation how to write interestingly for children. One of his followers was Pundit Madanmohan Tarkalankar (Madanmohan Tarkālaṅkār, 1811–58), also an educationist. His *Śiśu-Śikṣa* (Children's Primer) in three parts was published in 1849, several years before Ishwarchandra's *Varṇaparicay*. It contained original poems for children, which is a remarkable fact, because very few original poems for children had been published between the years 1818 and 1849. Some of the poems were excellent. One of them *Pakhi Sab Kore Rab* (The Birds all Chirp) is treasured to this day.

The 'Vidyasagar Age' is said to have come to an end in 1891 and the final decade of the 19th century marks a great stride forward, right into the middle of the modern age. By then Ishwarchandra had accomplished what he had set out to do; he had trained the writers and perfected the language. The scene was now set for the modern age, when children's literature in Bengal matured to a surprising degree and assumed certain characteristics of its own.

Periodicals

A remarkable role was played by children's journals and magazines, which not only displayed old talent, but also discovered new writers, set a high standard for them to follow and trained generation after generation of young readers to a wider view of life and letters, at a very low cost. It is needless to mention that prices have more than doubled with almost every decade, since the Second World War.

These magazines have a long history. The first one of any merit was published, by the Calcutta School Book Society (founded in 1817) in 1822, but it was an irregular publication. It was called *Paśwāvali* and was entirely devoted to the study of animal life. Later it even carried illustrations, printed from wooden blocks. The articles were translated from English and were very good indeed.

Other papers appeared and disappeared and the language employed by them became more facile and attractive as the years passed. In 1878 appeared *Bālak-Bandhu* (Friends of Boys), which even published young readers' writings. This greatly encouraged youthful talent. *Sakhā* (Friend, 1883) was more modern and intelligent. Original articles on contemporary events were published and the first children's serial *Bhimer Kapāl* appeared in its pages.

Bālak (Boys, 1885) was published by the Tagores of Jorasanko in Calcutta and had a high literary quality. Rabindranath, along with his talented brothers, sisters and friends contributed to it. The poet's elder sister Swarnakumari Devi (1855–1932) and his sister-in-law Jnanadanandini Devi wrote several fine books for children. *Thagi* (The Bandits) by Kedarnath Bandypadhyay (1863–1949), the first Bengali children's thriller, appeared in the pages of *Bālak*. These periodicals were pioneers in most respects.

Sāthi (Companion) appeared in 1893, with illustrations, stories, poems, scientific articles, lives of great men, foreign

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travel and even archaeology filling its pages. The two stalwarts of the early 20th century, Jogindranath Sarkar (Jogindranāth Sarkār, 1866–1937) and Upendrakishor Raychaudhuri (Upendrakiśor Rāycaudhuri, 1863–1915) were now introduced to an avid public. The latter's earliest playlet *Bechārām Kenārām* was published here; also stories and poems full of humour by Jogindranath. By this time writers for children had discovered the proper approach of good humour combined with good sense.

In 1895 appeared *Mukul* (The Bud) patronized by Rabindranath Tagore, Ramananda Chatterjee (1865–1943), Bipinchandra Pal (1858–1932), Shivnath Shastri (1847–1919), who also edited the paper for a short time, and Sir Jagadish Bose (1859–1937), proving that writing for children had acquired status and dignity.

Finally in 1913 Upendrakishor Raychaudhuri began to publish his monthly paper *Sandeś* (The News Messenger) of such a high standard of illustrations and reading matter that it has not yet been surpassed. *Sandeś* may be said to be a forerunner of the contemporary age in children's literature. In addition to excellent original stories and poems, every month there appeared stories from the Ramayana, Mahabharata, the puranas, fables, folk-tales, etc. which Upendrakishor believed to be the basis of Indian culture. Along with them were accounts of the latest discoveries, inventions and events in other countries and playlets, biographies, Sven Hedin's travels, real-life adventure, songs, poems, etc.

However excellent, periodicals and magazines have a transitoriness, much to be regretted, unless the best pieces reappear in book form, as frequently happens even now. Most struggling authors first try publishing in magazines. *Sandeś*, however, has been revived by Upendrakishor's grandson Satyajit Ray and holds its own to this day.

The Tagores and the Rays

It has often been said that it was the endeavours of two families of Bengal which gave form, substance and direction to the growth of juvenile literature in this State, namely the Tagores of Jorasanko and the Rays of Mymensing (now in Bangladesh), who had settled in Calcutta in the closing years of the 19th century. In this connection it must be said that these two talented families would never have been able to achieve very much without the generous support they received from a large number of selfless, talented and dedicated writers, some of whom were also social reformers. There was no profit to be made from children's books in those days and even to think of making any would have shocked the sponsors.

Jogindranath Sarkar. One such person was Jogindranath Sarkar, born in Calcutta in a middle-class family. He dedicated his whole life to the cause of books for children, founded his own publishing firm, the City Book Society, in the last decade of the 19th century, ran it 'on a shoestring' as they say, and published a large number of charming books for children, at an astonishingly low price, as long as he lived. These books are strangely modern, with humorous illustrations, witty rhymes and funny situations that all children adore. Their authors are often unknown, the books being collections of pieces by the publisher and his friends, who cared neither for profit nor for fame. Some of the pieces were clever adaptations of English originals.

The first of these books, *Hāṣi O Khelā* (Laughter and Play) made a sensation, when it first appeared in 1891. It was the turning point, where literature for children stepped outside the classroom and entered the playroom and also the hearts of the children.

In the February number (1895) of *Sādhanā*, Rabindranath Tagore made the following comment, 'All our children's books are meant for schoolwork. There is no trace of affection or kindliness in them... There is a great need for books just now which children will read at home and eagerly. I see no other way to improve the joy and mental health of the children of our country. Jogindranathbabu has earned the gratitude of both children and their parents by publishing the book called *Hāṣi O Khelā*' (tr. from Bengali).

This little book is truly a forerunner of the grand tradition of children's literature, in which fact, fiction, humour, good sense, love of beauty, of learning and above all, a respect for life and its creator, all have a place. Neither does literature for children acknowledge the barriers of time and place.

Rabindranath Tagore. The contribution of the Tagores is indeed magnificent. The foremost of them was Rabindranath himself. He believed in the good influence of nature and decried the artificiality of city life. He was the ideal guru, but could not step down from his guru's seat to become one with the children, except on very rare occasions. His children's books are not very many and most of them are more about children than for them. The frustrations of his own childhood loom large and forbid the gay abandon which is a characteristic of children's stories. There is none of the child's endearing foolishness in most of his poems, most of which are actually the child's comments on adult life. In them are reflected all the unexpected griefs and joys and dreams of an imaginative child, which every parent, guardian and teacher should know and which he had learned from bitter experience. These poems are all touchingly beautiful.

Most of his child-poems have been collected and published in *Śiśu* (The Child, 1903) and *Śiśu Bholānāth* (Child, the Lord of Forgetfulness, 1922) in two parts. His humorous prose sketches in *Hāsya Kautuk* (Sport and Laughter, 1907) and later in *Shey* (He, 1937) are delightfully fantastic. His *Khāpchhādā* (Eccentric, 1938) poems are also equally so.

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He has written a number of playlets full of fun and also sarcasm, of which *Lakṣmir Parīkṣā* (The Test of Lakshmi) may be mentioned. Of his serious plays on boyhood *Achalāyatan* (Impassive Stronghold, 1911), protesting against blind rules, is the most significant. These are only a few examples of his immense output. And yet subsequent writers for children, however they might admire him, were more influenced by Jogindranath Sarkar and even more by Upendrakishor, whose famous tale of the cat Majantali Saıkar was included in *Hāṣi O Khelā*. But Rabindranath revealed the tender recesses of the child's mind as no one else could.

Upendrakishor. In 1895 Upendrakishor Raychoudhari published his Ramayana for children, *Chheleder Rāmāyaṇ* (Children's Ramayana, 1896), soon followed by his *Chheleder Mahābhārat* (Children's Mahabharata, 1897) and a collection of stories from the Purana. All this was written in easy and imaginative Bengali. Although the verb endings were bookish, all dialogues were in colloquial language, as were all his later texts.

His songs and poems were never collected and published separately, but many of them appeared in *Sandeś* and what is most remarkable, the songs were accompanied by notations of the tunes. Upendrakishor was a fine musician as well as a talented artist. All this strengthened his influence on literature for children.

His *Tuntunir Boi* (The Tailor-bird's Book, 1910) is a collection of old and charming animal stories, mostly folk-tales. In whatever he wrote, we find the joy of living and a deep respect for life. He thought the best was not too good for children.

Abanindranath Tagore. Then there was the great artist Abanindranath Tagore (Abanīndranāth Ṭagor, 1871–1951), whose greatest contribution to children's literature was the artist's vision. He was highly imaginative, worshipped beauty, was whimsical in the extreme and, above all, a true genius. His *Śakuntala* was written in 1895, followed by *Khirer Putul* (Cheese Doll, 1896), fantastically original; *Budo Āṅglā* (The Thumb-sized Boy, 1914), an adaptation from the original French *Tom Thumb* by Rostand; *Rājkāhini* (Legends of Kings, 1909–31)—in which the pathos of Rajput history blossoms forth—and a number of others, perhaps none quite original, but all filled with the author's unique personality.

Sukumar Ray. Sukumar Ray (Sukumār Rāy, 1887–1923) left an indelible stamp on children's literature in his short life. He wrote the kindliest, cleverest and the most unbelievably humorous poems, many of which were also satires. His short stories of school life introduced a new topic into children's literature. His plays are inimitable. His stories and poems such as *Abol-Tabol* (Nonsense), *Ha-ja-ba-ra-la* (Abracadabra), *Pāglādāśu* (Crazy Dasu) and others are unique in humour and originality. His books were published after his death. There has never been another like him. He was the eldest son of Upendrakishor and edited *Sandeś* after his father's untimely death. Since he appeared, a fanciful and yet critical humour has been a characteristic of children's literature in Bengali. He instilled a new spirit into children's books, one of kindly self-criticism.

Sukhalata Rao (1886–1969), his eldest sister, charmed three generations of young readers with her adaptations of western fairy tales *Galper Boi* (Storybook, 1914) and *Āro Galpa* (More Stories, 1915), which have a permanent place in children's literature in Bengali.

Upendrakishor's younger brother Kuladaranjan (1878–1950) is still remembered for his children's versions of the *Betāl Pañcabiṅśati* and *Batriṣh Siṅhāsan* stories, as well as his inimitable renderings of *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, the Sherlock Holmes' stories, *The Lost World*, etc. The frontiers of children's literature were further widened by Pramadaranjan Ray, another brother, whose daring personal experiences in the impenetrable forests of Burma and Siam were described with realism and humour in his *Boner Khabar* (Forest Reports), published serially in *Sandeś* and later as a book.

Hemendrakumar Ray (1888–1963) wrote many adventure stories, but none of them were from real life and yet all were immensely popular. His book for children number more than eighty.

The Contemporary Scene. We now come to our own times. It is a peculiar fact that unlike the days of Jogindranath Sarkar, most writers now cater to the 'eleven to fourteen' age group. There are also very few plays. A large number of firms publish books only for children, of which very few of any merit are for readers under ten years of age.

A number of writers of the twenties and earlier lived on and wrote well into the thirties and forties, leaving a well-blazed trail for their colleagues and successors to follow and improve upon. The names of some are now household words in the State. They inspired a large number of talented writers with the courage to try out new spheres and attempt new modes and among them are Sukkalata Rao, Hemendrakumar Ray, Sunirmal Bose etc.

In this connection, it must be acknowledged that one of the reasons for Bengal's early predominance was the far-sightedness of the study of the English language and the literatures of the continent through translations into English. This gave the writers an opportunity to study the latest trends in children's literature, as well as the old classics. By 1947, children's literature in West Bengal had grown to be a variegated and sophisticated treasure-house.

Children's literature in Bengali includes a very wide variety of translations and adaptations made from foreign classics. The quality is uneven. Among the earliest adaptations is one by Madhusudan Mukhopadhyay done from

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Hans Christian Anderson's 'Ugly Duckling' and another story. The book in Bengali was called *Kutsit Haṅsaśābak O Kharbākārer Bibaran* (1857). Also available are many adaptations, in some cases in more than one version, from Homer, Shakespeare, Cervantes, Swift, Defoe, Victor Hugo, Walter Scott, Lewis Carroll, Maeterlinck, the Grimm Brothers, Tolstoy, Dickens, Jules Verne, Alexander Dumas, R. L. Stevenson, Maxim Gorky and others. Eminent men like Shibnath Sastri, and authors like Jogindranath Sarkar and Monindralal Basu made adaptations from Andersen. Buddhadeva Bose (1908–74), however, made translations from the same author's English version in *Aparup Rupkathā* (1935), and from Oscar Wilde in *Hāuī* (1944), *Sukhī Rājputra* (1956) and *Svārthapar Daitya* (1956). Manabendra Bandyopadhyay is another who translated a large number of foreign classics. He has also edited an excellent anthology, *Harbolā* (1976) with translations of poems and stories from Africa and the West Indies. Sourindramohan Mukhopadhyay, Nripendra Krishna Chatterji and Kamakshi Prasad Chatterji have also translated various works into Bengali.

The first and the most popular kind of books had a practical basis, being stories of real adventure and science fiction. The latter soon split up into fairytale-like fantasies, as those written in the twenties by Hemendrakumar Ray and followed up among others by Satyajit Ray's *Professor Shouku's Diary*, *Ek Dozen Galpa* (A Dozen Tales) etc. The other type, however imaginative, has a scientific basis and an educative, as well as entertaining side like Premendra Mitra's *Kuhaker Deśe* (The Land of Illusion), *Dragoner Niśvas* (The Dragon's Breath) and *Aphuranta Ghanada* (Endless Ghanada). The much younger Ajeya Ray has contributed several intelligent, imaginative and excellent stories of this type. *Amazoner Gahane* (In the Amazon Interior), *Doctor-Kuthir Rahasya* (The Mystery of the Physician's House), *Feromon* and *Mungu* are some of them. Shishir Majumdar's *Tufan Daryar Paran Majhi* (The Fisherman of the Stormy Seas) and *Sindhu Taler Sandhaney* (In Search of the Treasures of the Deep) follow the sturdy ideals of courage and adventure set up by Bibhutibhushan Bandyopadhyay's *Cander Pahar* (The Mountains of the Moon).

Ghost stories suitable for young readers, without violence and horror, but imaginative and uncanny, were then written by Abanindranath Monilal Gangopadhyay and are now written by Satyajit Ray, Premendra Mitra, Lila Majumdar like *Bhūter Galpa* (Ghost Stories), *Aro Bhūter Galpa* (More Ghost Stories) and others. Following up Dakshinaranjan's, Trailokyanath's and Seeta and Shanta Devi's folk-tales, there appears to be a fresh interest in folk-tales. Lal Behari Dey's *Folk Tales of Bengal* has appeared in a Bengali translation. Some of the ancient tales, that appeared edited and abridged in Gourie Dharma Pal's *Malyaṣrir Pañcatantra* are delightful. All these are immensely popular.

Travel tales have their own place in Bengali children's literature. Mohonlal Gangopadhyay's charming *Lafa Yātra* (Hitch-hiking), *Caranik* (Walking It), Subodh Chakravarti's informative *Bharat Vraman* (Tour India) in several volumes—all deserve mention. Remarkable biographical books have recently appeared, as for instance, Bibhuti Bhushan Mukhopadhyay's *Moreo Jara Roilo Benche* (Those Who Live After Death), Mahasveta Devi's *Jhansir Rani*, Lila Majumdar's *Upendrakiṣor* and *Ei-Ja-Dekha* (As I Saw Him [Tagore]). Dhirendralal Dhar has written a large number of excellent playlets on historical subjects, as well as an unforgettable record of today's juvenile life, *Mahanagarir Pathey* (In the City Streets).

Sports stories are an innovation. Moti Nandi's *Stopper*, *Striker*, *Koni* are lessons in themselves, not only in sport, but also in the sporting quality and manliness—or womanliness.

The Bodhodaya series of booklets on general knowledge about various scientific, sociological, literary and art subjects are a god-send. Such subjects as fossils, ancient travellers, ecology, rivers, etc. have been treated by experts like Ajeya Ray, Sankha Ghosh, etc.

Contemporary children's literature of West Bengal lags behind in the field of drama, though Dhirendralal Dhar's historical plays, Lila Majumdar's *Gay*, *Bok-badh Pala*, *Laṅkādahan* etc. Bidhayak Bhattacharya's humorous little plays on stage or in book form, give immense pleasure. Hundreds of books of poetry appear every decade. Among others Annada Shankar Ray's *Urhki Dhaner Murkhi Hoi Re Babui Hoi* and Amitabha Chaudhuri's book of verse are most charming. Shashibhushan Das Gupta's long poem *Śyāmala Digher Iśan Koney* (The South East Corner of the Dark Green Pool) is superb. So is Upendrachandra Mallik's *Hasir Kavita* (Poems of Humour). These cheerful poems were foreshadowed by Sunirmal Bose's *Abritti Gan Abhinay* (Poems, Songs, Plays) and *Amar Chharha* (My Rhymes) in the twenties and thirties.

An unexpected variety marks out contemporary books for children in West Bengal. Rebanta Goswami's little novel *Aru Mitur Katha* (All About Aru and Mitu), the scientist Gopalchandra Bhattacharya's books of natural history such as *Makarsa* (Spiders) are charming experiences for the reader. There are hunting stories and stories of forest life, many of which grace the pages of West Bengal's excellent children's magazines, but have not yet appeared in book form. This brings us to the last point in this survey of children's literature in Bengal, namely, modern journals for children.

Among children's journals published before and after *Sandeś* may be mentioned *Satya Pradīp* (1860) by Christian Vernacular Education Society, *Jyotirangan* (1869) also by a Christian association, *Śiśu* and *Dhruba* (both in 1913), *Maucāk* (1922) edited by Sudhirchandra Sarkar, in which younger writers of the post-Tagore generation appeared

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Śiśusāthī (1923), *Khokā Khuku* (1924), *Rāmdhanu* edited by Manoranjan Bhattacharya, *Raṅgmaśāl* and *Pāṭhśālā* edited by Narendra Dev. Most of these journals have been discontinued and others have taken their place. Many middle-aged people, however, still cherish the memory of some of these excellent publications of former times. It is, however, tragic to observe that large numbers of talented writers for children find it almost impossible to get publishers for their excellent stories appearing in these magazines.

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Gujarati

PUSHKER CHANDERVAKER

The Medieval Period

In the medieval period of Gujarati literature, very little children's literature is found. There is, of course, a sprinkling of anecdotes, tales and poems which children can enjoy, but little was written specially for children.

There are some pieces like Narasinh Mehta's (1416–80) *Nāga Daman* (The Crushing of the Naga), in which Lord Krishna as a child goes to subdue the Naga in the underworld, that can be enjoyed by adults as well as children. The dialogue between the Naga's wife and Lord Krishna is particularly delightful. Premanand's (1636–1734) *Māmerun* (a marriage ceremony in which gifts are given by a maternal uncle) is another early humorous work which children can enjoy. But during the entire medieval period, ending in 1852 with the death of the great poet Dayaram, not a single book like the *Hitopadeśa* or the *Pañcatantra* or *Aesop's Fables*, which are mainly for children, was produced in Gujarati.

Folk literature in Gujarati, however, is quite rich, and this compensated somewhat for the lack of children's literature in the medieval period. There was no spread of education as such, so illiterate mothers and grandmothers sang lullabies, riddles, ballads, songs, nursery rhymes and the like to their children. These gave the children an education for life. In several of these songs, animals and birds come alive, as they do in the *Pañcatantra*, and capture the interest of children.

The Age of Reformation. The stalwarts of this age were the poets Dalpatram Dahyabhai (Dalpatrām Dahyābhāi, 1820–98) and Narmadashankar Lalshanker (Narmadā Śaṅkar Lālśaṅker, 1833–86), who is popularly known as Narmad. Narmad did not write anything worthwhile for children, but Dalpatram wrote many didactic yet humorous poems and ballads for them. *Bhindo Bhadarvāno* (Lady's Finger in the Month of Bhadrapada), *Sambelun* (A Wooden Pestle) and *Andheri Nagari* (A City of Misrule) are well known poems of his, popular among children as well as adults. The broad humour of these pieces is evergreen as is the immortal poem about the marriage of a goat's kid (*Bakari Baino Belādo*), written by the poet and critic Navalram Laxmishankar Pandya (1836–88). Navalram ridiculed child marriages so effectively in this poem that it had a great impact in an age when child marriages were rampant.

This age produced some good pieces of children's literature, but the age that followed, the *Pandit Yuga* (The Scholar's Age), brilliant in many of its achievements, was almost barren as far as children's literature was concerned. There was only a piece or two by Narasimharao Divetia (1859–1937) and a few pieces by less known authors.

Gandhiji's Influence

The most prolific and interesting period of children's literature in Gujarati was the *Gandhi Yuga* of Gujarati literature, which started in 1915. Gandhiji's contribution to the field of education, as in many other fields, is immense and vital. It was he who drew the attention of educationists to the problems of children's education and literature. Even the poet Nanalal, who wrote very little for

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children, said: 'In this world which is so material, children are the prophets of Almighty God'. (tr.)

Inspired by Gandhiji, and being himself a great lover of children, Gijubhai Badheka (1885–1939), a lawyer who did not enjoy his profession, came back from Africa, where he had gone to earn a living, and founded, with two other great educationists, Nanabhai Bhatt and Harbhar Trivedi, the Dakshina Murti Bhavan, an institution for children's education. These three, together with Smt. Taraben Modak, a lifelong co-worker of Gijubhai Badheka, changed not only the pattern of children's education, but also that of writing for children. The Dakshina Murti was aptly called a 'paradise' for children. And the children's books that it published are a 'must' for any child or anyone interested in children. Gijubhai alone, and as a co-author with Taraben Modak, wrote several nursery rhymes, children's folk tales, lullabies, riddles, poems, proverbs, stories and plays. Nanabhai Bhatt wrote a series about the heroes of the Mahabharata, *Mahābhārat nān Pātro* (Characters from the Mahabharata), which remains unrivalled even today.

One of Gijubhai's most popular children's stories is *Tādhun Tabakalun* (Rain Water Cold as Snow). It tells the story of an old woman who is so afraid of the cold water seeping through her dilapidated roof that, to pass the night, she keeps singing:

I am not afraid of a lion,
Not even of a wild tiger
But I am afraid of this Tādhun Tabaklun. (tr.)

A lion, which comes to devour her, flees from this woman, who is not afraid of him. After a series of adventures, the lion is treated like a dog, and acts like one: all because of the fear of this 'Water Cold as Snow' which, she thinks, is an animal more powerful than he.

Other titles made popular by Gijubhai are *Sāt Punchhadio Under* (A Rat with Seven Tails), written in superb style; *Rājā Supad Kanno* (A King with Ears like a Winnowing Basket) and *Sasabhāī Sankalia* (Sankalia, the Rabbit). He also wrote many plays and took part in them.

The *Bāla Sāhitya Mālā* (A Series of Children's Literature), published by the Dakshina Murthi, comprises 80 small books and the *Bāla Sāhitya Guchha*, 25 books. All the books in these series were written by those connected with this institution and their colleagues such as Mulshankar Bhatt and others. Mulshankar Bhatt's *Pātāl Praveś* (Entering the Underworld) is a very popular children's book. He has also translated some of Jules Verne's adventure stories for children.

All this prolific literature produced by this school of dedicated people inspired others to write for children. The poet Javerchand Meghani (Jhavērcand Mēghāṇī, 1900–50) wrote an anthology of beautiful songs entitled *Nānā Thai Ne* (Let us Be Children). The poem *Cāraṇ Kanyā* (A Girl of the Charan Community) is a classic. In it he describes the successful fight of a girl of twelve with a lion of the Gir forest. When the defeated lion runs away, the girl sings in ecstasy:

Oh Lioness, see, your brave husband ran away
Leaving the battlefield, the coward ran away
The great hero with big moustaches ran away,
The brave male, from a mere girl, ran away. (tr.)

Meghani also wrote a lullaby on Shivaji, which remains popular to this day.

Manubhai Jodhani has written several sketches of villagers, especially of the artisan class, which have become popular with children. He has also edited many books of children's literature.

The poet Sundaram (pseud. of Tribhuvandas Luhar, b. 1908) has not written much for children, but is famous for his solitary book of poems for children, *Raṅg, Raṅg Vādaliyān* (Oh, the Colourful Clouds). Many of the songs in this collection are still sung by children. His more philosophical satirical poems in the collection *Koya Bhagat ni Kadu Vani* (The Bitter Speech of Koya Bhagat) are enjoyed by children for their melody, even though they cannot grasp the subtle meanings.

Durgesh Shukla (b. 1907), a poet, has written some beautiful plays and poems for children. Nathalal Dave (b. 1912), another poet, has contributed to children's literature, but is best known for his poem that exhorts people to work.

A great name in children's literature is that of Jugatram Dave, who founded a rural university in South Gujarat, He has written a biography of Mahatma Gandhi for children entitled *Bālakonā Bāpu* (Bapu for the Children, 1934). It has gone through many editions. Dave has also written many songs on Gandhi and Gandhian principles. Several of them are quite popular with children.

Hariprasad Vyas (1916–80), who hailed from South Gujarat, is known for his humour and wit. His immortal children's stories *Bakor Patel* (a proper name) and *Ṣakari Palālāni* (a proper name) were about a personified he-goat and a she-goat. His other collections are *Pasākākā*, *Bholāvāśaṅker*, *Hathiśaṅker* and *Lambodar Śarmā*. Bhanubhai Pandya belongs to the same age. His story *Makaniyo* (a proper name), written when he was a boy of 15, won the Galiyara prize. A collection of poems called *Phūl, Tāra and Saraṇan* (Flowers, Stars and Rivulets) was awarded the Samskar Award in 1979. In 1980 he published a book called *Bālak, Māri Duniyā* (Oh, my World, a Child).

Ramanlal Soni (b. 1910) has written much for children in prose and poetry. During his five decades of writing, he has tried his hand at practically all forms of children's literature, including songs, stories, poems, ballads, nursery rhymes, jokes, lullabies, riddles etc. These collections of

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poems and songs are *Bālako nā Gīto* (Songs for Children), *Pagalen* (Footsteps, vols. I, II, III and IV), *Magodino Pipūdiwalo* (A Flute Player of Magodi), *Kāśino Paṇḍiṭ* (A Scholar from Kashi), *Pāñdar Paisa man Bhārat Pravās* (A Tour of India Costing Fifteen Paise) and *Madhno Gadavo anē Bijān Kāvyo* (A Honey-pot and Other Poems). An omnibus volume of all his poems and songs was published in 1979 under the title *Ramaṇlāl Soninan Bālkāvyo*) (Children's Poems by Ramanlal Soni). Like Gijubhai, he has used animals, birds and the insect world for his themes. He has also sung about stars, the sun, the moon, a river, an ocean, a wave, etc. *Magodino Pipūdiwalo* is a poem very similar to Browning's *Pied Piper*. His poems about *Paṣi* (a She-cat) are humorous. Kaka Kalelkar, in his preface to *Pagalen*, has advised children: 'If you believe me, memorize all these poems. When you sing them, dance, and when you dance, sing them'.

Soni has written a ballad based on *Dala Tarvadi*, a very popular folk-tale in Gujarat. But his original ballad *Sinh ni Paronadat* (The Bear and the Lion), found in his collection *Pagalen* (vol. II), is most popular among school children. It is a story in verse of an intelligent bear, who, while out on a stroll, met a lion. Seeing the lion, the bear got very afraid, so it humbly saluted the lion many times and requested, 'Oh King of the Forest, come to my place and taste some honey'. The lion accepted the invitation and followed the bear. When they came to a forest tree, on which was a big honeycomb, the bear stopped and pointed to it, saying, 'Here is my house and there is honey in plenty. Please enjoy it!' The honeycomb was very big and was covered with innumerable bees. But the lion was hungry, so he gave it a blow with his paw. Thousands of bees immediately flew from it and attacked the lion, who fled, crying, 'Oh father, I am being eaten up!'

Other popular books by Soni include *Bāl Jāgaraṇa* (Children's Awakening), nursery rhymes and *Bāl Nāṭako* (Children's Plays). His stories are as popular as the stories of the *Pañcatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa*. Soni's work in the field of children's literature is substantial. He has also played a very important role in the cultural development of children. He has thus acquired a permanent place in Gujarati children's literature. Bal Mukund Dave, a renowned poet, has rightly said that Soni is the poet who sings with the voice of a child.

Another important figure in the children's literature of Gujarat is Tribhovan Vyas, who has written *Navan Bāl Gīto* (Children's New Songs). This former primary school teacher with creative talent has written several poems, of which *Dada no dangoro lidho* (I Took the Stick of the Grandfather) is very famous. This poem, also known as Ghodo—a horse—is sung by young boys and girls who match the words with actions. Here are a few lines:

I took the stick of the grandfather,
Making it a horse, I rode it;
The horse walks ramzan ramzan,
The earth thunders dham dham! (tr.)

Mukulbhai Kalarthi, Natwarlal Malawi, Ramanlal Shah, Somabhai Bharsar, Balmukund Dave, Venibhai Purohit, Somabhai Patel, Nagardas Patel, Nanjuklal Chokashi, Amritlal Padhiar, Madhavji Patel, Keshavprasad Desai, Dayalji Ranchhod, Jivram Joshi and Bharatram Mehta are others who have made noteworthy contributions to children's literature in this period. Of them, Jivaram Joshi is the most outstanding.

Post-Gandhian Era

The children's literature of Gujarat was at its zenith in the Gandhian era. The same tradition was carried on in spirit and action in the post-Gandhian era. With Independence, writers for children sought new themes, often subjects that were scientific, which they made more palatable to children. Manubhai Jodhani wrote *Pādarni Vanspati* (Vegetables near the Town), *Aṅgaṇani Vanspati* (Vegetables in the Courtyard) and *Vanvagadānānpankhio* (Birds of the Forest). The first two are on local herbs and plants, the third is on familiar birds. Madhav Chaudhari wrote a book, *Gamadani Vanspati* (Village-herbs), meant to instruct children on medicinal matters. Pushker Chandervaker wrote a few stories on wildlife, some featuring the lions of the Gir forest. In short, writers had started writing on science for children.

Usha Joshi, a science teacher in the Gujarat University, brought out biographies of C. V. Raman, Homi Bhabha and Vikram Sarabhai for the children of Gujarat. Dhanvant Oza brought out more than a hundred biographies of the great men of Gujarat. Oza has a leftist slant even in his biographical writings, but his gigantic undertaking has enriched the children's literature of Gujarat with a biographical treasure. Suresh Dalal, a leading poet of Gujarat, has published a number of children's poems, which are quite popular. They include *Dhinga Masti* (Playful Mischief), *Itta Kitta* (Term denoting: 'I won't speak with you') and *Alak-chalāṇun*. Dalal's poems are rhymed musically and some of them are dance-songs.

Among the popular plays written for children are *Vadalo* (A Banyan Tree), *Soṇapari* (The Golden Fairy) and three others by Krishnalal (Kṛṣṇalāl, 1911–60). *Vadalo* is more popular than *Soṇapari* and its songs are sung by children because they are gay and rhythmic. C. C. Mehta (b. 1901), an eminent playwright, actor and stage critic, wrote two plays for children, *Elval-Elvala* (Humdrum) and *Ramakuda ni Dukan* (A Toy Shop). The latter has been staged many times and enjoyed by children. *Elval-Elvala* is an experimental play. Chandervakar wrote a collection of four one-act plays for children, entitled *Mahi na Ovare* (On the River Bank of Mahi). Yeshvant Pandya's (1906–55) *Bāl Nāṭako*

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(Children's Plays) is very famous. Jayanti Dalal, a leading one-act playwright, wrote several plays specially suitable for children. One of them is *Raṅglīla* (Stage-plays). Shreyas, a children's academy, stages plays every year, as does Sarada Mandir, another institution for children. Shanta Gandhi, when she was in Shreyas, wrote several plays for it and staged them successfully.

Children's Journals

At the beginning of the 20th century, no special attention was paid to the child. Hence there was not a single Gujarati magazine catering exclusively for children, though there were some weeklies and magazines that devoted a page or two to children's poems and stories. *Gujarati*, a weekly from Bombay, *Mumbai Samachar* and *Vande Mataram*, dailies from Bombay, and *Gujarat Samachar* from Ahmedabad spared a few columns once a week for children. But after the advent of Gijubhai in Gujarati literature, children's magazines and journals such as *Bālmitra* (Children's Friend), *Bāljīvan* (Life of Children) and *Gandiv* sprang up and did yeoman service to the child's world. Ramanlal Shah (b. 1910) edited *Bāljīvan* from Baroda. Children were attracted to it by the serialized fairy tales. *Gandiv* from Surat was very popular because the story of Bukor Patel was serialized in it with line drawings. *Bālmitra* was published from Anand, in central Gujarat. It provided stories of adventure and tales of great men, as well as animal stories and songs. Its neat printing, bold typography and striking illustrations enhanced its popularity. *Strībodh* and *Gunsundari* were women's magazines which regularly devoted a few pages for children till their end. *Strījīvan* still carries on the traditions of *Gunsundari* and *Strībodh*. Nowadays *Zagmag*, *Sabras*, *Bālsandeś* and *Phulwadi* are popular weeklies for children. *Ramkadun* and *Candamāmā* are other popular children's magazines.

Translations from Sanskrit, English, German and Russian are also found in Gujarati children's literature. But the children's literature of Gujarat is poor in travelogue and adventure stories.

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Hindi

S. S. GUPTA

All books written for children do not necessarily form children's literature. The child's experience of life, his psychology, imagination and tastes differ from those of adults. Therefore only such books that cater to their tastes and written to suit their level of intelligence, can be counted as children's literature. These books quench their thirst for knowledge, widen their mental horizons and enrich their emotional make-up.

In India, the importance of children's literature was realized at a very early date. The *Pañcatantra*, *Hitopadeśa*, *Kathā Saritsāgara* and the *Jātaka* tales were written to provide amusement and moral instruction to children though they are equally useful to adults. Judging from modern standards, this literature may not be so unalloyed and scientific; but children have been reading these books with interest and benefit.

As regards Hindi, some scholars trace the origin of children's literature to the poetry of Sūrdās, especially those verses which depict the child's nature, his psychological reactions to things around him and his sports. But Sūrdās wrote his songs for adults. Their language, style and mode of expression are beyond the understanding of a child. Thus the poetry of Sūrdās does not fall under the category of children's literature.

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It was only in the latter half of the 19th century with the development of Hindi prose that children's lierature came to be recognized. Christian missionaries, educational institutions like Fort William College, Calcutta and other agencies such as the School Book Society at Agra published school books for children. These books are not strictly speaking children's literature but they contained the seeds which blossomed later. Lallū Lāl wrote *Simhāsana Battīsī* (1799), *Baitāla Paccīsī* (1799), *Śakuntalā Nāṭaka* and *Mādhonala*. He also rendered the stories of *Hitopadeśa* into Hindi published under the name of *Rājanīti* (Politics). Rājā Śiva Prasād also wrote a number of books for children: *Rājā Bhoja kā Sapnā* (King Bhoja's Dream), *Bāla Bodha* (Children's Lessons), *Ālasiyoṁ kā Koḍā* (A Whip for the Lazy) and *Baccoṁ kā Inām* (Children's Gift). English books like *Robinson Crusoe*, *Sindbad the Sailor* and *Gulliver's Travels* also inspired Hindi writers to write for children.

Bharatendu Era (1874–1900)

Bhāratendu Hariścandra (1850–85) is called the father of modern Hindi literature. He brought about a revolutionary change not only in Hindi prose style but also in its contents. As early as June 1874 he started a magazine *Bāla Bodhinī* for Indian women. Many Hindi critics accept this as the first independent attempt in the field of children's literature. Inspired by him a couple of other periodicals like *Kāśī Patrikā* (1876), *Bāla Hitakara* (1891) and *Vidyā Prakāśa* were also started; but they were short-lived. Bhāratendu himself was a versatile writer and he inspired others also to write. The result was that a number of dramas were published. Some of them like *Satya Hariścandra* (Harischandra, the Truthful), *Andher Nagarī* (A Nightmarish Town) and *Prahlāda Carita* (The Story of Prahlada) proved to be of immense interest to children. They were not written exclusively for children but they capture in parts the child's imagination, have the power to move his emotions and inculcate in him feelings of patriotism, devotion to duty, truthfulness and respect for elders. In the field of poetry, besides Bhāratendu, Pratāp Nārāyaṇ Miśra (1856–94) and Badrī Nārāyaṇ Caudharī 'Premaghana' (1855–1923) wrote a number of poems. The chief strain of these poems was patriotism and social and religious uplift. They too were not written exclusively for children, but had an attraction for them.

The Bhāratendu era was, in a way, the teething period of children's literature. It could not detach itself completely from old traditions and literary influences both of Sanskrit and of Persian. Therefore, the themes of most of the stories written in this age centred round mythological and historical figures. They provided instruction and entertainment for children. A few English books were also translated. Kāśī Nāth Khatrī translated Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare*. Fredric Pincott wrote two books for children—*Bāla Dīpaka* (The Children's Lamp; four volumes) and *Vikṭoriā Carita* (The Story of Victoria). The books written in the Bhāratendu era may not be defined strictly as children's literature but they had the capacity to instruct and delight children.

Dvivedi Era (1901–30)

The concept of children's literature had not yet developed fully. Books were mainly written for schools. The textbooks for schoolgoing children contained tales, essays, poems and riddles and their purpose was to acquaint the child with the past heritage of India. Besides instructing and amusing the readers, they were written chiefly to help in learning the language. The number of magazines increased; but they were all short-lived. Only *Bāla Sakhā* which was started in January 1917 continued till 1968. The other magazine which served the cause of children at that time was *Vidyārthī*. Besides stories and poems, it published articles on scientific subjects in a language that was simple, lucid and easily understood by children. The Indian Press of Allahabad which published *Sarasvatī* for adults and *Bāla Sakhā* for children under the patronage of Ācārya Mahāvīr Prasād Dvivedī also made available to the young readers Hindi editions of Sanskrit classics—*Bāla Bhāgavata*, *Bāla Rāmāyaṇa* and *Bāla Mahābhārata*.

Books exclusively written for children appeared later on. Bāla Mukunda Gupta (1865–1907) wrote *Khel Tamāśā* (Sports and Entertainers) and *Khilonā* (Toy). Among poets who wrote poems and songs for children, Maithilīśaraṇ Gupta, Ayodhyā Simha Upādhyāya, Kāmtā Prasād Guru', Rām Nareś Tripāṭhi, Vidyā Bhūṣaṇ 'Vibhu' and Devī Datta Śukla deserve special mention. Children are emotionally attached to the moon, stars, monkeys, flowers and birds. These poets chose such subjects for their poems and successfully expressed the feelings and aspirations of the child through them. These compositions do provide amusement to the child reader but the main emphasis was on moral teachings. They aim at inculcating feelings of patriotism, self-dependence and tolerance among children. Poems composed by 'Vibhu' are notable for their rhyme and musical patterns.

Children have a natural aptitude for stories in verse. Sukharāma Caube 'Guṇākara' and Sukha Deva Prasāda Caube versified many tales from *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa* for children.

Ṭhākur Śrīnātha Simha, the editor of *Bāla Sakhā*, wrote about the famous characters of Indian history, medieval saints, and modern political leaders. His book, *Das Kathāyeṁ* (Ten Stories, 1929) is a pioneer work in the field of biography for children. A few writers tried to give general information about the day-to-day working of various government agencies and public services. Kāmatā Prasāda

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'Guru' in a series of articles published in the *Bāla Sakhā* explained in an interesting and lucid style the working and management of a post-office. Books in 'Penny Stories' were published on the flora and fauna of the country. Rendering into Hindi of a number of Sanskrit and English books which could be of interest to children was also done. Thus inspite of many obstacles and handicaps—political and economic—children's literature in the Dvivedi era made good strides. The need and importance of literature for children were being appreciated. However, the writers' aim was still to impart moral education to children and to satisfy their psychological needs.

Pre-Independence Era (1931–46)

As the struggle for the country's freedom from foreign yoke gained momentum, various trends like the *Swadeśi* Movement, the Non-Cooperation Movement and the Quit India Movement generated strong waves of nationalism and patriotism throughout the country. The Second World War (1939–45) and its after-effects too brought about a revolutionary change in cultural and literary values. People became conscious of the importance of children's literature. Writers like Sohan Lāl Dvivedī and Narmadā Prasād Miśra started working in a planned way for the development of children's literature. *Śiśu Bhārata* of Sohan Lāl Dvivedī, books published from Mitra Bandhu Kāryālaya, Jabalpur and efforts made by Krishna Vinayaka Padke of Kanpur paved the way for its steady progress. The contemporary children's magazines like *Khilonā*, *Kumāra*, *Vānara*, *Bālaka* and *Kiśora* also played a laudable role in establishing the independent identity of children's literature.

As the main object of children's literature was still to teach morals and ennoble their character, the stories written in this period cannot be called either effective or in keeping with child-psychology. Bhagavatī Prasād Vājapeyī and Zahūr Bax were the main story-writers. The latter was more effective because of his idiomatic and crisp language. Lajjā Śaṅkara Jhā is another name worth mentioning. The characters of his stories are traditional—king, queen, dog, cat, bear etc., but his stories are based on personal experience and are of the nature of memoirs. They also tell how a child can be successful and happy in his future life. A few adventurous stories like *Jān Jokhim kī Kahāniyāṁ* (Stories of Risky Life, 1945) were also written in this period with a view to inculcating the spirit of boldness and adventure among children.

The poems written in this period aimed at rousing feelings of patriotism among children and inculcating Gandhian philosophy in them. Sohan Lāl Dvivedī's collections of such poems—*Bāṁsurī* (The Flute), *Jharnā* (The Stream), *Bigul* (The Bugle)—were very popular. In a few poems Gandhiji's simple, truthful and non-violent personality has been depicted in such a way that the reader is inspired to emulate him. Mākhan Lāl Caturvedī and Mūl Cand are other notable poets of the same school. *Svarṇa Sahodara* is a famous collection of children's songs. The simple and musical rhymes of these songs enchant and the subject-matter infuses in the young readers feelings of bravery and adventure. Stories in verse were another attraction for children. The subjects were old—patriotism, charms of village-life and moral tenets—but poets like Sohan Lāl Dvivedī and Padum Lāl Punnā Lāl Bakśī made new experiments in style and form.

Prose was still lagging behind. A few biographies of political leaders like Churchill and Stalin, and famous literary figures like Tagore and Alfred Nobel had appeared. Travelogues like *Purī Yātrā* (A Journey to Puri) by Lallī Prasāda were also attempted. A few books on zoology, geology and botany were written providing elementary information to the young readers. A new experiment was made by Pūran Cand Srīvāstava. In an autobiographical style he wrote *Varṣā Megha* (The Rain Cloud) and *Tulasī*. Translation of English and Bengali stories, poems and songs continued.

A new consciousness of children's literature had dawned during this period—and its importance was duly recognized. There was a definite change in the content and mode of presentation.

Post-Independence Era (After 1947)

With the advent of Freedom, the need for high-class children's literature was felt all the more. Now children's literature was not treated as a secondary or subsidiary branch of literature. Children's literature written before Independence was simple and aimed at amusement along with moral teaching. It lacked the natural expression of the child's aspirations, ambitions, likes and dislikes and the writers were not properly acquainted with child-psychology. It was unrealistic and transported the young readers to a world unknown and mysterious. Now it was felt that the child should be acquainted with the realities of life so that he gets prepared for the future. This brought about a revolutionary change in the content and form of children's literature.

As demand for children's literature increased there was a keen competition among various agencies producing books for children. Rāj Kamal, Rāj Pāl & Sons, Ātmā Rām & Sons, Kitāb Mahal, Umeś Prakāśan, Children's Book Trust, National Book Trust—all were engaged in producing books which are both attractive and useful. The National Book Trust is producing books for children of the age group of 10–14 years under the 'Nehru Bāla-Pustakālaya Plan'. These books are produced simultaneously in all the fourteen major languages of India. Magazines exclusively meant for children also have contributed handsomely in this direction. *Nandana*, *Parāga*, *Milinda*, *Bāla Jagat*, *Bāla Bhāratī*, *Candā Māmā*, *Rājā Bhaiyā* and *Śer Sakhā* are some

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important monthlies. For the first time in Hindi a weekly exclusively meant for children '*Baccoṁ kā Akhbār*' has been recently started. A few weeklies like *Dharma Yuga* and *Sāptāhik Hindustān* have regular columns for children's literature. The dailies—*Nava Bharata Times*, *Āj*, *Bhārata* and *Hindustān*—too in their magazine-sections on Sundays have been regularly publishing stories, songs, poems, dramas, riddles, etc. for children. An attempt was made to popularize handwritten children's magazines between 1946 and 49 but it failed. Certain magazines like *Bāla Bhāratī*, *Shankar's Weekly*, *Dharma Yuga* and *Sāptāhik Hindustān* have brought out special numbers for children. The Government of India awards prizes to writers of children's literature and through its book agencies—Children's Book Trust and National Book Trust—encourages the production of useful and healthy literature for children. Thus attempts are being made in all directions—both in public and in private sectors—to develop and enrich children's literature.

The trend of publishing old historical and mythological stories with morals continues even today. *Sarala Pañcatantra* (Panchatantra Made Simple) edited by Viṣṇu Prabhākar, *Bāla Pañcatantra* (Children's Panchatantra) by Kamaleś, *Sarala Hitopadeśa* (Hitopadesa Made Simple) by Dharam Pāl Śāstrī and *Jātaka Kathāyeṁ* (The Jataka Stories) by Sāvitrī Devī can be quoted as examples. All of them have been published by the Publications Division of the Government of India. Fairy tales are still popular among children, but the writers—Hari Kṛṣṇa Devasare, Śiva Mūrti Simha and Śāradā Miśra—have made new experiments. Besides entertainment they provide scientific knowledge as well.

Stories in verse have been composed by Niraṅkāra Deva Sevaka. *Pañcatantra*, *Īsap ki Gīta-Kathāyeṁ* and *Hāfiz kā Sapnā* by him, *Gobar Gaṇeś* (Fool) by Vidyā Bhūṣaṇa and *Ek Thā Rājā*: *Ek Thī Rānī* (There Was a King: There was a Queen) by Cirañjīt earned wide popularity in the last decade. Among the authors who wrote poems for children, Rāmadhārī Siṁha 'Dinakara', Candra Pāl Siṁha Yādava 'Mayaṅka' and Vinoda Candra Pāṇḍeya have made a mark.

One notable achievement in the field of children's literature in the post-Independence period is the children's novel. Interesting and inspiring novelettes for children have been written by Manhar Cauhān, Hari Krishna Devasare, Śatrughna Lāl and Umā Śaṅkara. Umeśa Prakāśana of Delhi has published more than forty novels in the series Kiśora Upanyāsa Mālā. Ratna Prakāśa 'Śila' has for the first time ventured to publish a monthly of novels for children.

In the absence of a children's stage, it is natural that there is dearth of good dramas for children. Odd efforts have been made in this direction by Kamaleśvara, Anila Kumāra, Śrī Kṛṣṇa, Bhānu Mehtā and Paritoṣa Gārgī, but they have their own shortcomings. The themes of these dramas—mostly one-act-plays—are mythological, adventurous and moralistic. They have been written both for the stage and for the radio. Some satisfaction can be derived from *Pratinidhi Bāla Ekāṅki* (A Representative Collection of Children's One-Act Plays) and *Rāstrīya Ekāṅkī* (National One-Act Plays) edited by Yogendra Kumāra Lallā. *Bāla Nāṭaka Mālā* (Children's Drama Series) by Daśaratha Ojhā is also noteworthy.

Biographies of historical personalities and political, religious and social leaders have always been considered beneficial to children. Before Independence biographies were written in a strain of hero-worship. Their language too was not simple and lucid. After Independence the scope has of course widened; educationists, scientists and authors also are included in the list. Biographies published by People's Publishing House, Publications Division of the Government of India and Sastā Sāhitya Maṇḍala deal with the lives of Sant Tukā Ram, Ram Kṛṣṇa Paramahaṁsa, Swāmī Vivekānanda, Īsvara Candra Vidyāsāgara, Rabindranatha Tagore, Jawahar Lal Nehru, Rājaṛṣi Taṇḍan, Khudī Ram Bose and Tilak. *Ye Kahānīvāle* (These Story Tellers) of Hari Kṛṣṇa Devasare is a novel experiment in the field of biography writing.

Modern age is the age of science and there is an emphasis on providing scientific knowledge to children at an early age. For this purpose, a number of books in the form of stories have been written. In most of them either heaps of facts are poured in a dull style or the facts are distorted. However, *Khel Khel meṁ Vigyān* (Science in Playing) by Yogendra Kumāra Lallā, *Sindūrī Grahakī Yātrā* (A Journey to the Planet Sindūrī), *Caṁd kī Yātrā* (A Journey to the Moon), *Samundar meṁ Sau Din* (One Hundred Days in the Sea), *Candraloka kī Sair* (Journey to the Moon), *Pānī Bolā* (Water Said), *Dhartī Mātā* (Mother Earth) and *Antarikṣa kī Yātrā* (Space Travel) are some useful books in this field. The Government of India (Publications Division) by publishing *Gyān Sarovar* (Jñānasarovara—The Lake of Knowledge; two parts), Rajpal & Sons through its *Viśva Kośa* (Encyclopaedia; ten volumes), and Jñāna Bhāratī of Lucknow through its books have rendered yeoman service in providing purely scientific literature to children.

Witty and humorous sayings, riddles and proverbs have their own charm for children. Children remember them easily and often repeat them in their small groups. Their importance has now been realized and a modest attempt has been made in this direction by Hari Krishna Devasare (*Cuṭkula*), Sri Krishna (*Paheliyām*) and Śakuna Prakāśana (*Bīrbal ke Cuṭkule*).

'Comics' is a new genre in Hindi. Comics of popular English stories, published under '*Indrajāla Komiks*' of the *Times of India*, and stories of Torjan, Betāla and Mandrake in the form of comics have become very popular among children. Encouraged by this popularity India Book House has started publishing comics on old mythological and reli-

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gious stories. However, they have not been as popular as the stories connected with violence, adventure, piracy and robbery.

Mothers, by their nature and environment, are able to understand and appreciate the feelings and emotions of a child much more easily than any other person. It augurs well that Hindi women writers have started taking keen interest in writing stories, songs, poems and nursery rhymes for children. Some significant names in this field are Tārā Pāṇḍeya, Subhadrā Kumārī Cauhān, Śānti Agarvāl, Śakuntalā Miśra, Suśīlā Kakkaḍ, Vidyāvatī Kokila, Śānti Mehrotrā, Sumitrā Kumārī Sinhā and Śakuntalā Sirothiā.

Publishing concerns like Jñāna Bhāratī of Lucknow and Subodha Pocket Books have contributed to the development of children's literature by publishing low-priced pocket books as also by starting book-banks for children.

Translation of children's books from foreign languages as well as other Indian languages is going on unabated. Folk literature of foreign countries has been a special attraction. Ātmā Rām and Sons, Delhi, have published folk stories in the series 'Lokakathā Mālā'.

Healthy criticism is necessary for giving a correct direction to literature. In the absence of criticism creative literature may go astray. This fact has also been realized by those who are keen to develop children's literature. As a result, independent books as well as miscellaneous articles have been published in the magazines like *Nandana*, *Bāla Bhāratī* and *Kiśora* throwing light on the achievements and shortcomings of children's literature. Notable among those who have written independent critical books on children's literature are Hari Kṛṣṇa Devasare ('*Hindī Bāla Sāhitya: Ek Adhyāyana*, A Study of Children's Literature in Hindi), Niraṅkāra Deva Sevaka (*Bāla Gīta Sāhitya*, Children's Poetic Literature), Jyoti Svarūpa and Masta Rām Kapūr. Recently a small society called Bāla Sāhitya Vikāsa Pariṣad has established a Bāla Pustaka Kendra in New Delhi. It displays children's books, studies the likes and dislikes of children and gets books written for them. Their magazine *Bacce aur Ham* is devoted to theoretical as well as practical criticism of children's literature.

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Kannada

R. L. ANANTHARAMAIAH

The Early Phase

As in any other part of India, in Karnataka too, much of children's literature has survived for centuries without being captured in writing. 'Once upon a time there lived a king...', 'Once there was a beautiful princess...'—such narratives have travelled from generation to generation. Apart from the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the Bhagavata episodes which have been the staple food for children for centuries, the *Pañcatantra*, the *Hitōpadēśa* and such other tales have fascinated children for hundreds of years.

Recorded children's literature in Kannada goes back to 1840, when a translation of *Aesop's Fables* was printed in Madras. The cover page says that it was prepared under the superintendence of Walter Elliot of the Madras Civil Service. Since then about 4000 books for children have been published. But children's literature is a compara-

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tively neglected area of study. After exploring all available sources, the Prasārāṅga of Mysore University, which brought out a Descriptive Bibliography of children's books, was able to list 3241 titles. The introduction states that probably a fifth of the publications were left out.

The Period of Development: 1840–1968

M. S. Puttanna (1854–1930). The small number of schools (the inadequacy aggravated in North Karnataka by the fact that until about the 1860's Marathi dominated the schools), the paucity of printing presses and the small number of periodicals—all account for the very slow development of children's literature in Kannada. The 15 books comprising the *Nīticintāmaṇi* (1884) compiled by M. S. Puṭṭaṇṇa formed an important landmark. True, the stories are avowedly didactic; and not all of them are quite interesting; also they inculcate traditional virtues like honesty, fear of God and service to others; but quite a few of them, like that of a sanyasi and some merchants hold the children's attention successfully. The stories are from a variety of sources. The language is simple and frequently the writer employs dialogues. Puṭṭaṇṇa also wrote a long short story Pēṭe Mātēnajji (Grandmother, What News in the Bazar?) and adapted Thomas Dey's 'Sandford and Merton' under the title *Sumati Madana—Kumāra Caritre* (The History of Sumati and Madana).

It is estimated that in the period 1840–1968 about 1500 books for children were published. Some of the great names in Kannada literature figure prominently in this field of children's literature also—Panje Mangesha Rao (Panje Mangēśa Rāv, 1884–1927), Devudu Narasimha Shastry (Dēvuḍu Narasimha Śāstri, 1896–1962), K. V. Puttappa (Puṭṭappa, b. 1904), K. Shivarama Karanth (Śivarāma Kāranta, b. 1902) and G. P. Rajaratnam (Rājaratnam, 1907–79), to mention only a few. An association called 'Bāla Sāhitya Maṇḍala' did commendable work under the able editorship of Kuḍpi Vāsudēva Ṣeṇoy, Panje Mangesha Rao and others, to bring out slender books for children. A series called the *Ondāṇe Māle* (the One Anna Series)—so called because each book was priced at one anna or six paise—gave the young readers interesting reading material. Printed usually in bold type, the 16-page books narrated stories of animals, birds and people of different lands. Sometime later a series called the *Navanidhi Sāhitya Māle* was started by B. Damodara Baliga (Dāmōdara Bāḷiga, b. 1909) in South Kanara and another in North Karnataka called *Kannaḍa Kanda Puttaka Māle* by Mevundi Mallari (Mēvuṇḍi Mallāri, b. 1907). These series published mainly story books.

Textbooks

It is clear that, in the first seven decades of the 20th century, there was an awareness of the need to produce books specially prepared for children. But concrete efforts were limited to a few individuals and institutions. It was fortunate that gifted writers like Cha. Vasudevaiah (Ca. Vāsudēvayya, 1852–1943) and M. S. Puttanna were associated with the preparation of text books which delighted and illuminated the minds of the young. But private efforts were hampered by a variety of factors, like the limited market, the high cost of production and the special demands of illustrations and types. A great disadvantage was that Karnataka was not under one administration, so that there was not a single educational department which could encourage organized efforts. The dedication and achievement of stalwarts like Panje Mangesha Rao, Shivarama Karanth, Devudu Narasimha Shastri, Hoyisaḷa and Rajaratnam can be fully appreciated only against this background.

Panje Mangesha Rao. Panje Mangesha Rao wrote lovely poems for children and some of them were delightful narratives. There is his fascinating recreation of the frolic of the wind in his *Teṅkaṇa Gāḷiyāṭa* (The Play of the South Wind). Another lovely poem of his is *Hāvina Hāḍu* (The Song of the Serpent):

Nāgara hāve hāvoḷu hūve
Bāgila biladoḷu ninnaya ṭhāve
Kaigaḷa mugive hālannīve
Bā bā bā bā bā bā bā

The child describes the cobra as a flower among snakes. It is so attractive and beautiful. But its resting place is a hole by the side of the door. The child says, 'I shall give you milk and shall worship you, please come, come, come.' And when the cobra actually appears, the child is fascinated by ts beauty:

Quick, open your yellow hood and swing your golden
head to the tune I play on my flute. (tr.)

Then he asks the snake a question:

They say you have a precious stone in your hood.
Is it true?
I have heard that you are guarding lots of gold.
Please give them all to the poor. (tr.)

By this time the child realizes that the cobra, though cold outwardly, has extremely hot hatred in its heart. 'I shall bow down to you, please go away.'

The ideas are simple; a single word, summing up the mood of the stanza, is repeated in the last line. There is not a single word in the entire poem which is likely to be unfamiliar to the child; the sentences are short.

The song *Tārammayya* (Bring, Mother), sung by every mother in Karnataka, is also Panje's composition.

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These are poems composed by one who has loved Nature and has a sharp eye for details, one who has superb control over the pace of the narrative and who can exploit visual images and the very sounds of the language to recreate a scene and communicate the very essence of experience.

Panje also wrote stories for children. He was often able to resist the temptation to be didactic and narrated interesting stories in simple, short sentences. Panje was not only a born writer but also one who gave much thought to the subject of the books for the young. What he said half a century ago shows how far in advance of his time he was. He made perceptive comments on the subject matter, the presentation and the language of children's stories. For example, he said that, rather than the inner workings of the mind, the story should portray gestures and facial expressions. Dialogue should be preferred to narration.

More Pioneers

So far as can be ascertained, the first writer of plays for children was M. N. Kamath (Kāmat, 1883–1940), who took episodes from epics for some of his plays; in some he introduced birds and animals. Unfortunately none of his plays is available.

The writer who wrote a considerable volume of excellent literature for children—choosing different forms too—was Āragam Lakshmaṇa Rāv, better known by his pen-name 'Hoyiṣaḷa' (1893–1959). Children themselves are the central characters in many of his poems and he portrays the little ones in their innocence and simplicity. Some of the poems are designed to introduce animals like the giraffe to children. He weaves details of history and geography skilfully into the poems. He wrote poems of short racy lines which children could easily memorize and which they loved to sing. He wrote plays in which bird and beast were made familiar to the child. *Puṭṭu Tamma Yāru* (Who is the Younger Brother of Puttu), *Pōri* (Small Girl) and *Masīdiyannu Elli Kaṭṭidaru* (Where They Built the Mosque) are a few of his compositions.

Other Important Writers

A number of dedicated men wrote and published books for children despite the very discouraging conditions that prevailed in this field. B. Shankara Bhat (Śaṅkara Bhaṭ) and Mēvuṇḍi Mallāri, for example, retold stories from the *Pañcatantra* and Shakespeare in a delightful language. B. S. Panduranga Rao (Pāṇḍuraṅga Rāv, b. 1915), who himself ran a school for children, has written lovely stories and plays and has painstakingly collected information and narrated in simple and vivid language the lives of a number of great men and women. *Puṭṭāṇi Geḷeya* (The Tiny Companion), *Kallusakkare Beṭṭa* (The Sugar Candy Mountain) and *Maḷerāya* (The Rain King) are a few of his works.

Children will always remember Kuvempu (K. V. Puttappa) as the poet of *Bommana Haḷḷiya Kindari Jōgi* (The Singer Ascetic of Bommanahalli). It is a transcreation of Robert Browning's *The Pied Piper of Hammelin*. It is a poem of matchless liveliness. The sequence of pictures is delightful. It has also been enacted by children on the stage and has delighted thousands of spectators. Kuvempu has also written a couple of plays for children.

G. P. Rajaratnam brought to children's literature a lively sense of humour and a temperament which could delight in the oddities and absurdities of human nature. Even when he preached, the composition had nothing heavy about it. He could write a short delightful poem about three gluttons who swallowed the very leaves used to serve the food on. His first poem written for children is *Tuttūri* (Pipe). The opening lines are:

Baṇṇada tagaḍina tuttūri
Kāsige koṇḍanu Kastūri
Sa ri ga ma pa da ni sa ūdidanu
Sa ni da pa ma ga ri sa ūdidanu

Kastūri, a vain boy, bought a coloured pipe for one pice. He went on playing 'Sa ri ga ma pa da ni sa' notes on the pipe. Swollen with pride he walked the streets like a 'jambada koḷi' (a vain hen). But when he was walking near a pond, the pipe slipped from his hand and fell into the water. He took out the pipe but it did not emit musical notes as before but just sounded 'ga ga ga ga'. His ego was crushed this way. This is the story of the poem. The concrete diction, the racy narration and alliteration—all combine to make this poem one of the most popular in Kannada. Rajaratnam published several collections of poems for children. A new representative collection, *Kandana Kāvya Māle* (Garland of Poems for the Young), was published in 1979, the International Year of the Child.

Special mention must be made of a collection of action songs by Narahari Jayarayacharya (Narahari Jayarāyācārya) published in 1902, called *Anukaraṇa Gīta Lahari*. It contains 30 songs for children, teaching them to imitate animals, birds and insects. It is a beautiful collection and a rare one too, but, unfortunately today our authors seem to ignore the child's love of imitation. Similar collections of action songs were brought out by G. N. Lakshmana Pai (Lakṣmaṇa Pai, b. 1904)—*Abhinaya Gīta Mañjari* and *Abhinaya Gītāvaḷi*; Machimale Shankaranarayana (Maccimale Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa)—*Chum chum śiśu Gītegaḷu* (Chum Chum Songs for Children) and B. A. Sanadi (b. 1933)—*Hūvina Huḍugi* (Flower Girl). The Government of Karnataka, through the Department of Public Instruction, has brought out four representative volumes of children's poems under the title *Higgina Bugge* (Fountain of Joy).

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These collections are meant for supplementary reading for classes 1 to 4.

General Characteristics

To sum up, the first sixty years of this century produced a considerable volume of children's literature. A good deal of it was inevitably didactic; much of it revealed the child's ways of thinking to the adult.

Surprisingly in the period 1900–60 there were not as many stories as one would expect (if we exclude the retelling of mythological stories). Drama somehow did not attract many writers. There was no systematic study of the characteristics of children's literature nor any attempt at preparing word-lists for readers of different age groups. On the production side, since the number of copies was limited and the sales slow, not much money could be invested and the production was modest by modern standards. Considering the heavy odds against which the publisher of children's books had to fight, it is heartening that at least 15 major publishing houses have brought out these books.

Periodicals

Mention must be made of a few periodicals brought out for children. *Pāpacci* (The Tiny Tot) edited by Kumara Venkanna (Kumāra Venkaṇṇa) was one. Another was an illustrated monthly *Makkaḷa Pustaka* (Children's Book) edited by Ashwathanarayana Rao (Aśvatthanārāyaṇa Rāv) of Bangalore. Now there are *Candamāma*, *Bombemane* and *Bālamitra* meant for children.

Devudu. Devudu Narasimha Shastry (1896–1962) was the very embodiment of the spirit of adventure, and for 15 years (1936–51) he edited an excellent monthly for children, *Namma Pustaka* (Our Book). His magazine was remarkable for the variety of its contents. Apart from the explanation of a Sanskrit prayer and stories from Indian classics and the Upanishads, there were sections dealing with the wonders of the sky, the earth and the ocean. There were interesting puzzles and riddles for the little ones to solve. There were also stories from Europe and Africa. A section devoted to scientific material presented in simple Kannada was another feature. Few persons have striven so actively as Dēvuḍu to widen the horizon of the child's world.

An institution which endeavoured to bring out books according to a plan and to coordinate the efforts of educationists was the 'Śiśu Sāhitya Saṅgha' of Mysore. The institution also published a monthly, *Kanda* (Child), under the editorship of N. Nagesha Rao (Nāgēśa Rāv).

Shivaram Karanth. Śivarām Kāranth is another person full of the spirit of adventure. This celebrated novelist was also the founder of Bālavana, a school for little children. His *Bāla Prapañca* (The World of Children, 1938), a 3-volume encyclopaedia for children, runs to 1800 pages (crown quarto). It contains line drawings and photographs all done by Karanth himself. The exposition is clear and free from technical jargons. He started a series called *Adbhuta Jagattu* (The Wondrous World), meant to acquaint young readers with the wonders of creation. He also wrote some textbooks, poems and plays for them.

Subodha Kusumanjali. An attempt made by an earnest writer-publisher to provide the young with edifying reading material deserves mention. M. Rama Rao (Rāma Rāv, 1890–1970), better known as Subodha M. Rama Rav, started a series called *Subōdha Kusumāñjali* (1921–33). He brought out 140 books, some of them introducing mythological figures and others narrating the stories of the lives of the great of all lands. Immensely popular at the time, these books served to enlighten the readers about the culture and the values of life cherished in India over the centuries. But the language was often too learned and involved for the readers whom it was meant to serve.

New Dimensions

Children's literature has attracted a good number of writers since 1960. Of about 4000 books for children published in the last 140 years as many as 2500 belong to the decade 1968–78. The International Year of the Child saw a spurt in the number of publications for children. But plays are few. Most books are biographies of well-known figures or narrations of episodes from the epics. New story-tellers like L. G. Amrithesvara (Amṛtēśvara), N. Prahlada Rao (Prahlāda Rāv, 1920–80), P. V. Chandrasekhar (Candraśēkhar, b. 1933), Anupamā Nirañjana (b. 1934) and Ghanekar, (b. 1910), have appeared. Siddhaiah Puranika (Siddhayya Purāṇika-Kāvyānanda, b. 1918) has given some lovely poems in *Tuppā Roṭṭi Gē Gē Gē*. But it must be conceded that there has been no striking innovation or outstanding achievement in this field in recent years.

Sisu Sangamesha (Śiśu Saṅgamēśa) has been editing and publishing a monthly by name *Bāla Bhārati* since 1978. This contains stories, poems and other entertaining and educative material for children.

Bala Vijnana. A new monthly was started in 1978 to propagate science in simple language among children. Under the auspices of the Indian Institute of Science, the Karnataka State Council for Science and Technology publishes a monthly called *Bāla Vijñāna*. Short and interesting articles are written on a variety of subjects by scholars in simple and lucid language; they are well illustrated; riddles, puzzles and guidelines for practical knowledge among the children have made this magazine very popular in a short span of two years.

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The literature of knowledge has certainly been enriched in these twelve years. The credit for this must go largely to two institutions, the India Book House Prakāśana and the Rāṣṭrōtthāna Pariṣat. The Government of Karnataka, it must be mentioned in passing, has generously encouraged these efforts.

India Book House Prakashana. The India Book House Prakashana is a premier institution which has formulated a variety of schemes to produce quality books for young readers. The *Kannaḍa Nāḍu Mattu Kannaḍigara Parampare* (The Kannada Land and the Heritage of Kannadigas) series was meant to tell children all about Karnataka, its history, its geography, its natural resources, its saints and heroes, its poets and movements. The child is made aware of the cultural wealth to which he is heir. A. N. Krishna Rao (Kṛṣṇa Rāv, 1908–71) was the first editor of the series. The printing and the illustrations—features of great importance in children's books—are attractive. It is unfortunate that the books are uneven in quality. Quite a few are not properly planned, and the episodes highlighted in the lives of some of the subjects are by no means the right kind of fare for the young readers. The narration is at times pedestrian. Yet, on the whole, the series, in which the titles exceed 400 now, has provided ample information to children about Karnataka, and can stimulate idealism. The *Amara Citra Kathe* (Amara Picture Story) series (translated and edited by Shivaram Karanth) is designed after the 'Comics' of western countries, but is meant to present the stories of mythological figures. *Idu Namma Bhārata* (This is our India) is supplementary reading material for youngsters providing information about India. The books on science in the series *Vijñāna Nōḍu Kali* (Science—Look and Learn) serve to stimulate interest in science. The IBH has been publishing several books to make learning science a pleasure. A recent addition to this is *Cimpu Pustaka* (Chimpu Book) meant to make the child learn about number, addition, subtraction etc, through colourful pictures. K. S. Nisar Ahmed's (Nisār Ahmad, b. 1936) book *Hakkigaḷu* (Birds) published in the *Vijñāna Nōḍu Kali* series has won the National Council for Educational Research and Training Award.

Rashtrotthana Parishat. The 'Bhārata Bhārati Pustaka Sampada' (Bharata Bharati Treasure of Books, ed. L. S. Seshagiri Rau, b. 1925) of Rāshtrotthāna Parishat was conceived to bring out 510 booklets. The colourful cover is a special attraction. The series has achieved admirable variety and has brought out books on the great freedom fighters, men of letters, artists, saints and sportsmen, and it is an admirable Roll Call of Honour. Not only celebrated figures like Buddha, Vivekananda, C. V. Raman, Visweswaraiah and Gandhiji, but others who have lived nobly but are not so well known, like Kudmal Ranga Rao, Ramananda Chatterjee, Gopal Ganesha Agarkar, Madame Cama, Dhondo Keshav Karve and Ashfakulla, are introduced to children. There are books in this series on quite a few great souls like Dr. Kotnis, Nanibala Devi and Bhikshu Uthama. 510 books have been brought out and the project has been completed. Some of the books are certainly difficult reading for the 10–14 age group for which the books are meant. Certain numbers in the series tend to be mere factual narration and the greatness of the subject does not come through. But there is no doubt that through this series a galaxy of great souls has been brought within the ken of the young reader.

Rāshtrotthāna Parishat has also published Anupama Niranjana's *Dinkakkondu Kathe* (A Story a Day), a collection of stories based on the *Pañcatantra* and other sources (1972). It also brought out *Nāḷina Nāḍa Śilpige* (1979, by L. S. Śēṣagiri Rāv), a series of 53 letters addressed to teenagers on the meaning and functioning of democracy. *Nanna Ēḷgege Nāne Śilpi* (Man the Maker of His Own Destiny) published by R. K. Vidyashala, Mysore, also deserves mention here.

In 1979 the Kannada Sahitya Parishat launched a project and brought out about 100 books for children.

Special mention has to be made of *Nirmala Bhāratī*, by A. R. Krishna Shastri (Kṛṣṇa Śāstri, 1890–1962). This was a version for children of his famous book *Vacana Bhārata*, which itself has seen seven editions. The book has gained considerable popularity.

Juvenile Literature

Strictly speaking there are few works specially meant for the teenager. Quite a number of novels like Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (A. N. Moorthy Rao (tr.), *Havaḷada Dwīpa*) and Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (tr. K. Ramachandra Rau) have been translated. These provide fiction for the teenager. Recently Bapco Prakashana has brought out two mini novels of adventure meant for this age group (*Sāhasa* and *Amānuṣaru*—Adventure and Extraordinary Human Beings). Ghanekar Brothers of Samaja Pustakalaya, Dharwad, and Pandit C. A. Kavali have published more than a hundred books for this age group on a variety of subjects.

Two Encyclopaedias

Certain efforts in the realm of the Literature of Knowledge deserve mention. It was Shivaram Karanth who conceived the plan of an encyclopaedia of science. His *Vijñāna Prapañca* (1959–64) comprises four volumes—*I Jagātu* (This Universe), *Jīva-Jīvana* (Life and its Forms), *Vastu-Caitanya* (Matter and Energy) and *Vijñāna Sādhana* (Technological Knowledge).

The reading and organization that have gone into this encyclopaedia are amazing when we recall that a single

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brain was behind this venture. Secondly, scientific writing was very limited in Kannada and Karanth had to forge a style and also find equivalents for hundreds of technical terms. This he did with singular success.

Jñāna Gaṅgōtri (Fountainhead of Knowledge, 1969–74) is a seven-volume junior encyclopaedia sponsored by the Karnataka Sahakāri Prakāshana Mandira, with the help of the Karnataka State Government. It is a subject encyclopaedia attractively printed and profusely illustrated. The unique feature of the publication is a survey of the ground covered in each volume. The language is generally lucid and precise.

National Book Trust and Children's Book Trust

Two more institutions that are engaged in the production of books for children are the National Book Trust and the Children's Book Trust. In the series *Nehru Bāl Pustakālaya*, the National Book Trust is publishing books in almost all the regional languages of the country. *Mṛgālayada Mahanīyaru* which introduces the Zoo and *Red Krosina Kathe* (The Story of the Red Cross) are very popular. Famous artists have tried to make these books specially attractive. The Children's Book Trust, Delhi, also aims at bringing out colourful attractive books in the different languages of the country. So far six books have appeared in Kannada.

The Soviet Union, which has retained the first place in the production of literature for children, has now contributed books in Kannada for children also. *Māṣaḷa Hāsige* (Bed of Masha) and *Kallukuṭṭiga* (Stone cutter) were the first two in the series. Lakhs of copies of these books are printed in Russia and sent here, and are being sold at low prices.

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Kashmiri

SHAFI SHAUQ

Kashmiri-speaking children have yet to enjoy the prerogative of nourishing their tender consciousness imaginatively, experientially and culturally through suitable literature written in their mother tongue.

The paucity of children's literature in Kashmiri is due to the general indifference of our writers towards this serious issue. Our writers generally do not appreciate the many possibilities of giving vent to their creativity in the field of children's literature. Very little has been done in producing literature for children.

There is, however, a rich tradition of folk literature in Kashmiri, which is comfortably enjoyed mainly in childhood. The element of phantasy and imagination is highly enticing for children and they, irrespective of the social rank, class and creed to which they belong, cherish it without any inhibition or prejudice. There are obviously various levels of complexity in children's folk literature. Children of the age group of three to six years enjoy simple tales like that of a cock which found a paisa while scratching a bin and setting out to marry the king's daughter, purchased a huge quantity of merchandise and put everything into its ears. They also enjoy such simple rhymes as:

gāṣi mot āv	Light, the lover comes
dāri kini tsāv	enters through the window
phambas karin pheti	it made points of cotton
tim kas kity?	'for whom did it so?'
'Hā Kasu kiti?'	'for whom...?'
'Rūmi sābas kiti'	'for Roomi sahab.'

Children of this tender age enjoy singing such songs as are made suggestive by, in Ruskin's parlance, pathetic fallacy: birds and small animals and inanimate objects are endowed with human qualities and passions.

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The hoopoe is cooking meals under the tree of peach,
his mother told him to wear his rags.

Or

The she-jackal
bore a he-jackal
Nunda went to see her
he gave her a handful of eggs
she gave him scratches in turn.

After the sixth year, children generally like tales of the valour of princes, tales of capricious old women and tales of intrigue. They are also fascinated by riddles. There is a good amount of folk literature enjoyed by children because it is accompanied by various games. Three collections of such folk tales have appeared in Kashmiri, *Deś Videśici Luku Kathu* (Tales from the Country and Abroad) *Bhārataci Luku Kathu* (Folk-tales of Bharat) and *Poṣi Thar* (Flower-bush). The first two books were published by the Publications Division and the third one, edited by Noor Mohd. Roshan, was published by Laalu Rukh Publications, Srinagar.

Creative Writing

Soon after 1947, when Kashmiri was introduced as a medium of instruction at the school level, our poets and writers showed some enthusiasm in composing songs and stories for children. They were included in various text books. However, only a few of them were successful in delighting children and in gaining popularity. It is, in fact, extremely difficult to be simple. Triviality of mind should not be confused with simplicity. The most successful songs were written by Ghulam Ahmad Mahjoor (1885–1952), Mirza Ghulam Hassan Bej Arif (b. 1910), Nandlal Ambardar (b. 1916), Fazil Kashmiri (b. 1915) and Dina Nath Nadim (b. 1915).

As a corollary of the political crisis in 1953, Kashmiri language became a victim of the rash decisions of the politicians and was again banished from the educational institutions. Children's literature was again ignored. Except for some politically motivated items, there is hardly anything worth mentioning produced in the fifties. In 1954, Nadim wrote an opera *Nīkī tu Badī* (Good and Evil), which gained some popularity. In 1959 the Education Department decided to award prizes for the best books written for children. This incentive produced good results and in 1960 Autaar Krishen Rahbar (b. 1933) and Naaji Munawar (b. 1933) published the first book of seven stories entitled *mvakhtular* (The Necklace). Naaji Munawar's first book of lyrics entitled *Shuren Hundi Bāth* (Songs for Children) was published in 1961. There are 13 beautiful songs in the book. Naaji has tried his best to be simple and lucid so as to appeal to the unrestrained imagination of children. He, for the first time, received recognition as a poet of children.

Meanwhile, Shambu Nath Bhat Halim (b. 1921) published a book of stories *Bālu-yār* (A Friend of Childhood, 1960). The beautifully illustrated book was awarded a prize and was widely circulated. Fazil Kashmiri published his book *Ṣāmai Vatan* (A Torch for the Country, 1964), a small anthology of didactic poems. Bansi Nirdosh (b. 1930) translated a small English book on Tagore as *qoemuk ṣāyir* (Poet of the Nation, 1968), which was originally meant for children.

The second book which got a prize from the Department of Education was Vishambar Nath Kaul's *Chhanchhiput* (A Wooden Toy, 1969), a collection of stories for children. Kaul also wrote a small book, *Gāndhijiyun Lokucār* (Gandhi's Childhood, 1965).

One more book which was much admired is *Martsupipinitu Sonu Sund Thūl* (The Top and the Golden Egg, 1965) written by Shankar Nath Kaul. The language and the style of narration are clear evidences of Shankar Nath Kaul's special gift for writing for children, but unfortunately he did not continue writing. There are a few translated books which were published outside the valley. *Kotah nundubon son deś* (How Beautiful is our Country, 1970) of Bhola Bhattacharya was translated by Nirmala Devi. The book is well illustrated. Sasta Sahitya Mandal of Delhi published three books: *Śaṅkarācārya* (1970), *Godāvari* (1970) and *Jālkari* (1970) (all three edited by Martand Upadhyaya). There is one more translated book which was published by Sarvodaya Prakash Delhi entitled *Rut Ṣehri* (A Good Citizen, 1971). All these books are quite useful from the educational point of view.

Naaji, who still writes for children in spite of the sense of futility prevalent among our writers, published two more books: the second volume of *Ṣuren Hundi Bāth* (Songs for Children, 1972) and *Bātu Kathu* (Tales in Verse, 1974). Both these books show Naaji's craftsmanship in composing songs for children. As a teacher his insight into the mind of the child and his understanding of the child's instinctive urge for rhythm have helped him in presenting simple anecdotes which tickle the emotions of children. Naji uses various stylistic devices, particularly alliteration and repetition, to produce an overwhelming music.

junglas manz oes akh sabzarah,
akh sabzarah dilkash vārah,
aki dohu khar akh apāri pok,
apāri pok vārah yeli thok, . . .

(There was a meadow in a jungle. An ass came there. The ass was very tired. The ass found a skin while grazing. .)

Bātu Kathu (Stories in Verse, 1977) is a versified rendering of some of Aesop's fables. Naji has also rendered into

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Kashmiri many famous poems of Iqbal, written for children. These poems have been published in *Bazmi Iqbal* (Translation of Iqbal's selected poems, 1978) published by the J & K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages.

Two Kashmiri books were recently published in Moscow, one of which is *Pūt drāv kidkun phidkun* (The Chicken left for Kidkun Phidkun, 1978). Mention must also be made of a recent book *Kaentṣa maentṣa* (Something Something, 1980), a collection of songs written by Ghulam Nabi Aatish and Ghulam Hassan.

This brief excursus into children's literature in Kashmiri will not be complete without a passing reference to the textbooks which are taught at the primary school level. The books *inter alia* contain some creative poems written by the leading poets in Kashmiri, namely, Dina Nath Nadim, Rehman Rahi and Amin Kamil.

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Malayalam

K. RAMACHANDRAN NAIR

Initial Attempts

Generally speaking, one may say that the history of children's literature in Malayalam covers a period of more than a hundred years beginning roughly from the fourth quarter of the 19th century. It coincides more or less with the awakening in Malayalam literature, brought about by contact with the West through the spread of English education. Establishment of English schools by the early decades of the 19th century signified a major break with the traditional *Gurukula* system of education, resulting in the replacement of the teacher-oriented approach with the curriculum-oriented approach. This change necessitated the preparation of a good number of textbooks, catering to pupils of different age groups and dealing with a variety of subjects, falling within the purview of the prescribed syllabi. For this purpose a textbook committee was constituted at Trivandrum in 1867. The Chairman of this committee, for a long period, was Kerala Varma Valia Koil Thampuran (1845–1914), whose forceful personality made a deep impression on almost every aspect of Malayalam writing during the second half of the 19th century. He set about the business of preparing textbooks, with two ends in view: (1) with the immediate objective of providing the pupils of the various classes from the primary to the secondary level with good books written in simple Malayalam, and (2) with the long-term objective of making Malayalam an effective tool for the dissemination of modern knowledge. Apart from primary readers for the lower classes, textbooks pertaining to British history, Indian history and Travancore history, and a book on the principles of economics were published. Textbooks on different subjects such as geography, arithmetic, geometry, etc. were also got written by competent persons. These books were basically curriculum-oriented and cannot therefore be categorized as those belonging to children's literature proper, but that was not the case with such books as *Mahaccaritasamgraham* or *Sanmārgapradīpam* (Light for the Righteous Path, 1888). *Mahaccaritasamgraham* is a compendium of 107 short biographies, 40 of them written by Kerala Varma himself, and contains the life sketches of great men like Alexander, Archimedes and Aristotle. Kerala Varma took pains to edit and standardize the material supplied by different writers. *Sanmārgapradīpam* codifies principles of good conduct in 47 short essays and is a companion volume to three other books of the same category, *Sanmārgasamgraham* (1889), *Sanmārgavivaraṇam*, and *Yuvākkanmarōṭuḷḷa Upadēśaṅṅaḷ* (Advice to the Youth), all written by Kerala Varma. *Vijñānamañjari* (1888) deals with topics of popular science and modern knowledge, in simple prose and is intended to provide the student with auxiliary reading material.

This pioneering, well-planned and concerted attempt achieved a great measure of success mainly because of the pivotal

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position Kerala Varma held both in the royal family and in the literature of the period; but his was not an isolated attempt. Sporadic attempts in this direction had been made even before; for example, there is a book kept in the British Museum Library, perhaps the only copy available, by name *Cerupaitaṅṅaḷku Upakārārtham Iṅglīṣil-ninnu Paribhāṣappeṭuttiya Kathakaḷ* (Stories Translated from English for the Use of Little Children) said to have been published in 1824; the author and the translator remain anonymous; the work is a collection of eight short stories extolling Christian virtues. Another book of the same category *Bālanikṣēpam* (*Treasury for Children*) was published by St. Joseph's Press, Mannanam in 1860. Stories of the Old Testament narrated in verse form are collected together in the book *Bālabōdhini* published in 1887 by the Malayalam Religious Tract and Book Society, Kottayam. If these books are mainly Christian in character, published with a view to propagating Christian ideals, a few books with a secular orientation were also published during the same period. Notable among such works is *Bālabhūṣaṇam* (Adornment for Children, 1868) written by Vaikom Pachu Moothath, a reputed scholar and grammarian. The book deals with a variety of topics mainly exhortatory in nature; the virtues of truth, compassion, learning and devotion to God are extolled and the need for clean habits and good conduct, particularly in the relation between man and woman, is emphasized.

Stories retold from epics and other sources form a considerable part of writing for children in any literature and a few books of this category were published in the 19th century itself in Malayalam. *Sinbādinṭe Kappalōṭṭam* (Voyages of Sinbad, the Sailor), written by Tobias Zacharias, author of the first English-Malayalam dictionary, was published in 1880 as part of a publication programme launched by the Government of Madras. T. C. Kalyani Amma, a noted writer of children's books, collected together 56 fables of Aesop and published them under the title *Īsōppinṭe Kathakaḷ* (Aesop's Fables, 1897). In 1899, Kottarathil Sankunni (1855–1937) who later became well-known as the compiler of *Aitihyamāla* (Garland of Legends, rev. ed., 1974) in eight bulky volumes, published *Viśvāmitracaritam* (The Story of Viswamitra).

A Quantitative Preview

These attempts were, by and large, limited both in scope and in variety and reached only a narrow circle of readers from among the elite, owing mainly to the insufficient spread of education. But in spite of this unavoidable drawback, the foundations for children's literature in Malayalam can be said to have been well and truly laid in the last decades of the 19th century itself. Writers during the three decades from 1900 to 1930 have produced, on a rough estimate, nearly 300 volumes coming under this category; that is to say, about one-eighth of the total production, and the succeeding two decades, i.e. from 1930 to 1950, account for another 400; about 1000 volumes have been published from 1950 to 1970 and the last one decade which ended with 1979 designated as the International Year of the Child by the United Nations, witnessed some sort of a professional enthusiasm among Malayalam writers which resulted in the production of nearly 600 volumes, 300 of them in 1979 itself. It is true that such publication statistics with regard to literary genres and movements does not prove anything by itself either in respect of their quality or in respect of their impact on readers; yet it provides an overall picture of the landscape of children's literature.

Poetry

Poetry written for the child cannot profess to be serious poetry or great poetry; but it should necessarily be poetry and should kindle the tiny sparks of aesthetic sensibility in the child's mind and in this process it should also aim at making the child aware, in a tidy little way, of the basic human values of truth, beauty and goodness. It should neither preach nor moralize; yet it should ennoble and enlighten. These aspects were not lost sight of by the major Malayalam poets when they attempted to write for the child. Take, for example, Kumāran Āśān (1873–1924) who has collected together in his anthology *Puṣpavāṭi* (The Garden, 1922) some of the poems he has written for the child. The child with playful desires, the mother with endearing words and the concept of the Omnipotent Will, all blend together beautifully in the following poem 'Kuṭṭiyum Taḷḷayum' (Child and Mother, 1915):

'Oh, from this creeper what lovely blooms
  Take wing and rise,
Mother!' 'You're wrong, my child, aren't they
  Butterflies?
'Higher and higher they soar, look, beautiful
  In the sky.'
'Ah, but to play with them, I cannot
  Fly so high.'
'You shouldn't cry, my darling, for what is
  Not for you,
You toddle prettily; but can the jessamine
  Do it too?'
'If you tell me why, mother, then I shall
  Give you a kiss.'
'We know but little, dear, but the great God's
  Will is this.'

(tr. Hepsibah Jesudasan)

This juxtaposition of the child's world with God's Will may land an ordinary poet in trouble, but not Asan, who has, in several of his similar poems, selected themes from

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nature, familiar to the child, and endowed them with an elevated meaning in an easy and facile manner. An adaptation of Valmiki-Ramayanam, entitled *Bālarāmāyaṇam* (1916) has also been attempted by Asan; he has done only three *kāṇḍas*—*Bāla*, *Ayōdhya* and *Āraṇya*. Though incomplete, *Bālarāmāyaṇam* has recaptured the glory of the Rama epic in simple, elegant Malayalam stanzas composed in Sanskrit metres and is a fine specimen of an epic retold for the child. Actually this vogue of retelling epics for children had already started in Malayalam and in 1909, seven years before Asan's attempt, Kochanujan Moosath had published his adaptation of the Ramayana, under the same title *Bālarāmāyaṇam*. In 1916 Ambalappuzha Ramakrishna Sastri published *Rāmāyaṇasaṅgraham* (Ramayana Abridged) and in 1918 Āṯṯūr Kṛṣṇa Piṣāroṭi brought out *Laghurāmāyaṇam*. Mahabharata was retold for children by Kaviyoor Venkitachalam Iyer in 1922 in his work *Bālabhāratam*. These works, though not of uniform quality, were nevertheless worthy attempts, motivated by the lofty ideal of familiarizing the child with the epic traditions of his country.

Apart from Kumaran Asan, two other major poets, K. C. Kesava Pillai (1868–1913) and Pantalam Kerala Varma (1879–1919) have also contributed their share to children's literature during the early decades of this century. K. C. Kesava Pillai published in 1900 *Nītivākyaṅṅaḷ* (Ethical verses), a collection of 100 stanzas, mainly didactic in nature and it was prescribed as a textbook for the middle school classes. He also composed *Abhinayagānamālika* (1911), a collection of action songs. Pantalam Kerala Varma, a prolific writer who founded the poetry journal *Kavana Kaumudi*, has written a number of short poems for children. The themes he had selected for those poems were all from the child's intimate world of experience such as the moon, the parrot, the elephant, the clock and the stars. And the style he adopted had also the quality of intimacy.

Oh, uncle moon, just tarry a bit and tell me
Where you are going all alone;
May I too come along?

It's getting too dark—
Aren't you afraid to go all alone?
I too will come with you
and sing pretty songs for you—

You shine as the king among the glittering stars—
And so, may be, you're ashamed
To speak to us,
the lowly and the lost. (tr.)

The simplicity and the directness of expression and the rhythmic nature of the composition made these poems of Pantalam immensely popular and these were included for several consecutive years in textbooks prescribed for schools.

Several anthologies of poetry, mainly intended for school children, were edited and published during the first three decades of the 20th century, and of these, at least three deserve mention: (i) *Padyapāṭhāvali* (7 volumes, 1910–12) edited by Kerala Varma Valiya Koil Thampuran, (ii) *Padyamālika* (7 volumes, 1916) edited by Pantalam Kerala Varma and M. Rajaraja Varma and (iii) *Padyamañjari* (7 volumes, 1915–31) edited by Ulloor S. Parameswara Iyer (1877–1949). These publications, in spite of their omnibus nature, did serve a useful purpose in stimulating and fostering the capacity for literary appreciation among boys and girls for several generations.

Coming to the succeeding decades of the 20th century, one finds that though interest in children's literature had increased to a great extent, particularly because of the rapid spread of education which resulted in ninety per cent of the children of the age group 5–10 attending primary schools and receiving instruction of some sort, not much poetry was written for the child. True, some of the major poets did try their hand at composing verses for the child; but there was no sustained attempt nor was there a genuine aesthetic motivation. To quote one example: Poet Ulloor when he wrote *Dīpāvali* (Cluster of Lights, 1934), a collection of 500 stanzas, dealing with such varied themes as truth, knowledge, compassion, wealth, courage and endurance, did have the child in view and he really wanted to impart all the essential ingredients of righteous living to the child in his formative years, but he failed to impress, owing mainly to the pedantic diction and the austere mode of narration, which went beyond the child's range of comprehension. But that criticism cannot certainly be levelled against some of the later poets, particularly G. Sankara Kurup (1901–78), the Jnanpith Award winner, who has to his credit some exquisite poems composed exclusively for the child, collected together in three books, *Iḷamcuṇṭukaḷ* (Tender Lips, 1954), *Ōlappīppi* (the Reed Flute, 1958) and *Kāṯṯē Vā Kaṭalē Vā* (Come Wind, Come Ocean, 1969).

In his poem 'Ammayum Kuṭṭiyum' (Mother and Child), the child expresses a genuine doubt about the stars:

Oh mother, these stars—
aren't they afraid, in the night,
of the thick pall of darkness all around?

And the mother replies:

My darling,
When I am with you
Will you be afraid?—
Night is their mother,
She is with them,
She protects them all along. (tr.)

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Sankara Kurup, when he writes for the child, acquires for himself the child's eyes and perceives life and nature through them. The wonder and magnificence of nature and the tiny world of the child's feelings and emotions get reflected in these poems. And the diction too assumes a subdued tone and colour so that the child is naturally led into the world of poetry and aesthetic appreciation.

Many poets of his generation have taken their cue from Sankara Kurup whose contribution to this field, though not prolific, has provided the necessary guidelines for others to follow. During the period 1950–80 scores of poetry collections have been published by well-known and not-so-well-known poets. The themes they have dealt with and the style they have adopted are generally in tune with the child's requirements. Vyloppilli Sridhara Menon has collected 16 of his poems in a volume entitled *Kunnimaṇikaḷ* (Beads of Kunni, 1954), mainly for the age group 10 to 16, which, he hopes, may enrich their language skill and aesthetic sensibility. P. Kunjiraman Nair (*Bālāmṛtam*, Nectar for the Kids, 1933), Pala Narayanan Nair (*Ōmanappaital*, Darling Child, 1961), Akkitham Achuthan Namputhiri (*Oru kula muntiriṅṅa*, A Bunch of Grapes, 1959) and Nalankal Krishna Pillai (*Pūkkūḍa*—Basket of Flowers, 1955) are some of the major poets who have contributed their share to the enrichment of children's poetry. Kunjunni, who excels in the composition of epigrammatic poems, has published two volumes, *Kuññuṇṇiyuṭe Kavitakaḷ* (Kunjunni's Poems, 1969) and *Patinañcum Patinañcum* (Fifteen and Fifteen, 1966). He has got a special skill for combining sound and sense in a particular way which tickles the imagination and kindles the curiosity of the child. *Vaḷappoṭṭukaḷ* (Banglebits) by O. N. V. Kurup, published in 1980, is a worthy addition to this field and shows that the modern poet is not unaware of his responsibility to the growing generation. Yet the fact remains that Malayalam poetry, by and large, continues to be the exclusive domain of the adult and the child comes in only as an occasional intruder.

Stories Retold

It is really in the field of prose that much work has been and is being done. Take one category of prose, for example, the retelling of stories. Here, one finds all the major sources of fiction, from the epics down to myths and legends, folklore, history, religion and the like, being tapped effectively and all the ingenious ways of adaptation and narration being attempted. Shakespeare proved to be a perennial source in this regard. In 1905, K. Paramu Pillai (1870–1918), published *Ṣēkspiyar Kathā* (Stories of Shakespeare) which set the pattern for similar attempts, numbering not less than twenty. *Māyāvikramam* (an adaptation of *Romeo and Juliet*, 1933) by C. I. Gopala Pillai, *Ṣekspīyaruṭe Nāṭakakathakaḷ* (Stories Based on Shakespear's Plays, 1938) by R. Easwara Pillai and *Bālaṣēkspīyar* (Children's Shakespeare, 1958) by P. Ananthan Pillai are some of the notable adaptations of Shakespeare, published for the young reader. Changampuzha Krishna Pillai (1912–47), the noted poet, published *Kathāratnamālika* (Necklace of Stories, 1935) based on *Tales from Shakespeare* by Charles Lamb. But Shakespeare represents only one segment of the spectrum. Stories retold from western sources are too numerous to be mentioned exhaustively. *Cāuser Mahākaviyuṭe Kathakaḷ* (Stories by Poet Chaucer, 1906) by K. Paramu Pillai, *Irāvati* (an adaptation of Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*, 1907) by C. P. Parameswaran Pillai, *Yavaṅakathakaḷ* (Greek Stories, 1914) by S. Kunjukrishna Pillai, and *William Tell* (adaptation of H. E. Marshal's work, 1922) by Kannampra Kunjunni Nair are some of the early works in this category. Arabian stories too attracted the attention of writers during this period. *Alibāba* (1914) by K. Padmanabha Pillai, *Simbādu Kappalkāran* (Sinbad the Sailor, 1915) by K. P. Ukkandanunni Nair and *Allāvuddin* (1915) by S. Venkitaramanacharyar are instances in point. Greek and Arab stories continued to be retold; Hercules and Ulysses continue to sway the minds of the Malayali child along with Alauddin and Alibaba. Grimm's *Fairy Tales* and *Aesop's Fables* have been retold several times and similar is the case with such stories as *Robinson Crusoe* (C. V. Raman Pillai, the reputed novelist, was the first to condense this, 1916), *Swiss Family Robinson* (*Kappalccētam Aṅubhavicca oru Kuṭumbam*, 1915 by V. Krishnan Tampi), *Gulliver's Travels* (*Gaḷḷivarinṭe Sañcārakathakaḷ*, 1920 by O. M. Cherian), etc., Tolstoy (*Tolstōyiyuṭe Nītikathakaḷ* by A. Gopala Menon, in 1918 and by Ambadi Ikkavamma in 1926; *Tolstōy Kathakaḷ*—3 parts, 1953, by Vakkam Abdul Khader), Victor Hugo (*Iruḷum Veḷiccavum*, Light and Darkness, 1956—adaptation of *Les Miserables* by N. Krishna Pillai), Charles Dickens (*Oliver Twist* by M. George 1958, *Raṇṭu Nagaraṅṅaḷuṭe Kathā* adaptation of *A Tale of Two Cities* by T. S. Thomas, 1963), R. L. Stevenson (*Nidhidvīpu*—adaptation of *Treasure Island* by T. S. Thomas) are some of the popular western writers whose works have been adapted into Malayalam.

And when one comes to stories retold from Indian sources, the picture becomes different. Here the writer is in his native soil and he is free from the inhibitions that he feels while dealing with foreign themes. The epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, the *mahākāvyas*, dramas and works like *Hitōpadesa* and *Pañcatantra* are inexhaustible treasure-houses from where he can gather as much as he can hold and the reader too will be pleased with the familiar fare. Thus we find several writers dealing with epic and puranic themes (*Bālabhāratam*, 1915, by A. Rama Pai; *Śrīrāman*, 1916, by R. Eswara Pillai; *Purāṇakathakaḷ*, 1922, by P. S. Subbarāma Paṭṭar; *Bhīṣmar*, 1924, by P. Ananthan Pillai; *Vidurar*, 1924, by Kannampra Kunjunni Nair; *Purāṇamañjari*, 1924, by Chelanaṭ Achutha Menon; *Bhāratakathāsaṅgraham*, 1932, by Moorkoth Kumaran), themes

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from *Kāvyas* and *Nāṭakās* (*Kādambarīkathāsamgraha*, 1920, by T. C. Kalyani Amma; *Raghuvamśacaritram*, 1931, by Chenkulath Cheria Kunjirama Menon; *Śākuntaḷam*, 1910, by Moorkoth Kumaran; *Nāgānandam*, 1931, by P. Kunjiraman Nair) and stories from *Hitōpadeśa* and *Pañcatantra* (*Hitōpadeśa kathakaḷ*, 1937, by M. R. Velu Pillai Sastri and *Pañcatantra kathakaḷ*, 1935, by E. V. Krishna Pillai). And one writer, P. M. Kumaran Nair, started on his own, two series, one *Bhāratakathāpatramāla* based on the Mahabharata and the other *Samskṛtasāhityamāla* based on landmarks in Sanskrit literature, and consistently worked on them, producing about a dozen volumes in each series.

History provides another source for such story-telling. Regional history pertaining to the old princely State of Travancore, rather than the national history of India, formed the theme of most of such works. *Caritra Kathakaḷ* (1910) by K. Paramu Pillai, *Tiruvitāmkūr Caritra Kathakaḷ* (1913) by Nanthyaruveettil Parameswaran Pillai and another under the same title by C. P. Govinda Pillai (1914) are some of the notable contributions in this category. *Āryacaritam* (1918) by R. Narayana Panicker and *Dhīrōdāttakathakaḷ* (Stories of Bravery, 1928) by Joseph Immatty Mathew fall under a different category; they deal with Indian history. Religious orientation provides relevance to such works as *Bālapriyan* (c. 1912) by Arch Deacon Oomman Mammen (1830–1904), and *Nabicaritrakathakaḷ* (1946) by P. V. Muhammed and K. C. Komukkutty, which deals with Islamic history.

Perhaps the most significant attempt in the matter of retelling epics in recent times was made by Māli (pseud. of V. Madhavan Nair) who wrote three books, *Māli Rāmāyaṇam* (1962), *Māli Bhāratam* (1964) and *Māli Bhāgavatam* (1968) based on the three great epics. His technique of story-telling is quite different from the ordinary one. One feels that he just sits cross-legged, on the ground, surrounded by his young listeners and talks to them in their language without pretensions of any sort. Thus he wins their ears and their hearts at one stroke and that explains his popularity as a writer of children's literature. His book *Bālakathāmālika* (1977) is an anthology of stories and legends from Teutonic, Celtic, Egyptian, Mexican and other sources.

Fiction

Coming to children's fiction, one finds that there has been a good deal of activity in this sphere since 1940; but original stories written specifically for the child do not stand comparison with stories retold, either in number or in quality. The story element was there and characterization too had its place; but generally the emphasis was on the moral element. The authors of such stories were minor writers motivated by good intentions; but they could make no worthwhile literary impact. Occasionally major writers like E. V. Krishna Pillai (*Bālalīla*, 1932; *Bhāskaran*, 1933), Kainikkara Kumara Pillai (*Bālahṛdayam*, 1934), G. Sankara Kurup (*Kathākautukam*, 1950) and others did try their hand at composing children's fiction, and could break the monotony of moralizing to a certain extent. But among modern writers, it was Karoor (Kārūr Nīlakaṇṭa Piḷḷai, 1988–1975), who made a substantial contribution. Two things stood him in good stead in this: (1) his pedagogical background as a primary school teacher for several years and (2) his consummate craftsmanship as a short story writer. He published about ten books and each one of them showed a distinctive quality, appealing to the sensitive mind of the child. Take for example the story of Châthu, the mahout (*Āṅakkāran*, 1959) which won for him awards from the Government of India and the Kerala Sahitya Akademi. Chathu's uncle Koman was killed by the royal elephant Ramabhadran which ran amuck in the jungle and Chathu decided to bring it back. For four years he struggled hard to master the techniques of controlling unruly elephants and ultimately succeeded in chaining Ramabhadran and bringing him back to the palace. The story has in it the elements of wonder, adventure and heroism, not to speak of its own moral. But Karoor just narrates the story in a straight and simple manner, as if he were totally unconcerned with any of these aspects. His approach is unpretentious and to a certain extent, artless, and this perhaps is the main reason for his appeal to the young reader. None among his contemporaries has come up to his standard in the matter of writing children's fiction in a consistent, purposive manner, though some of them like Uroob (*Aṅkavīran*, 1967; *Mallanum Maraṇavum*, 1966; *Appuvinṭe Lōkam*, 1967) and Lalithambika Antharjanam (*Gōsāyi Parañjña Kathā*, 1964) have tried to follow him.

Among the writers of the next generation, Mali, Kittunni, Kunjunni, Narendranath and Sumangala deserve mention. Mali, in addition to the works already referred to, has to his credit, several collections of original stories. He has created one character, Sarvajith, who makes his appearance in three of his stories; he is a hero with a difference, who goes in search of adventures, defeats the manoeuvrings of smugglers and, riding across the seas in a swan-boat, confronts robbers and destroys them. Mali has also written animal stories; one such story describes a circus in which all the participants are animals. P. Narendranath is a prolific writer who has published more than 30 children's books; *Vikṛtirāman*, an award-winning story, deals with the exploits of the naughty monkey, Raman. Narendranath has a flair for mixing the normal with the abnormal as also the natural with the supernatural, and the effect he creates in the mind of the young reader is one of absolute wonder. *Māṇikkakkallu* (The Ruby Stone) by M. T. Vasudevan Nair, *Miṭṭāyippoti* (Packet of Toffee, 1978) by 'Sumangala' (Leela Nambudiripad) and *Vayanāṭinṭe Ōmaṅa* (The Darling of Wayanad, 1962) by Katavanaṭṭu Kuttikrishnan are the

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more outstanding among the stories written specifically for children.

Fiction, whether original or retold, happens to form the bulk of children's literature in Malayalam and statistically speaking one may conclude that not less than 60 per cent of the books published so far belong to this category. This is naturally so, because the fascination for stories is basic in the mental make-up of the child.

Drama for Children

As regards drama, one finds not much of an activity in Malayalam. Apart from certain one-act plays and a few short plays of doubtful literary value, most of them written for performance during schoolday celebrations, one does not come across any serious attempt at writing a children's play. The absence of a children's theatre might be the main reason for this and attempts are being made to fill this lacuna. However, plays like Kainikkara Kumara Pillai's *Vālyakkāratti* (Servant Maid), Thikodiyan's *Maḻavillinṯe Nāṭṭil* (In the Land of the Rainbow), Akkitham's *I Ēṭatti Nuṇayē Paṟayū* (This Sister Will Tell Only Lies, 1957), and Tāyāṭṭu Śaṅkaran's *Vanabhōjanam* (A Dinner Party in the Forest, 1955) have won acclaim. G. Sankara Pillai of the School of Drama of the University of Calicut has written three children's plays, *Puṣpakirīṭam* (Crown of Flowers, 1968), *Gurudakṣiṇa* (Gift to the Guru) and *Maddaḷam* (The Drum, 1963); these are well-conceived and well-written; fact and fancy combine in a harmony which gains an added charm through the inter-play of music and poetry and these plays may well pave the way for a robust children's theatre movement in Malayalam.

Informative Writing

General prose literature, including biography, belles-lettres, etc. and informative literature including religious and scientific writing form a good portion of children's literature in Malayalam. Contributions of R. Easwara Pillai (*Utkarṣasōpāṅam*—The Ladder of Progress, 1918), K. R. Krishna Pillai (*Pariśramaśīlam*—Habit to Hardwork, 1949), K. P. Kesava Menon (*Prabhātadīpam*—Morning Light, 1960), G. Raman Menon (*Kuṭṭikaḷkkāyuḷḷa Sanmārgapaṭhaṅṅaḷ*—Moral Lessons for Children, 1911) and others are didactic in nature and their endeavour is to kindle in the minds of the child-reader some sort of an awareness of basic human values and the imperative need for good conduct, and righteous living. Biographies of spiritual leaders like the Buddha, Christ and of national leaders like Gandhi, Nehru, Tagore, Vivekananda and others are very popular and one finds a good number of books, some of them well-illustrated, dealing with such themes. A systematic attempt to inculcate in the mind of the young reader the scientific spirit has been made by the State Institute of Education of the Government of Kerala through the publication of a series of books numbering more than 60 under the general title *Śāstragranthāvali* dealing with topics as varied as space physics, atomic energy, genetics and eugenics, biological evolution, radio and television and similar technological innovations. All these books, written by teachers of science, are well-illustrated and are widely distributed through school libraries. Organizations like the 'Sastra Sahitya Parishad' and STEPS (Scientific, Technological and Educational Publishing Society) have also done commendable work in this direction. Individual authors who have contributed to this field include K. Bhaskaran Nair (*Prakṛitipāṭhaṅṅaḷ*—Lessons from Nature, 1950, *Śāstrapāṭhāvali*—Lessons on Science, 1954, *Prāṇilōkam*—The World of Animals, 1941, *Aṭṭa Ākāśattēkku*—Leech to the Skies, 1979), P. T. Bhaskara Panicker (*Kuṭṭikaḷuṭe Nakṣatraśāstram*—Astronomy for Children, 1965, *Manuṣyan Candranil*—Man on the Moon, 1969) and T. R. Sankunni (*Veḷichanttinṯe katha*—The Story of Light, 1976, *Veḷḷattinṯe katha*—The Story of Water, *Penisillinṯe katha*—The Story of Penicillin, 1977).

A determined effort to make people aware of the significance of children's literature was made by Mathew M. Kuzhiveli (1905–74), who founded the Balan Publications in 1941, and under its banner brought out nearly 300 books. As an educationist he fully realized the need for, and the problems involved in, bringing out good publications for the young. He himself wrote about 60 books, and assembled a band of competent writers who contributed the rest. The books were graded into four divisions, each intended for a particular age group. Each division had titles dealing with a variety of topics including stories retold, biographies, popular science and general knowledge. The Balan Publications proved to be immensely popular and the success in this venture prompted Kuzhiveli to publish a children's weekly, *Bālan* and also a popular encyclopaedia *Vijñānam* in eight volumes.

Among the younger generation of writers who have made a name in this field mention may be made of V. P. Muhammad, John Kunnappalli, L. I. Justin Raj, S. Sivadas, Kumarapuram Devadas, N. K. Desam, Karimpuzha Ramachandran, U. Sankaranarayanan and T. M. Puramannoor.

There are at least a dozen journals in Malayalam wholly devoted to children's literature. Of these the pride of place should go to *Bālarama*, published by the Malayala Manorama Publications, Kottayam, because of the quality and worth of the published materials and also the high production standards uniformly kept up. *Bālayugam*, *Kuṭṭikaḷuṭe Dīpikā*, *Taḷiru* (edited by the well-known poetess Sugatha Kumari) and *Pūmpāṭṭa* are some of the more important periodicals in this category.

Of the reference books published for children, apart from publications brought out purely from the pedagogical perspective, *Bālavijñānakōśam* (Encyclopaedia for Children, 1978) published by the Prabhat Book House, is easily the

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best. Profusely illustrated with multicolour pictures, this children's encyclopaedia, the first of its kind in Malayalam, gives in its 500 odd pages, precise and useful information on a variety of topics, classified under 12 different headings. And this publication proved to be a bestseller with the initial print order going up to 25,000 copies.

Since 1960, much enthusiasm has been generated in the field of children's literature in Malayalam and a mixed fare of good, bad and indifferent publications have come out, necessitating some sort of serious thinking on the part of the writers about the techniques of writing books for children. Pala K. M. Mathew who was closely associated with the well-known children's organization 'Kerala Bālajanasakhyam' established by Malayala Manorama Publications and who has himself written a few books for children, bestowed some serious thought on this problem and came out with a comprehensive treatise on the theory and the techniques of writing books for children, entitled *Bālasāhityaracana* (Writing for Children, 1979). That such a theoretical work has become imperative shows that children's literature in Malayalam, despite several drawbacks, has come of age. Another significant development is the formation of a children's writers' organization on an all-Kerala basis, 'Bālasāhityapariṣad', with the avowed objective of developing a vigorous and dynamic movement for children's literature. A Children's Book Trust has also been established (1980) at Kottayam by D. C. Kizhakkemuri and his associates. They have a scheme of publishing 144 books containing about 500 short biographies of great men and women. All this goes to show that children's literature as a distinctive literary genre, with its own relevance and rationale, has come to stay in Malayalam.

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Marathi

VASANT SHIRWADKAR

A Modern Form. Children's literature in Marathi is a little more than a hundred years old. As must be the case with the other Indian languages, it has no ancient traditions. Our ancients certainly had children and they did write literature, but not 'children's' literature! There is no scope here to go deeper into this question. Suffice it to say that children's literature can appear only at a certain advanced stage of socio-economic development, which did not exist in ancient India. The old Marathi poets have written at length about children, their sports, the mother's love for her offspring—and very fondly about Krishna, the naughty lad of Gokul and his playful pranks. But all this is about children and not for children. Ekanath's (16th century) *bhāruds* (songs in the folk-theatre style) are parables in quizzical verses, and they have both a story element and a rhythm enjoyable to children. But they are spiritual allegories, which are beyond children's understanding.

The idea of children's literature was adopted from the West. In Marathi, the publication of the magazine *Bālabōdha* by Vinayaka Kondadev Oka (1840–1914) in 1881 marked the beginning of children's literature. Prior to it, some books had been published but they were only a trickle. Sadasiva Kasinath Chatre's Aesop's Fables and *Bālamitra*, which was a translation of Barquin's well-known book *Children's Friends*, are the only books worth mentioning, as they were reported to have been very popular at that time.

The Age of Anand. Oka's *Bālabodha* continued to be published for over thirty years, but his insistence on writing everything himself and his moralizing attitude made the *Bālabodha* a stereotyped magazine, and within years it lost its attraction for the readers. It was against this background that V. G. Apte, (Āpṭē, 1871–1930) started his monthly, *Ānand*, in 1906, a shining landmark in the history of children's literature in Marathi. Apte had a much clearer vision of what constituted children's literature. And in the following three decades *Ānand* regaled children in Maharashtra with stories, poems, humorous skits, puzzles, etc. Many

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of the writers who later rose to eminence had their first taste of literature and their first lessons in writing in *Ānand*.

Besides *Ānand*, there were other good children's magazines which once had their day. The foremost among these was *Śālāpatraka*, published by the Citraśālā Press in Pune. *Śālāpatraka* vied with, and even surpassed, *Ānand* in popularity in later years. Bālodyāna, published from Pune, *Bālabōdhmēwā* from Nasik, *Khēḷgādī* from Bombay, and *Mulāncē Māsik* from Nagpur were the other children's magazines in the field, which are still remembered with nostalgia.

Children's books were, however, a rarity in those days, and the reason for this was the lack of awareness even among the educated parents about the role books played in the development of a child's personality; and for long they remained impervious to the idea of buying books for children. As a result, very few good books for children were published till 1930. Among these few, the most popular were *Bāla-Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bāl-Bhārata* and *Bāl-Bhāgawata* written and published by V. G. Apte of the *Ānand* magazine. As the titles indicate, the books retold some of the stories from those ancient works for children.

Instead of writing anything original, the writers of the time brought out children's versions of the old classics. Aesop's fables appeared in several versions, including *Cimukalī Isāpanīti* (Aesop's Fables for the Little Ones) by the poet and playwright R. G. Gadkari (1885–1919), which for generations to come was a great favourite with children. The other books which made some mark, were B. M. Ambedkar's *Hitōpadēśa*, D. N. Tilak's *Jātaka-Katha* and N. S. Navare's plots of some Sanskrit plays on the lines of Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare*. V. G. Apte introduced fairy tales to Marathi children; his collection of fairy tales *Cittarañjana* (1929) was the first of its kind in Marathi. Following him, N. G. Limaye and S. B. Hudalikar wrote some good fairy tales.

The 'Navayuga' series of Textbooks. Because of the general apathy, the writing of children's literature remained a much neglected activity. A major break-through was achieved by P. K. Atre (Ātrē, 1898–1969, who was later to achieve great fame in diverse fields), when, in 1933, he brought out language textbooks for primary and middle schools in a series entitled *Navayuga Vācan-mālā*. The government textbooks used then were dull and drab, and were apt to create an aversion in children to learning. Atre, besides being a writer, was an experienced teacher and an educationist with a broad and modern outlook. He made a scrupulous selection of lessons (and wrote many himself) with a distinctly imaginative import. He was also very discriminating about the language, which had to be simple, direct and appealing at the same time. Atre's aim in all this was that children should develop their innate love for literature and learning; and so great was his success that a majority of the schools in Maharashtra gave his 'Navayuga' books a continuous run for thirty years, till 1967, when the state government took over the production of textbooks on a monopoly basis. What Atre's 'Navayuga' textbooks precisely achieved was to give a thorough reorientation to the concept of children's literature with an emphasis on child psychology.

Sane Guruji. Children's literature received a big boost from yet another writer at this time. The writer was P. S. Sane (Sānē, 1899–1950), popularly known as 'Sānē Gurujī'. From 1930 onwards, the atmosphere in the country remained intensely charged with a feeling of patriotism and idealism. Young boys and girls enthusiastically helped in the satyagraha movement started by Mahatma Gandhi; they formed, as it were, the auxiliary force of the army of freedom fighters. Sane Guruji was the most fervent exponent of the hopes and aspirations of the youth of this time; and every word he wrote echoed the spirit and idealistic fervour of young minds. Sane Guruji wrote *Śyāmacī Āī* (Shyam's Mother, 1935) while he was serving a term in the Nasik Jail. No book in Marathi has gained wider popularity than *Śyāmacī Āī*; it has run into twenty editions so far. Atre described it as the sacred hymn of a mother's love. And there is no doubt about its being autobiographical. In 1953, Atre made a film version of *Śyāmacī Āī*, which won the first-ever President's Gold Medal for the best film produced in the country. Along with it, *Śyāma* and *Śyāmacī Patrē* (Shyam's Letters) formed a trilogy of Sane Guruji's story of Shyam. In *Śyāma* Sane Guruji created the character of a boy with a heart of gold, brought up by his fond, loving mother in the best of Indian traditions, imbibing the great human virtues of love, tolerance and brotherliness. In short, Shyam was an exemplar for the youths struggling to realize the dream of a free India as dreamt of by Gandhiji. It is to be noted that Sane Guruji wrote different books for different age-groups of children; these included stories, poems, essays, biographies, etc. both originals and translations. Of these the most popular, other than the Shyam story, are *Gōḍa Gōḍa Gōśṭī* (The Sweet, Sweet Tales) and *Dhadpadnārī Mulē* (The Struggling Children).

But Sane Guruji was much too sentimental, and there is an unmistakable didactic overtone in all his writings. He would have been appalled, or even mortified, had he learnt the 'grave' warning issued by Mark Twain to his readers searching for a moral or motive in his *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. (Said Mark Twain, 'Persons attempting to find a motive in this narrative will be prosecuted; persons attempting to find a moral in it will be banished; persons attempting to find a plot will be shot.') The world of children Sane Guruji created was an illusory ideal world, where everything had to be good, virtuous and sublime, and the bad or even the boisterous was to be kept out. This does not quite fit in with the imaginative dream world of children.

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Sane Guruji's books have therefore remained period pieces. There is little cause for wonder, therefore, if much of their appeal for the young readers was lost in the post-Independence era. But all said and done, there is no denying that Sane Guruji has carved a niche for himself as the most childlike in spirit and dedicated of the writers for children in Marathi.

Close on the heels of Sane Guruji's *Śyāma* came N. D. Tamhankar's (1893–1961) *Gōtyā* (1940–43, 3 parts). But *Gōtyā* is of a quite different sort. A good boy at heart, Gotya is naughty and mischievous all the same and always itching for adventure. In him children found a projection of their own self, which speaks for his tremendous popularity. Since the book was published in 1940, it has run into several editions. S. S. Khanvelkar's *Candhū* (1943), V. V. Bokil's *Vasant* (1950) and Raja Mangalwedhekar's *Mukyā* (1969) have likewise become children's chums. The first two of these are adapted from Richmal Cromption's lovable character William.

The Contemporary Scene

It was not until after Independence that children's literature established its identity as a separate genre of literature. Till then it had remained an appendage of adult literature—a side-show of the authors writing for grown-ups. The production of these books used to be generally poor. The illustrations they carried were crude and often inappropriate, for the artists seldom realized that the child's visional faculties were totally different from those of the adult.

The spread of literacy and education in the wake of Freedom right up to the door of the villager, created conditions favourable for the growth of children's literature. On an average, 600–700 books are published in a year in Marathi, of which children's literature accounts for nearly 15 percent. And by any reckoning, the growth in the past few years has been rich. There are more writers now than can be easily listed. However, B. R. Bhagwat, Lilawati Bhagwat, Sumati Payagaonkar, V. S. Gavankar, Asha Gavankar, Sharadchandra Tongo, Raja Mangalwedhekar, Sarita Padaki, and Sudhakar Prabhu are some of the names that deserve mention. With these and many other writers writing with a sense of involvement, children's literature has burgeoned in all its branches. The wide fare offered to the young readers of different age-groups includes nonsense rhymes, nursery rhymes, poems, novelettes, stories, fairy tales, historical anecdotes and mythological legends, biographies of great men and women of the world, etc. The great classics of the West like *Don Quixote*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Gulliver's Travels*, *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn* and the legends of Robin Hood and Ivanhoe, are now accessible to children in their own tongue. In this context, B. R. Bhagwat (Bhāgwat, b. 1910) deserves special mention for his very able adaptations of Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and Jules Verne's adventure stories. In *Fāster Fēnē*, Bhagwat has created a character of a vagrant but an adventurous boy, who goes from one end of the country to the other carrying out explorations, adventures and 'queer enterprises' in the manner of Tom Sawyer. Faster Fene goes out to meet his young friends through many periodicals; and he of course, is their hero. Sumati Payagaonkar (Pāyagaonkar, b. 1910) has also done well in her translation titled *Hans Andersenchyā Parikathā* (pts. 1–16) of Hans Andersen's *Wonderful Stories for Children*. The writer of today realizes that his aim is to provide enlightened entertainment for his youth readers and to satisfy their unbounded curiosity for the mysteries of the universe, avoiding at the same time a condescending or moralizing posture.

Not all writings for children are translations. There are some writers whose authenticity as writers for children is beyond reproach. What they produce is genuinely indigenous and children can easily identify themselves with it without any psychological resistance. Prominent among these writers—besides those mentioned earlier—are Mahadevasastri Joshi (b. 1906), Durga Bhagwat (b. 1910), Waman Chorghade (b. 1914) and Sarojini Babar (b. 1920). Durga Bhagwat's project of rendering into Marathi the folktales in other Indian languages is most valuable. P. L. Deshpande's (Deśpāṇḍe, b. 1919) biography of Mahatma Gandhi is a model, in style and approach, of a biography written for children. In a style which is lucid and lively P. L. (as he is known all over Maharashtra) brings out the great drama of Gandhiji's life. It will not fail to stir young minds, and induce them to reflect as well. The book is profusely illustrated by the renowned artist, M. R. Acharekar, who adds to the great attraction of the book for children.

Writings on Science

In children's literature with a scientific content, S. B. Ranade (b. 1892) has done pioneering work. He has opened before children the fascinating vista of the animal world. He has also introduced to them modern mechanical devices and inventions in a very attractive manner. His *Timbunāncha Radio āni Itar Gośti* (Timbunana's Radio and Other Stories, 1944) is an instance in point. The other writers who have done creditably well in this kind of writing are Bhalba Kelkar, C. S. Karve, P. N. Joshi, J. N. Karve, N. V. Kogekar and R. V. Sohoni.

The Leading Publishers. The publishing trade has its share in the improvement of the standard of children's literature. Keshav Bhikaji Dhavale, of Bombay, who have been in the forefront in the publication of children's books for over three decades, have throughout maintained a high standard of production. Other distinguished names in the field are the Vora Publishing Company, and Kulkarni & Argade, who are exclusively publishing children's books. It is again

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a happy augury that premier publication concerns like the Mouj Prakashan, the Popular Prakashan, the Venus Prakashan and the Majestic Bookstall have taken keen interest in children's literature. The books brought out by them are prestigious, in the quality of their content, as well as of their production.

Along with the improvement in the production of children's books there is a growing awareness of the importance of the visual aspect. Art work for children's books is a specialized job to be entrusted to artists who can look upon the world with the eyes of a child. D. G. Godse, Prabhakar Gore, Vasant Saravate, Padma Sahasrabuddhe, V. M. Sathe and Ram Wairkar, are all artists of a high calibre and have done exceptionally good work for books published by some Bombay publishers. These books compare favourably with the best books published in the western countries for children. But in the case of the vast majority of children's books, the illustrations are still done by the tyros in the art world, whose services are used just because they are less costly. This is, of course, done on the safe presumption that children will not complain! But it smacks of commercialism.

Poetry for Children. Several of the leading Marathi poets have written poems for children too. For example, Balakavi, Datta (D. K. Ghate) and B. R. Tambe have written some very beautiful songs for children. Balakavi's *Phularāṇī* (The Flower Queen), Datta's *Bāhulichē Gānē* (The Song of the Doll) and B. R. Tambe's *Ātā Gattī Fū Dādāśī* (We are Friends No More, Brother) and *Civa, Civa, Cimaṇī Chatāta* (The Sparrow Twitters in the Roof) have gained remarkable and deserved popularity. But poems such as these are only stray creations, as though the poets wrote them just for a change. V. G. Mayadeva (Māyadēva, 1894–1969) was probably the first poet to bring out a whole collection of children's poems, *Śiśu Gitē* (Children's Songs, 1942). That was in the early thirties. His poems describe interesting and often funny, occurrences in the child's day-to-day life, and they are meant to be sung with action and gesticulations. Mayadeva wrote mainly for children, which was a good thing indeed. But as a poet, he was not among the best. His songs lack the quality of imagination seen in those of a Balkavi, or a Tambe, as also the lyrical charm in them. And yet Mayadeva struck out a rewarding path. Sarala Devadhar was one of those who followed it competently.

The institution of awards for poetry for children by the Government of India in the mid-fifties greatly encouraged writing in the genre. Lilawati Bhagwat (Līlāwatī Bhāgwat, b. 1921) was the first recepient of the award for children's poetry in Marathi in 1956–57. Those whose contribution to this efflorescence in children's poetry ranked among the highest, were Vinda Karandikar, Shanta Shelake, Mangesha Padgaonkar, Sadanand Rege, Sarita Padaki and Shirish Pai and almost everyone of them is prominent in contemporary poetry. Nursery rhymes, nonsensical verses, children's songs, etc., came in plenty; and as these forms denote, the children in the different age-groups were taken care of.

Children's poetry thus came into its own for the first time, establishing its lost link with folklore. In a poem of this kind, the meaning of words has little significance; in fact, there may be no 'meaning' at all. What is significant is the colourful images it creates and the rhythmical sound it produces. Vinda Karandikar (b. 1918) is a past-master in this art. Of this, he gives ample evidence in his two collections of children's poems, *Rāṇīcā Bāg* (The Queen's—that is, Victoria—Gardens in Bombay, which house a Zoo, 1963) and *Eṭūchyā Dēśāt* (In the Land of the Etus, 1964). Karandikar's poems are a consummate blending of lively fancy and arresting rhymes. *Eṭūchyā Dēśāt* is a fantasy, in which Karandikar takes his young readers to a strange land where life is bizarre and topsyturvy. There had been nothing of the kind before in children's poetry in Marathi, and so striking was the new vein launched by Karandikar that before long he had a host of imitators. Karandikar's chief attraction lies in the fanciful, at times even weird and fantastic, images he draws from the world of animals and forests. At the other end of the line is Shanta Shelke, equally popular with children; her poems have a soft, caressing quality, with her choice of sweet words and lilting rhymes. Mengesh's two books, *Bhōlānāth* (Bhola, the Bull) and *Cāndōba, Cāndōba Bhāgālās kā* (Dear Moon, Dear Moon, Are you Tired?) cannot pass without mention. Padgaonkar has a rich imagery and his poems have their own special charm.

Children's Theatre

A word about the children's theatre will not be out of place, for the theatre is allied to literature. Playwright Ratnakar Matakari (Ratnākar Matakarī, b. 1938) and producer Sudha Karmarkar have been steadfastly presenting children's plays on the Bombay stage for over two decades now. Matakari is a writer with a lively imagination coupled with a sense of the macabre. He is therefore the right type of dramatist for children's theatre. Sudha Karmarkar on her part is a gifted and skilful producer. They have, therefore, achieved a good measure of success, always drawing enthusiastic 'little' audiences. But this activity has remained confined to Bombay and a few other cities. Besides Matakari, who has remained the mainstay of the children's theatre, the eminent playwrights P. L. Deshpande (b. 1919) and Vijay Tendulkar (b. 1928) have to their credit some excellent children's plays. Deshpande's *Vayam Mōtham Khōtam* (Being Grown-up is Being Phoney) and Tendulkar's *Chimaṇā Bāndhatō Bangalā* (The Sparrow Builds a Bungalow) have been great stage successes. While Deshpande is hilarious and full of fun, Tendulkar brings

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out the finer susceptibilities of the child's mind—its innocence and delicacy. These were, however, only occasional writings.

Conclusion

It should be clear from the account given above that children's literature in Marathi is no longer a mere appendage to the literature for adults, as it used to be, but that it has now an identity of its own. Distinguished writers have shaped the identity through what they have written with a sensitive awareness of what the child reader needs. With more and more writers of promise joining them, one can safely predict a bright future for children's literature in Marathi.

There is one feature of the literature, however, which is a little disconcerting. Much of the fiction, long or short, is borrowed—adapted, if not translated—from the West. Acquainting the Indian child with the best in world literature is very important, but that cannot be his main nourishment. What springs from the soil to which he belongs, and also that from his environment will nourish his mind, and his imagination, best. Till the other day, most of the stories the Marathi-speaking child read were drawn from the Indian epics, Puranas, and Marathi history. This is probably no longer true—at least not true in the same measure—but it is not wholesome that a child's interest in life should be sustained only on such material.

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Oriya

J. B. MOHANTY

Children's literature in the modern sense of the term was non-existent in ancient and medieval Oriya literature though a few amongst these had enough material and theme which could interest children. Since the beginning of Oriya literature lyrical poems in the form of *Cautiśā* were introduced to teach the alphabet to the young. These *Cautiśās* were lyrical compositions embodying a story in which every line began with Oriya consonants strictly conforming to the alphabetic order in Oriya language. In the traditional curriculum of Oriya the child was introduced to popular *Cautisās* such as *Kamal Locan Cautisā* by Balaram Das (16th century) *Kesab Koili* by Markand Das (15th century), *Manabodha Cautiśā* and *Kalākalebar Cautiśā* by Bhakta Charan Das (1743–1828). These *Cautiśās* always had a distinctive story element.

Besides, some of the ancient poems popularly known as *Boli* were also considered children's literature at that time. *Catura Binod*, a work of Brajanath Badajena (1730–1800) written towards the end of the 18th century, though mainly intended for adults, contains some parables and moral tales interesting and useful for children.

The Advent of Children's Literature

With the introduction of English as the medium of instruction for education towards the end of the 19th century, a movement to establish the identity of the Oriya language gained momentum and eminent authors like Radhanath Ray (1848–1908), Madhusudan Rao (1853–1912), Fakirmohan Senapati (1843–1919), Gobinda Rath (1843–1918) and others made valuable efforts to prepare texts suitable for children's education. In fact, the foundation of children's literature was laid in Oriya language in those crucial days. Gobinda Rath wrote the first textbook, a guide to the alphabet for children named *Barṇa Bodhaka* (A Guide to the Alphabet). Subsequently, Madhusudan Rao wrote another book named *Barṇabodha* to acquaint the children with Oriya alphabet and this gained immense popularity and continues to be popular even today. His poems like *Prabhāta* (Dawn), *Sandhyā* (Evening), *Sundara Sansāra* (The Beautiful World), *Prārthana* (A Prayer), *Grīṣma* (Summer), and the poems of six seasons were popular and educative. Fakirmohan, the father of modern Oriya fiction, has

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also written some poems like *Benga Bhāi* (Brother Frog), *Koili Nāni* (Sister Cuckoo), *Dāhāni Ālua* (The Witch's Fire), *Sankhi Birādi* (Tom Cat), *Bhuā Birādi* (Male Cat), *Bani Cadhei* (The Bird Named Bani), *Sāhādā Gachha* (the Tree named Sahada), *Kalā Kukura* (The Black Dog) etc. which are suitable for children. These poems of the early period are definite landmarks in children's literature. They have a sustained lyric grace and, poetic flavour and are also extremely interesting. The simple and native charm of rural life in the country side found memorable and lively expression in these poems. The poems present the experience of simple responses to nature's beauty and bounty. Their simple native charm appeals to the young mind through lilting rhythm and diction.

Children's Literature of Pre-Independence Period. Though the writers of the late 19th century were pioneers in the field, radical efforts were not made until the beginning of the 20th century. In this connection, the efforts of Gopal Chandra Praharaj (Gopālcandra Praharāja, 1872–1945), Nandakishore Bala (Nandakiśōr Bāla, 1875–1928), Padma Charan Pattanaik (1885–1956) and Mrutyuñjaya Ratha (1882–1924) deserve mention. Praharaj collected and collated Oriya folk lores which appeared under the titles *Utkal Kahāni* (Folk Tales of Oriya), and *Dhaga Dhamāli Bachana* (Popular Sayings of Orissa), each in two volumes.

However, Nandakishore Bala stands ahead of others as a pioneer in the field of children's literature. He composed *Nānā Bāyā Gīta* (Many Crazy Rhymes), a unique collection of poems. His poems are tinged with the memories of childhood, and depict the elemental simplicities of life with a distinct freshness of language. He is second to none in the creation of nonsense verse and poems capable of instantly arousing the child's curiosity. His poem *Sunā Paitā* (The Golden Sacred Thread) is an example. He has also carefully deployed fragments of folk-songs and folk sayings into his poems to make them effective and popular.

The notable authors who have done much during the first two decades of the 20th century to enrich children's literature are Mrutyuñjaya Ratha (*Rasābali*), Madhusudan Das (Illustrated Mahabharat), Padma Charan Pattanaik (*Sunār Dēś*—The Golden Country), Nilakantha Das (1884–1967) (Ramayana & Mahabharata for children), Balakrushna Kar (1886–1965) (Illustrated Ramayana), Chandra Sekhar Nanda (*Rāmāyaṇa Kathā*, *Nuā Śiśu Gīta* or New Lyrics for Children), Balakrishna Pattanaik (*Cāru Labangalatā*, *Fula Baulabeni*) Rama Chandra Acharya (1904–45) (*Hita Kathā*, Useful Stories) and in two parts and *Śiśu Bhakta* (The Young Devotees). Their writings were mainly abridged editions and retelling of Ramayana and Mahabharata themes and a few lives of great men intended to inspire the children with moral and ethical ideas. These early productions in the field of Oriya children's literature were full of promise and immense possibilities.

The continual effort of authors from 1925 till Independence strengthened and enriched children's literature in its different forms.

The Children's Journal

The first children's monthly of Orissa named *Pañcāmṛta* (Five Nectars) edited by Chintamani Acharya (1891–1957) and Agani Das appeared from Cuttack in 1928 and continued for six years. It was of a high order. Many notable authors like Gopal Praharaj, Godavarish Mishra (1886–1956), Dayanidhi Mishra (1891–1955), Upendra Tripathy (b. 1903), Krushna Chandra Kar (b. 1907) and Rama Ranjan Mohanty (b. 1905) contributed stories and poems to this distinguished magazine. In 1931, appeared the popular Oriya children's magazine, the *Janhamāmu* (Uncle Moon) edited by Balakrushna Kar. It continued to appear for a decade and made valuable contributions towards the development of children's literature. Apart from stories and poems, this illustrated magazine contained interesting sections on science, humour, general knowledge, puzzles and riddles suitable for children.

In 1936, the *Dagaro*, a leading Oriya monthly edited by Nityananda Mohapatra (b. 1912) introduced a section for children namely 'Nāgabachā Dala' (Young Cobras) in its editions. In 1946 Bira Kishore Das (1896–1973), the national poet of Orissa, edited a children's magazine *Mo Dēśa* (My Country), which also enhanced the quality of children's literature. During the period Krushna Mohan Pattanaik's (1877–1940) poem *Mo Mā Mo Jonam Māti* (My Mother, My Country), *Śiśu Khela Gīta* (Play-songs for Children) and Laxmikanta Mohapatra's (1888–1953) *Dharma Saṅgīta* (Religious Songs) contributed a few popular and high-quality items to the growing body of children's literature.

After Independence

Significant interest has been shown in the growth of children's literature in post-Independence Orissa. During the first two decades, after Freedom, about five children's monthlies were published for the spread of children's literature. Notable among them were *Sansāra* (1951) edited by Ramakrushna Nanda, *Śiśu Sampād* (1954) edited by Binod Kānungo (b. 1912), *Mīna Bazār* (1956) edited by Ram Prasad Mohanty (b. 1925), *Tuān Tuin* (1957) edited by Godavarish Mohapatra (1898–1965) and *Manapaban* (1962) edited by Maheswar Mohanty (b. 1941). Except *Manapaban* and *Mīna Bazār*, others are now defunct. *Mīna Bazār* and *Mo Deś* (1948) are being published occasionally. The Oriya edition of the monthly magazine *Candā Māmā* published from Madras has become very popular amongst Oriya children. Besides these, some enthusiastic people have

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brought out monthlies like *Phūljhari* (Sparkling), *Bālbinod* (Pleasure for Children), *Ā Janhāmamu Sāradaśaśi* (Come O Uncle Moon of Autumn), *Biluā Nānā* (Brother Jackal), *Bāgha Māmu* (Uncle Tiger) and *Śiśu Meḷā* (The Assembly of Children). In this context, the publication of a monthly magazine, *Śiśu Lekhā* under the patronage of the State Government, deserves special mention. In its quality and style it maintains a high standard.

Introduction of awards at the Central and State levels have also inspired authors to create more children's literature. Popular dailies like the *Samāja*, *Prajātantra*, the *Mātrubhūmi* and *Kaliṅga* (now defunct) provide space for children's poems, stories and topics of educative value. The authorities of All India Radio have also helped in the growth of children's literature. In spite of all these efforts, it has not yet received adequate attention as a branch of literature.

We may now survey writing for children's literature in the various literary forms:

Poems and Songs. Writers like Upendra Tripathy, Ramakrushna Nanda (b. 1906), Udayanath Sarangi (b. 1907), Birakishore Das, Kunja Behari Das (b. 1914), Bāñchānidhi Das (b. 1923) and younger writers like Bidyut Praha Devi (1929–77), Ram Prasad Mohanty (b. 1925), Jagannath Mohanty (b. 1936) and others have written poems suitable for the children during the period. In these they have tried to depict the sense of patriotism, duties of the citizen, social consciousness and reform, scientific discoveries and love of sport. Attempts have been made to collect regional playsongs, particularly from western Orissa.

Stories and Interesting Tales. Creative writers in children's literature are few. But some have shown their creative talent in adopting and transmuting stories from English and Sanskrit classics. Names of authors like Ram Chandra Acharya, Krushna Ch. Kar, Udayanath Sarangi, Rama Krushna Nanda, Kunja Behari Das, Godavarish Mohapatra, Golak Behari Dhal (1921–74), J. B. Mohanty (b. 1925) and Monoj Das (b. 1934) may be mentioned in this context.

Kunja Behari Das has collated a large number of Oriya folk-tales from the oral tradition. Gadadhar Roy aroused keen interest of children through his lively stories on hunting. Several authors have also written legends and mythological episodes and sketched characters from a variety of sources.

History and Biography. About a hundred booklets depicting the lives of eminent saints, scientists, statesmen, kings, rulers and freedom-fighters of India and abroad have been published so far in different series. This is a modest attempt at biographical writings. Lala Nagendra Kumar Roy (1898–1978), Udayanatha Sarangi, Ram Prasad Singh (b. 1904), Shreedhar Das (b. 1902) and Benod Kanango (b. 1912) among others have contributed to the growth of the biographical and cultural aspects of children's literature.

Travel and Discovery. During the pre-Independence period no remarkable effort was made in this direction. Godavarish Mishra's *Āma Padisā Adisā* (Our Neighbours) is a pioneering work in this field. Subsequently, books like *Deś Bedeś* (The Country and Abroad) of Govind Chandra Misra, *Bilāt Kathā* (The Story of England) of Satrughna Natha (b. 1915), *Dura desara Pilānka Kathā* (The children of the Distant Lands) of A. Senapati, *Sāgara Patha* (on the Sea Routes) of Chittaranjan Das were also written.

Nature, Science and Industry. Besides the children's encyclopaedia in two volumes compiled by Balakrushna Kar entitled *Śiśu Saṅkhāli* (The Treasures of Children) some new writers have added their valuable contributions to this emergent field. Viswanath Kar (1864–1934) and Laxmikanta Mohapatra through their books *Prāṇijagat* (The Animal Kingdom) and *Cidiākhānā* (The Zoo) respectively tried to bring out the beauties and marvels of nature. Among the authors who have tried their hand in popularizing scientific topics the name of Binod Kanungo deserves special mention. His *Calanta Raijara Amuhān Nai* (The Blind Stream inside the Moving Land) deals with the circulation of blood inside the human body. Similarly his *Tini Khandi Kawuri Hāda* (Three Magic Sticks) and *Dākile Jabāb Diantā Ki* (Can It Respond the Call?), *Pabana* (The Wind), *Jiban Tiāri Kārakhāna* (The Factory for Producing Life) reveal the wonderful process of human physiology and natural phenomena in a simple and appealing style.

Gokulananda Mohapatra's *Mahane Tulā Vāri nā Mahane luhā Vāri* (Which is Heavier, a Maund of Cotton or Iron?) and *Bāga bagicāra Soudāgar* (The Merchant of the Gardens) of Santanu Kumar Acharya are also interesting works dealing with the physical sciences and the insect world. *Nai Bohilā* (Down Flows the River) of Durga Prasad Pattanaik and *Āma Graha Upagraha* (Our Planets) of U. Sarangi also deserve mention.

Children's Drama. After Independence, 'small plays' and one-act plays were written specially for children. In 1957, under the auspices of the Sangeet Parishad, Puri, arrangements were first made to stage children's dramas and prizes were being awarded to the best play. This annual competition continued for a few years and as a result a few plays for children were staged and published.

In the field of publication of books for children the effort of the publishing agencies like Grantha Mandir and Chhatrasathi Prakasana is laudable. Grantha Mandir has published Oriya translations of abridged editions of world classics numbering about a hundred particularly intended for the children. These include the translation of Charles Dicken's *A Tale of Two Cities*, *David Copperfield*, *Oliver Twist*, *Great*

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Expectations, *Nicholas Nickleby* etc., Alexander Dumas's, *Three Musketeers*, *Man in the Iron Mask*, *Black Tulip*, *The Conspirators*, *Twenty Years After*, R. L. Stevensons' *Rupert of Hentzau*, *The Treasure Island*, *The Black Arrow*, *The Kidnapped*, H. G. Wells's, *The Invisible Man*, *Time Machine*, etc.

A review of children's literature in Oriya reveals the gradually expanding scope and form of this genre and its future possibilities. In recent years, there is a new awakening of spirit in the sphere of children's literature. In its vitality and variety it has strengthened a rich tradition which is in keeping with the needs of children in a scientific era.

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Punjabi

MOHINDER PAL KOHLI

The folk-tales and episodes culled from the classics formed the mainstay of the oral literary tradition in Punjabi, meant for the use of Punjabi children, alongside, of course, with the 'there was a crow and there was a sparrow' tales drawled out by old grannies to nagging children at night. In the indigenous *pāṭhśālas* and *maktabs* (Muslim schools) the children were taught arithmetic and were given training in the recitation and interpretation of religious scriptures. The traditional education, in fact, from time immemorial demanded a rigorous discipline through ethical teachings. Acquiring knowledge through entertainment and relaxation with little compulsive strain on the tiny brains was unheard of. The stories of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, the *Pañcatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa*, the *Sākhis* (17th and 18th centuries) of Guru Nanak, the heroic exploits of the 10th Master and his brave sons, the anecdotes of the beneficent reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh were told and retold to the young learners. But hardly was any effort ever made to produce a wholesome literature in the content and the manner specially meant to be read by children.

The British rule was firmly established in the Punjab in 1849 and subsequently a Department of Education was formed in 1856; there were all-round changes in the administrative and educational set-up. Schools were started, a uniform syllabus was introduced and a Textbook Committee was set-up within the Department to prepare textbooks for the school-going children.

Behari Lal Puri (1830–85) was one of the earliest and the foremost intellectuals of modern Punjab who felt the need for adopting a direct and easy style for the textbooks to be prescribed in the schools. He wrote a number of books in Hindi and Punjabi, which aimed at glorifying the heroes and heroines of the legendary past, instilling in the students, at the same time, a sense of the morals and manners through imaginative stories. Small texts like *Caritāvali* extolled the great Indian women of yore and books like *Vidyā Ratnākar* (Ocean of Education), *Buddhī dī Vadiāyī* (Extolling Intellect), *Dhan dī Vadiāyī* (Extolling Money), *Vidyā dī Mehmā* (In Praise of Education), *Vadyiān dā Ādar* (Respect for Elders), *Chup Rehan dē Gūn* (Silence, the Beneficial) etc. were educative in tone and tenor enjoining upon the readers to be good, obedient, considerate and above all, loyal citizens. A good beginning indeed, though burdened with a constant refrain of a charted mental culture.

These efforts were confined to the schools. Urdu, being

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the official language of the Punjab, attracted more readers among the educated classes. Then by the turn of the century, the socio-cultural and religious revivalist movements like the 'Ārya Samāj', 'Singh Sabha', 'Sanātan Dharm Sabha' and 'Ahmediyā' had overshadowed the whole range of literary activities and the meagre literature produced during the earlier three decades of the growth of these movements and the beginning of the political struggle for freedom during the first World War, smacked either of a religious temper or of a political rhetoric, both of serious import.

This convulsive period, however, threw up a lone writer Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid (1881–1936), who set aside an occasional column for children in his reformatory journal *Dūkh Nivāraṇ* (The Redeemer) started at the beginning of 1906. He also issued small pamphlets educating children in respect of morals and manners in his series entitled *Svadeśi Bhāṣa Pracār Larī* (Propagation of Indigenous Language) the same year. This was mainly in reaction to the illustrated booklets entitled *Baibal Diān Mūrtān te Kahāniān* (Illustrations and Stories from the Bible) containing stories and episodes in simple Malwai dialect issued by Punjab Religious Books Society, Lodiana Mission Press, in 1877 and 1878.

Journals for Children

Meanwhile, journals for children owing their origin to the models of the children's magazines of the West started trickling into the Punjab. Sir Abdul Qadir reports in his essay on Urdu literature included in O'Malley's *Modern India and the West* (London, 1941) that the children's magazine in Urdu, *Bachhon Kā Akhbār* (The Journal of the Children, 1879) published from Lahore was the pioneer in this direction, followed by *Phūl* (The Flower, 1891) in the same language, both enjoying considerable popularity. These small magazines blazed a trail and the noted poet of Punjabi, Mohan Singh (1905–78), reserved a few pages for juveniles in his prestigious magazine *Pañj Daryā* (1939).

It was after the partition of the Punjab in 1947 that a new awareness was aroused among the lovers of the language and a new stress was laid on the spread and the all-round development of the mother tongue. *Bāl Sandeś* (Child Message) of the Preet Lari group of publications under the over-all charge of the popular journalist and prose stylist, Gurbaksh Singh Preetlari (1895–1977), and his writer son Navtej Singh (1925–81) became quite popular. The monthly *Bāl Darbār* (Child Assembly, 1951, now defunct) was a venture of Jiwan Singh (b. 1914) of Lahore Book Shop, Ludhiana, the pioneer publisher of Punjabi books. It was edited first by the Punjabi poet Ajaib Chitrakar (b. 1929) and then by Hazara Singh (b. 1931).

Children's magazines like *Chūnchanā* and *Bāl Jagat*, *Bālak*, *Bāl Sansār*, *Amar Kahāniān* and some others had a mushroom growth but many of them were either still born or were driven out by the Punjabi versions of popular Hindi magazines like *Candāmāma* and *Campak*, and the Punjabi translations of the Tarzan and Betāl strips. Yet, the meaningful contribution of these magazines of none too significant circulation, cannot be gainsaid. Many a writer who was prompted to write for children was later motivated to write separate books for them. The journals contained fairy tales, imaginative narratives, fantasies, animal stories, limericks and some pieces of elementary knowledge. At the same time, it cannot be denied that profit was the propelling motive of the publishers and they employed maximum economy in choosing the cheapest printing material.

Books for children have been produced in verse and prose by a number of writers, who unfortunately have not grown beyond the bulk purchase block libraries and therefore the common Punjabi child has had little rapport with them. Dhanwant Singh Sital (1907–80) is a pioneer in this genre of literature. Writing both in prose and in verse he is perhaps the only celebrated writer who has written biographical stories of the Sikh Gurus, and the young children remember and recite his short and long poems with gusto. In about four dozen books Dhanwant Singh has conveyed the historical spirit and given the youth a desire for the revival of the heroic past. Sohan Singh Sital (b. 1909) the Sahitya Akademi Award winner novelist, has done equally well in the field of children's books. In simple melodious verse and equally simple prose these two writers have made significant contributions to this branch of literature.

Guru Gobind Singh exhorts his son to go to the battle field in these moving words:

> Your grandfather was a great swordsman
> He was the master of the worlds, mundane and spiritual,
> The more wounds you get, the more shall he love you
> He watches in all blessedness the deeds of his grandsons.
> Thus the youngest was told to go; and was sent to the battlefield. (tr.)

Creative and Informative Writing. Jagdish Singh (b. 1914) of the Activity School, Preetnagar, wrote some psychological stories in prose, and educative essays dealing with science subjects. Amrita Pritam (b. 1919) the Jnanpith Award winning Punjabi poetess, has written about two dozen books for children. Hers is a fictional talent and her books are entertaining. Gyani Lal Singh (b. 1903) has written in simple but effective prose a set of 14 books, story books, Gurus' biographies, history and science, in the native setting with an indigenous flavour. Gurbachan Singh, a retired librarian, has to his credit prize-winning books on scientific topics like *Lon di Kahāni* (The Story of the Salt), *Pāni di Kahāni* (The Story of Water), *Phūlān di Kahāni* (The Story of Flowers) and a number of interesting and informative pamphlets. The scientific and animal stories of Ajaib Chitra-

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kar and Hazara Singh, the historical and fictional folk narratives of Balwant Singh Chatrath, Gulwant Farig, Sukhwant Kaur Maan, Sajjan Grewal, Raj Dular, Gurbax Bahlavi, and Avtar Singh Daler were commissioned attempts and perhaps have a limited role to play. The centenary celebrations of the Gurus inspired writers to take up historical and biographical assignments for children, but none of them compares favourably with the earlier writings of Master Abhay Singh, author of *Chambe dian Kaliān* (The Jasmine Buds, 1922) the two Sitals (Dhanwant Singh and Sohan Singh) and Kesar Singh Multani.

A conscious endeavour has been made in this direction by a group of writers united under the banner of Modern Sahit Academy, Amritsar. The Academy was established in 1950 for the promotion of juvenile literature and art. Special efforts were made to produce beautifully illustrated books on various subjects, like science, geography, folk tales, world classics, history, etc. The Academy has to its credit the publication of more than 200 titles which are profusely illustrated, such as *Paudiān dā Jīvan* (Life of Plants), *Tāriān di Duniyā* (The World of Stars), *Atom ki Hai* (What is Atom?), *Robinson Crusoe*, *The Great Stories of the World*, *Tales of Arabian Nights*, *Juram Te Asin* (We and the Crime), etc. The Academy has paid devoted attention to the production of books on the lives of the Sikh Gurus. It has published two comprehensive volumes of biographies exclusively containing paintings of Guru Nanak Dev and Guru Tegh Bahadur.

Written in simple and attractive styles and popular as they are, these books cater to the psychological needs of the children and entertain them even as they instruct them. *Jīwan Guru Gobind Singh* (Life of Guru Gobind Singh), *Mahān Sikh Yodeh* (Great Sikh Fighters), *Paudiān da Jīwan* (Life of the Plants), *Jūram Te Asin* (We and the Crimes) have won prizes, both, as the best written and as excellently published books.

The collaborators in the Amritsar Sahit Academy group include Shamsher Singh (b. 1917), a scholar of English and Punjabi literatures, who is the main force behind the working of the Academy. He is the Director of Publications and has to his credit more than 50 books, some of them prize-winners.

Narinder Singh (b. 1919), is one of the Managing Directors of the Academy and is in charge of the Sales Department. A renowned sitar player, he has contributed a number of books on Indian Classical Music, and Sikh Religion, in addition to writing folk tales.

Col. Dalip Singh, retired Assistant Director of the Correspondence Courses of the Punjabi University, is the author of about half a dozen books, published by the Academy. Surjit Kaur (b. 1940) has written *Jaṅgnāmā Shāh Muhammad* (A Ballad of Shah Mohammad), a very popular book among the children. Balwant Singh (b. 1923) retired Deputy Registrar, Punjabi University, is a renowned writer of books in Punjabi for children and has to his credit about a dozen books on various subjects of history, science and astronomy such as *Pūru Itihāsik Jantu* (The Pre-historic Animals), *Maharāja Ranjit Singh Tōn Pichhōn* (After Maharaja Ranjit Singh), *Sikh Yodhē* (Sikh Heroes), *Guru Nanak Dev*, *Tāriān di Duniyā* parts I & II and *Guru Gobind Singh*.

Phoola Rani (b. 1929) the most outstanding woman painter of the Punjab, has produced the lyrical *Life of Guru Nanak through Pictures*, which was adjudged one of the six best books on Guru Nanak published on the occasion of the quincentenary celebrations of the guru. She has also written *Manūkh di Kahāni* (The Life of Man).

The significant achievement of the Academy is that it has filled a yawning gap between writing and production. It has perhaps established its leadership among all the private ventures claiming to produce literature for children by its beautiful illustrated production but at a price within the reach of all.

The Languages Department of Punjab University has produced about six dozen books relating to junior science, senior science, classics, biographies, travel, cities, sports and general knowledge and an illustrated dictionary. Needless to say there is a concerted effort to make them popular.

There is a new awareness about the need of creative literature for children that could entertain them, help them to gain knowledge and promote their understanding. So far, with a few exceptions, the literature for children in Punjabi has been more or less a luxury for the few. The children of the rich educated parents were provided with foreign books and the children of the middle-class educated parents were content with the Punjabi translations of the Russian publications—all with foreign settings and foreign characters not always relevant to the situation and genius of the Punjabi child.

In the books for children so far there has been a lot of moralizing, lowering its appeal to children. The Punjabi writer, with rare exceptions, has not yet learnt to live with the child. His heart does not seem to beat with the pulse of the child. We are still to produce an Enid Blyton that carries a natural thrill. We have still to establish a Hamlyn for publishing and promoting knowledge through entertainment. We have yet to make a well-directed and planned beginning to reach out towards young readers.

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Sanskrit

K. V. SARMA

In early India, fairy tales, fables and allied literature were primarily concerned with the entertainment and edification of the young and, as such, served the part played by children's literature of modern times. To an Indian, these works were also didactic; each fable was directed to practical ethics calculated to illustrate some worldly truth or inculcate some precept for human conduct. As Macdonell has rightly observed, 'In the fairy tales and fables the abundant introduction of ethical reflections and proverbial philosophy is characteristic. The apologue with its moral is peculiarly subject to this method of treatment'.

This literature was couched generally in simple narrative prose, often interspersed with edificatory verses. More often than not, a number of secondary stories were emboxed in the framework of the main story; sometimes even the secondary stories had emboxed stories in them.

Pañcatantra

The *Pañcatantra*, so called because it contains five sections, is the earliest work in children's literature of ancient India—a work which has continued to appeal to and entertain children from the early centuries of the Christian era, when it was compiled, to this day. The introduction to the work speaks of a Brahman Vishnusarman undertaking to instil political and worldly wisdom into four dull-witted sons of King Amarasakti of Mahilāropya. The task is successfully accomplished by Vishnusarman by composing the *Pañcatantra* with five frame stories entitled, respectively: 'Suhṛd-bheda' (Splitting of Friends), 'Mitralābha' (Acquisition of Friends), 'Kākolūkīyam (War between Crows and Owls), 'Labdhapraṇāśa' (Loss of Acquisition) and 'Asamīkṣyakāritvam' (Thoughtless Action). The key-stories and the emboxed stories are suffused with such highly instructive political wisdom, imparted through all types of characters, including birds, animals, men, gods, saints and heroes, that the princes are naturally rendered model rulers.

Numerous translations and adaptations of the *Pañcatantra*, in India and abroad, came to be written from very early times, and this work is said to have a world circulation next only to the Bible. Some of the Indian modifications of the *Pañcatantra* are interesting for the additions and alterations made in them. Thus Pūrṇabhadra (1199), a Śvetāmbara Jain monk, produced a revised version, with a Jainistic bent, adding 21 new stories, including one illustrating the gratitude of animals and the ingratitude of man. Meghavijaya (1600), another Jain scholar, composed the *Pañcākhyānoddhāra*, based on several earlier Jain versions of the work. The *Tantrākhyāna* or *Tantrākhyāyikā* is the Kashmiri version of the *Pañcatantra*, which occurs in two forms, one with more prose and the other with more verse. South India has an abridged version of the work and Nepal, a similar version with minor modifications. In the *Pancopākhyānasaṁgraha* or *Kathāmṛtanidhi*, Anantabhaṭṭa summarizes the original into a regular narrative.

Hitopadeśa. The most important modification of the *Pañcatantra* is the *Hitopadeśa* of Narayana, which vies with its original in the matter of popularity. Keeping the base intact, Narayana has deftly rearranged several stories and made the work more didactic by the introduction of more maxims and sententious verses.

Other Collections

There are numerous collections of stories in Sanskrit, intended for the young and the old alike, which could be brought under the purview of children's literature, though their contents and presentation might not accord in all aspects with the current connotation of the term.

The *Vetālapañcavimśati* contains 25 ingenious stories narrated by a ghost to King Vikrama. The frame story has it that the King had, at the behest of an ascetic, agreed to take down a corpse hanging from a tree and carry it to a graveyard without uttering a single world. While the King

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is carrying the corpse on his shoulders, the corpse narrates a story and asks the King for his opinion on a crucial problem. As the King gives his answer inadvertently, the corpse flies back to the tree and the King has to bring it down again, when another tale is told. The process is repeated 25 times.

In another collection called *Simhāsanadvātriṁśikā* or *Vikramārkacarita*, as King Bhoja tries to ascend the 32 steps of the throne of the ancient King Vikrama, he is stopped at each step by sculptured maidens who become animated and narrate a story each. The work is known in several regional versions redacted by or ascribed to Kalidasa, Ramachandra, Divakara and Kshemankara, the last being a Jain monk of the 14th century.

Besides the above, there exist several tales with King Vikrama in the frame story, like the *Vikramasenācarita*, *Vikramodaya* and the Jain work *Pracaṇḍacchatraprabandha*.

The *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* (1306) of Merutunga and the *Prabandhakośa* (1348) of Rajasekhara contain several edificatory narratives, which are quasi-historical. Hemachandra's *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākāpuruṣacarita* (Story of Sixty-three Statues) is another well-known work of this type on 63 figures revered by the Jains. Indeed, there exist a large number of Jain story collections whose purport is to instruct, illustrate and initiate. Among these are the *Kathāmahodadhi* (Ocean of Stories, 1448) of Somachandra of the Tapāgaccha, a collection of 126 Jain stories, *Prabhāvakacarita* of Prabhācandra, revised by Pradyumnasūri, about A.D. 1250 in 22 chapters, and *Cauryāsīprabandha* of Rajasekharasūri, to mention but a few.

Late Medieval Times

Writings of the late medieval period follow the earlier ones in the matter of style and presentation, but embrace a greater variety of themes. Thus, the *Kathāprakāśa* of Jagannatha Misra (17th century) is a collection of tales and episodes from various sources. An anonymous *Kathākośa* contains 27 moralistic tales illustrating the fruits of kindness, anger, avarice, etc. Kavikuñjara's *Rājaśekharacarita* or *Sabhārañjana-prabandha* (Pleasing the Assembly) is a poem inculcating good conduct by means of short episodes and anecdotes. Redactions of epic stories in easy language, like the *Śrīrāmodanta* and *Śrīkṛṣṇodanta*, popular particularly in Kerala, were also characteristic of this period.

Modern Times

Translations from English and other languages form part of children's literature in Sanskrit produced during modern times. *Aesop's Fables* has been translated under the title *Īsab-nītikathā* (Bombay) by Narayan Balakrishna. The story of Solomon from the Old Testament had been rendered by Kalyāṇamalla under the title *Sulematcarita* some time earlier. G. K. Gokak has rendered into Sanskrit *Alibaba and the Forty Thieves* and Appa Sastri Rasivadekar has translated portions of the *Arabian Nights*, including 'Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp', in his *Kathākalpadruma* (Bombay, 1900) for the edification of children. Children's literature rendered into Sanskrit from Indian regional languages include the *Kathāśataka* (One Hundred Stories, 1898) by S. Venkatarama Sastri of Mysore and 400 proverbs in Sanskrit (Mysore, 1949) by Seshasuri, primarily from South Indian sources. And, so also is the *Draviḍāryā-subhāṣitasaptati* (1952) by Y. Mahalinga Sastri from the wise sayings of the classical Tamil poetess Avvai, intended for children. In the work *Nītinibandhana* (1966) by T. S. Vaidyanatha Sastri (Tipparajapuram), *Ātticcūḍi* and *Konraivendan*, two of the popular Tamil classic texts for children, have been rendered into Sanskrit. The *Kiṅkiṇimālā* (Madras, 1934) is a collection of 50 short lyrics by Y. Mahalinga Sastri, including some song-poems and translations from English, intended for children.

Several writers in Sanskrit, especially from the teaching profession, have tried their hand in retelling Sanskrit classics in simple narratives, like the *Bhāratasamgraha* of M. M. T. Lakshmana Suri and *Laghurāmacarita* of Y. Mahalinga Sastri. Sections intended for children are provided also in some of the Sanskrit periodicals.

It might, however, be noted that much of what has been cited above might not be called 'Children's Literature' in the strict sense of the term. The fact remains that literature intended exclusively for small children has not developed to any considerable extent as a separate discipline in Sanskrit. The reasons for this have to be sought for in the grammatically perfected nature of the Sanskrit language and the traditional method of teaching it, neither of which, normally, lent itself to permissiveness incumbent in writings intended for tiny tots. The non-occurrence of Sanskrit as the main spoken language of any sizable portion of the people anywhere in the land is another factor non-conducive to the production of children's literature in the language. It cannot be gainsaid, however, that the production of graded books in Sanskrit would give a fillip to the resurgence of its study today from its grassroots.

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Sindhi

DAYAL K. DHAMEJA 'ASHA'

Early Attempts

In almost all languages one can find traces of children's literature embedded in the minds of grandmothers and mothers. Small stories with some morals, fables in the form of animal stories, stories from fairyland and lullabies sung by our mothers form the bedrock of all children's literature.

This type of children's literature is as old as the human race and one can't trace the authors who produced it. Such stories, fables, fairy-tales or lullabies have hardly been recorded as they have been orally handed down from generation to generation. In the Sindhi language, which did not have a standard script of its own before 1853, there is no written record about this branch of literature. The first book in Sindhi for children was *Mufidul Sabiyān* (Guide for the Young, 1861) translated from *Muntakhbat-ī-Hindī* (Selections from Hindi) by Mirān Muhammed Shah.

Several textbooks meant as primers for school children were brought out by the Department of Education, Bombay Presidency, namely *Bābnāmo* (An Infants Primer, 1853) prepared by Nandirām Mirāṇi, *Pahiriyon ain Biyon Sindhi Kitāb* (First & Second Books in Sindhi, 1853) by Udhārām Thānvardās, and *Ṭiyon ain Chothon Darsī Kitāb* (Third & Fourth Textbooks, 1857) by Pribhdās Anandrām.

Nandiram Mirani and Ellis, the then Assistant Commissioner in Sind, translated *Aesop's Fables* into Sindhi (1854). In 1860 a story entitled *Vahen ain Vilhe jī Ākhāṇī* written for children was appended to *Ṭūṭīnāmo* (A book in Sindhi translated from Sanskrit). The story is entertaining and is written in a style that is all alliteration, with most of the words beginning with the letter 'Vāo' (i.e. 'V'). Kevalram Salāmatrāi, another classical writer of the 19th century, wrote *Sūkhrī* (Gift) as well as *Gul* (Flower) which contain stories of wisdom meant for entertainment as well as instruction. They were first published towards the end of the 19th century.

Amongst these early writers Kauromal Chandanmal (1845–1916) produced the compositions for juveniles. In 1891 he brought out *Bārāṇā Gīt* (Children's Verses) and *Bārāṇiyūn Ākhāṇiyūn* (Children's Stories). Qalich Beg Mirzā (1853–1929) published poems for children under the title of *Bārāṇā Ṣair* (Rhymes for Children, 1870). The same writer later wrote short novels as well as stories meant for children. They are *Nīlo Pakhī* (Blue Bird), *Labā Khān Darzī* (Laba Khan, the Tailor), *Tilsimī Guḍi* (Magic Doll), *Ba Jārā Bhāur* (Two Twin Brothers), *Ṣahzādī Qadam Barg* (Princess Qadam Barg) and *Ṣahzādo Jinkuṣ* (Demon-killing Prince).

Parmānand Mevārām (1865–1938) brought out *Dil Bahār* (in four parts), having entertaining stories culled from his magazine *Jote*.

Dayaram Gidumal wrote and published a collection of stories *Guli ain Sita* (Mother and Daughter). Similarly, Sadhu Hiranand wrote a book of short stories *Hiran Jūn Kaṇyūn* (Edges of the Diamond) and Mirza Qalich Beg and Kauromal Chandanmal Khilnani wrote short stories and anecdotes for children. Bherumal Meherchand composed poems (*Gīts*) having a moral for children. He translated the English poem 'We are Seven' in simple Sindhi. His poem dealing with the wreck of Titanic Steamer is also noteworthy.

A Major Breakthrough

A major breakthrough in children's literature in Sindhi was initiated by 'Dada' Shevak Bhojraj Motvani (b. 1906) who founded 'Bālkan-jī-Bārī' (Children's Guild) in 1925. Indeed, he might be considered the pioneer in this field, for he made it possible for children to read entertaining and instructive stories, child poems, jokes, titbits, riddles,

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fairy tales etc., by starting *Gulistān* (Garden), the only magazine for children. He wrote directly and without artificiality and this appealed to young minds. L. H. Ajwani writes: 'Shevak Bhojraj's prose appeals to the child-mind without there being anything childish in it' (Ajwani, L. H., *History of Sindhi Literature*, p. 200).

Another short-lived magazine for children was edited by Amarlal Hingorani under the title of *Phulvārī* (Garden). Besides, there appeared children's columns in the weekly *Coḍas* (Moonlight) edited by Parumal Kevalramani. After Partition, all these children's magazines became defunct.

However, there also appeared a monthly magazine, *Gul Phul* (Flowers) edited by Melaram Vasvani (b. 1901). Like *Gulistān*, this too gave great fillip to production of children's literature in Sindhi. In order to reinforce Shevak Bhojraj's efforts in this direction, this magazine provided wholesome children's literature. The soul behind this was Fatah Chand Vasvani (b. 1894) who, being a Government official, allowed his brother Melaram Vasvani to author all the children's books brought out under the aegis of the 'Gul Phul' Office, Karachi. Besides, the Vasvani brothers wrote in Sindhi three Indian classics in simplified and abridged version, *Bāl Rāmāyaṇ* (1946), *Bāl Mahābhārat* and *Bāl Śri Kṛṣṇa*.

In *Gul Phul*, poems for children were also given mostly from the pen of Kishinchand 'Bevas' (1885–1947) and Hari 'Dilgir' (b. 1916). Later, these children's rhymes were brought out under the title of *Maujī Gīt* (Entertaining Poems, 1942). Some of the titles in translation are 'Paper Boat', 'Wooden Horse', 'Balloon', 'Sand Dune', 'Rain', etc. Here is a free rendering of a stanza from 'Balloon':

By breathing air it becomes globe-like,
If you let its air pass it will whistle,
It will produce sound of Koo Koo,
Mine is such a royal balloon,
So breathe not much air lest it burst.

And again from 'Dog Fight':

Look, Dogs are engaged in a fight
And people see the fun.
For the dumb creatures' life is so dear
But butchers love their flesh.
That which brings death to animals
Is nothing but sport
For the rich landlords.

(tr. D. K. Mansharamani).

N. R. Malkani's contribution to children's literature is also worth mentioning. His 'Bārāniyūn Boliyūn' (The Speech of Children) is specially notable. Hari-Sunder Rupchand, Kishinchand 'Bewas', Hari 'Dilgir', Bapu Kishinchand, Hundraj Dukhayal and Ramkrishin Advani have also contributed in some measure to this field. Jethanand Nagrani wrote short dramas full of humour for children. Chandulal Jaisinghani started the new monthly *Phūl Malha* (Garland of Flowers) from Larkana and Bhagwan Sadarangani started the magazine *Bālak*.

Post-Partition Period

After the Partition, when Sindhi Hindu community got thoroughly uprooted, there was a gloom which affected the education of Sindhi children. However, after some time, Sindhi medium schools were started especially in Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. The need for education created fresh opportunities for new contributions to children's literature. *Gulistan* was re-started by Bhagwan Sukhrani. Pribhdas Brahmchari and Deepchand Tilokchand started the monthly *Phulwārī* from Ajmer in both Devnagari and Arabic scripts intended to serve children's interest. The Sindhi edition of *Chanda Māmā* in Devnagari script was also started; but it had an early demise.

Vishnu Sharma translated the famous Sanskrit book *Pañcatantra* into Sindhi. Published by Hindustan Kitab Ghar, Bombay, this translation was well received by children and adults.

Parasram Zia, Moti Prakash, 'Goverdhan Bharti' Dayal Asha (b. 1929), Arjan Sikayal (b. 1919), Kanyalal Kan (b. 1920), Apti, Tekchand Mast (b. 1938), Rocho Mohani 'Khuwabi', (b. 1926), Kimit Kamal, Somumal, and Goverdhan Ghayal composed poems for children on different topics with due deference to their psychological needs. Manohardas Kauromal, Pribhdas Brahmachari, Deepchand Tilokchand, Goverdhan Bharti, Kishore Pahuja, Jiwat Jyot, Bacārām Ledwāṇī (b. 1931), Krishnal Bajaj (b. 1935), and Hundraj Balwani wrote short stories and anecdotes for children.

Sadhu T. L. Vaswani's writings served, in particular, to mould the character of children. He started the 'Mira Movement' in education with the same purpose. Some stories and anecdotes were translated from Hindi, English, Marathi, Gujarati and Sanskrit. Hundraj Balwani is editing *Gulistān*, the children's monthly from Ahmedabad.

Mention may also be made of the special column for children started in the *Hindwasi Sindhi Weekly*. Jethanand Lalwani started *Phūlistān* (Garden), a monthly containing stories with pictures. N. D. Gurbakhshani and Dharamdas Khastria have written didactic articles for children.

In the Children's Literature Competition organized by the Ministry of Education, Government of India, Parasrām Ziā received a posthumous award for his book *Bāg Bahār* (The Spring Garden, 1963). In this book, poems for children in simple Sindhi are given with suitable illustrations for the age group, five to nine years. Goverdhan Bharti received the award twice, for his book of poems entitled

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Lātyūn (Sweet Songs, 1958) and his collection of short stories entitled *Naīn Bastī* (New Abode, 1963). Both are very fine contributions to children's literature.

J. K. Gogia's (*nom de plume* 'Jyot', b. 1928) *Dadīa Jūn Ākhāṇiyūn* (Granny Tales, 1960) is an award winner. *Paryun Jūn Ākhāṇiyūn* (1968) and *Nānia Jūn Ākhāṇiyūn* (1981) are interesting books from his pen. It has been observed that he had given more attention to 'Rat and Cat stories'. Sometimes the Rat sins with wit and wisdom and sometimes the Cat overpowers the Rat, with the Rat finally escaping from the clutches of the Cat. There is good entertainment as well as a lesson in each story. Deepchand Tilokchand (b. 1909) was awarded a prize for *Jawāhar Darśan* (Biography of Jawaharlal Nehru with pictures). In the same way, Pribhdas Brahmachari annexed a prize for *Bāpu Darśan*, (some incidents from the life of Mahatma Gandhi with pictures). Both these books are particularly useful for children of the higher age-group.

Fatah Chand Vaswani's *Bhārat Darśan*, Manohardas Kauromal Khilnani's *Chahccita* (Jokes), Lekhraj Han's *Dadīa Jī Dāt*, Lachman Bhatia Kamal's *Hikṛo ho Rāja* (There was a King) and Lachman Bhambhāṇī's *Muṛkandar Mukhṛiyūn* (Blossoming Buds) are all award winning books in children's literature.

There are other books also which have earned prizes. Dayal Asha's (b. 1936) *Mahkundar Mukhṛiyūn* (Fragrant Buds, 1974) (a collection of poems with pictures for children), and *Dādā Darśan* (1972) dealing with the life of the great social reformer, Sahu T. L. Vaswāṇī, deserve to be mentioned. His *Vatana Sadqe* (At the Altar of Motherland, 1979) has also been acclaimed. Moti Prakash's *Gulran jā gīt* (Songs for Children) is another prize-winning title.

Amongst novels for children the only original one is *Surgaji gothā* (Search for Paradise) by Mohan Kalpan (b. 1930). Lekhwani was awarded a prize for *Vigyān Jyoti* which deals with the contribution of science in the modern age. This is a popular work. The contribution of Hūndrāj Baīwāṇī (b. 1946) to children's literature in Sindhi is sizeable. In addition to editing *Gulistān* he has written over 13 books in Sindhi for children which include a short novel *Tāran bharī Rāt* (Star-studded Night) and *Bāl Gīt* (Children's Songs).

Vishindas Asrāṇī's (b. 1924) *Siyāṇo Bīrbal ain Ṭahikenjī Tijoṛī* (Wise Birbal and Laughs Galore) contain a number of witty anecdotes. *Kālū ain Bālū* by Nevandram Apti, *Jhirmir* (The Effulgence of Stars) by Manohar Ājiz (b. 1937), *Roṣan Munar* (Bright Tower, 1976) by Kanyālāl T. Kirpālāṇi (b. 1920) and *Jhirkia Ladho Ṭako* (A Sparrow Found a Small Coin, 1979, a short story collection) by Jagdish Lachhani (b. 1939) may be mentioned here.

P. B. Chandwani, Gopaldas Jamiatrai, Bacharam Ledwani and Jiwandas Ambuman have organized a Trust which has served the Sindhi children's cause by publishing some booklets written with the aim of moulding children's moral character. Some of the books deal with the role of pre-primary and primary education for children taking into consideration the psychological needs of children of various age-groups. The Government of Maharashtra has shown interest in children's writing in Sindhi by publishing standard text books.

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Tamil

V. D. GOPALAKRISHNAN (POOVANNAN)

Place of Children's Literature in Tolkappiyam

Children's literature in the Tamil language is quite ancient. *Tolkāppiyam* of the 3rd century B.C. with all its shades of grammar speaks of riddles (*pici*) and imaginative literature.

Pici is riddles. Imaginative literature deals with the free relationship and communication among species of different sorts, coming from different planes e.g., animals and birds communing with mankind and among themselves. These creatures are endowed here with human feelings and emotions. In the distant past, *sevili-tāi* (foster-mother) entertained children by telling them fables. Riddles and fables were only oral literature, riddles being poetic in form and content, and fables probably in prose. From this we may conclude that children's literature in Tamil was in existence even as early as the 5th century B.C.

Folk-songs

In the Tamil language, folk-songs chronologically succeed *Tolkāppiyam*. For centuries, mothers and grandmothers in our culture have been singing these folk-songs to their children and grandchildren. Children enjoyed them, learnt them and sang them. The best of these folk-songs were culled, compiled and published in book form only in the 20th century by R. Ayyasami. His book runs under the title *Kuḻandaihaḷukkāna Nāḍōḍip Pāḍalhaḷ* (Folk-songs for the Children).

Ethical Writing in Song-form. After the folk-songs, ethics in song-form and in epigrammatic lines came into existence. These were given to children by Avvaiyar (12th century) Ativirarama Pandiyan and Ulakanathar (both in the 16th century). Chief among the ethics in song form are Avvaiyar's *Āti Cūḍi* (One who wears the Ati flower), Ativirarama Pandiya's *Veṟṟi Vērkai* and Ulaganathar's *Ulaka Nīti* (Universal Moralities). Though the ethical content in these works cater only to the young, they teach morals to the mature too. It was customary in our country to teach these to the children and thereby make them carry in their minds these pearls of wisdom in seed form.

In spite of this echo of children's literature in the medieval past, it is only with the birth of Subramanya Bharati, Kavimani Desika Vinayakam Pillai and Bharati Dasan did real children's literature come into being.

The Three Forerunners. Subramanya Bharati (Subramaṇya Bhārati, (1882–1921) in his fine poem *Pāppa Pāṭṭu* (Song to the Child, 1915) addresses the children, speaking to them of morals and ethics. Though marked for its simplicity, like Avvaiyar's, this work is didactic.

Kavimani Desika Vinayakam Pillai (Kavimaṇi Dēśika Vināyakam Piḷḷai, 1876–1954) composed poems which could be sung by children. He composed poems for children as early as 1901, whereas Bharati's *Pāppa Pāṭṭu* was written and published in *Jñāna Bhānu* only in 1915.

Of the large volume of songs for children composed in this century, the song *Paśuvum Kanrum* (Cow and Calf) of Kavimani shines as a bright star in the golden galaxy. He is the one who gave real flesh and blood to story-poems in children's literature. His was the first in the field of story-poems in that direction. He was also the first to translate several poems for children from English into Tamil. His poems for children, taken from his collected poems were published under the title *Iḷam Teṉṟal* (Soft Breeze from the South) in the year 1941.

Bharatidasan (Bhāratidāsan, 1891–1964), disciple of Bharati, was the one who made innovations in the field of metrical compositions for children. He was the first to give to children musical compositions known as *Kīrtanas*. These are exemplified in his works *Isai Amudu—parts I and II*. In addition to this he has brought out a work, *Iḷaijñar Ilakkiyam* (Youth Literature) consisting of 134 poems. His works are free of words from Sanskrit or even of colloquial expressions.

Mayilai Sivamuthu (1892–1968). There is every necessity that poems for children should find a place in textbooks for children. This brought to fame some Tamil writers who composed poems exclusively for children and included them in textbooks for children. Among such writers mention must be made of writers like C. R. Namasivaya Mudaliyar, Mani Tirunavakkarasu, Mayilai Sivamuthu. Namasivaya Mudaliyar (Namasivāya Mudaliyār, 1876–1936) was the pioneer in introducing new story poems for children in school books. His small poems were easy and elegant. The oft-quoted poems 'Appavaipōl Nān Ānāl.....', (If I Grow up Like My Father) and *Pittu* (a famous nursery rhyme) are the compositions of Sivamuthu. The collection of his poems is entitled *Muttu Pāḍalhaḷ* (Gems of Songs). He has also written stories for children.

Al. Valliyappa. Writing poems only for children, Al. Valliyappa (Vaḷḷiyappa, b. 1922) gained for himself the title 'Kuḷandai Kavijñar'. This achievement of his inspired many

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writers to pour forth poems for children. *Malarum Uḷḷam* (Blossoming Heart) part I, a work of his, was a best-seller. Which child does not know *Vaṭṭamāna Taṭṭu* (The Round Plate) and *Kaṇṇan Eṅgaḷ Kaṇṇan* (He is Our Kannan), the famous poems of Valliyyappa? It was this writer who, by translating *Aesop's Fables*, brought them forth into poems for children. His poetical work on Gandhiji's life for children is well-known. He has written novels and biographies. His works are rich in imagery and profuse with eye-catching pictorial illustrations.

R. Aiyasami. R. Aiyasami (Aiyāsāmi, 1912–80) was a programme-executive in A.I.R., Madras, for a long period, in charge of programmes for children, and was known as 'Vānoli Aṇṇa' (Vānoli=radio, Aṇṇa=elder brother). He wrote poems for children and even in his great work *Idaya Cuvaḍi* (Book of the Heart, 1975) meant for adults he has included thirty poems for them. His *Bāla Rāmāyaṇam* is the first epic in children's literature in Tamil. In the field of literature, in broadcasting and in theatrical performances his *Bāla Rāmāyaṇam* was deservedly famous and popular. In addition to these he has written two other epics for children entitled *Ciruvar Śilambu* (The Epic Silambu for Children) and *Mōhana Gāndhi* (Gandhi, the Fascinating Person).

Rare Poetic Collections

These are times when hundreds of poets write for children. So far three hundred poetic collections for children have been published. Among these some strike a new note. Rajam Seetharaman's (Rājam Sītārāman) *Bālar Iyaṛkai Pāḍal* (Nature Poetry for Children) contains a collection of photographs instead of illustrations. V. R. Sivajnana Vallal's (Sivajñāna Vaḷḷal) *Kuḷandaihaḷukku Aṇṇa* (Poems on Anna for Children) consists of poems on C. N. Annadurai. Aru. Somasundaram's (Sōmasundaram) *Ciṛuvaṛukku Vijñānam* (Science for Youngsters) consists of poems on scientific discoveries and inventions. Pirai Anivon's (Piṛai Aṇivōn) *Aṛivu Kēḷvihaḷ* (Quiz) consists of poems in the form of quiz, having science as their subject matter. P. V. Muthukrishnan's *Śiruvar Ulakam* (The World of Children) deals with the life of children, native and foreign, in verse. K. S. Lakshmanan's *Pāpāvukku Mirugaṅgaḷ* (Animals for Baby) and *Pāpāvukku Paṛavaihaḷ* (Birds for Baby) are poems on animals and birds. K. Sudha's *Bālar Pāḍal* (Poems for Children) is the life history of fifty-five great heroes like Shakespeare, Ingersol and Pushkin. Mati Oli's *Iḷam Taḷirhaḷ* (Tender Shoots, 1979) deals with various leaves of trees and plants. Shanmukha Subbaiyan's *Kaṇṇan En Tambi* smacks of poetic-prose or new poetry. Tamil can be proud of such a vast collection of poetry for children.

Some other important writers in the field are: Periasamy Thooran (*Nalla Nalla Pāṭṭu*), Tanihai Ulakanathan (*Pāḍum Pāppā*), Thamizh Oli (*Pāḍu Pāppā*), Naga Muthiah (*Pāṭṭum Kathaiyum*), Poovannan (*Pāṭṭu-Tōṭṭam*) and Thambi Srinivasan (*Śivappu Rōjāppū*).

Anthologies. It was Sri Lanka that first compiled and published an anthology of poems for children. In 1935 in a work called *Piḷḷai Pāṭṭu* 74 poems written by 12 different poets find a place. In 1970, Poovannan and Ayyasami compiled and published for the first time an anthology for children entitled *Muttu Kuviyal* (A Heap of Pearls). Later Valliyappa published *Kuḷandaihaḷukku Kadaipāḍalkaḷ* (Story Poems for Children, 1978), an anthology of story poems. These anthologies help one to know and understand the width and range of poems for children.

Fiction

Children like stories best. Some children may not like to play, but rare it is to come across children who do not love stories. Among the books for children so far published in Tamil Nadu, nearly half the number are stories.

Folklore is the ancient form of stories for children. It has been traditional for grandmothers to narrate tales to their grandchildren. Hence these tales were known as *Pāṭṭi Kathai* (Grandmother's Tales).

Veeramamunivar (Vīramāmunivar, 1680–1746) wrote *Avivēka Paramartta Gurukatai* (The Story of Paramartha Guru). This is a story of a teacher poor in intellect and his pupils equally poor in understanding. Though this was not a story meant for children the humour in it has captured the imagination of children and hence this story has become a good one for children. This may be considered the first novel for children in print.

Short Stories. In the field of short stories for children, the pioneering work of Coomarasami Naidu and Sons under the guidance of C. R. Namasivaya Mudaliyar should be remembered. They have issued scores of graded story books for children. Many were the scholars who retold folklore for children. Vai. Govindan culled several of the stories in folklore and retold them through his children's magazine *Anil*. P. R. Rajachoodamani wrote a number of folklore stories and some of them were adapted from English and published in periodicals and as booklets. Of these folklores rich in song and story, the most famous is *En Peyar Eṅṅa*? (What is My Name?) The story in it is as follows. Once the young one of a fly forgot its name and so went on asking the calf, the cow, the shepherd etc. its name. In the end it asked the horse which, as if in answer, neighed. This neighing sound suddenly reminded the fly of its own name. Anderson's fairy tales and Grimm's fairy tales have been translated into Tamil. Among these T. J. Ranganathan's (Ti. Ja. Ra., 1901–74) work *Rōjā Peṇṇ* (The Rose Girl), P. Thooran's (Periasāmi Tūran, b. 1908)

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Ōlaikkiḷi, P. Ramaswamy's *Aṅṅaparavaihaḷ* (Swans), Tambi Srinivasna's *Eṭṭu Tikku Kathaihaḷ* (Stories from Eight Directions), Vandu Mama's *Ulaga Kathaihaḷ* (Stories of the World) and Kalvi-Gopalakrishnan's *Bālar Kathaikkaḷañjiyam* (Storehouse of Stories for Children) deserve mention.

'Raji' (N. Natesan), 'Muthu' (S. S. Gopalakrishnan) and Mullai Thangarajan are famous for making use of the folk-lore technique to bring forth a new form of stories. There is a great demand for such stories for children and hence children's periodicals like *Ambuli Māmā*, *Bommai Viḍu* and *Ratna Bālā* are much in demand.

It was only with the publication of periodicals for children that stories suited to present-day children assumed importance. Writers like N. S. Deivasikamani, Thangamani, J. Ethirajan, K. Kannusami, Mugilci Kannan, 'Revati' (E. S. Hariharan), Poovai Amudan and 'Bhuvanai Kalai cheliyan' have contributed to this field. Tamil Vanan came into prominence by writing, in Tamil, detective stories for children. Even great writers like Rajaji, K. V. Jagannathan (*Viḷaiyum Payir* and *Cinnarāja*) and Akilon (*Kaṇṇāna Kaṇṇan* and *Thaṅga Nagaram*) whose interest is mainly directed towards the mature reading public have written stories for children.

Days were when the writer of stories had the supreme power to bring forth and shape, the characters and situations to suit his passing whims and fancies. This trend has slowly receded to the background yielding place to writers who make characters give out their own story. This trend has caught on in the field of children's stories also.

In the past, stories had as their theme, difficulties experienced by young ones at the hands of their step-mothers, or cruel sisters-in-law. Sometimes the theme was the difficulties experienced by the poor at the hands of the rich and the mighty. Yet another was difficulties arising out of caste distinctions. These themes slowly came to be replaced by themes of life in schools, affection and love between friends and brothers, respect and love for parents, teachers and elders to be later followed by themes based on scientific subjects. Stories for children have complexity and modernity as literature for the adult. Many short story collections have also been published. Of these Puvannan's *Puḷḷi Mān* (Spotted Deer) and Soundar's *Nalla Kaihaḷ* (The Best Hands) won the state award and national award respectively.

Many collections under the heads—*Vēḍikkai Kathaihaḷ* (funny stories), *Puthir Kathaihaḷ* (riddles), *Gandhi Moḷi Kathaihaḷ*, *Tiṟukkuṟaḷ Kathaihaḷ*, *Aticūḍi Kathaihaḷ*, *Paḻamoḻi Kathaihaḷ* (all didactic stories) have come into existence. Among these, Rajam's *Eṇṇiyadu Naḍakkavillai* (The Thought That Failed) is of a different type in which all the stories have the same title.

Novels. Though there is a demand for short stories among children, yet those in the age group of 10–14 years are more attracted towards novels. In the past there were no novels for children. With the advent of the children's periodicals the need for serial stories grew. In the beginning, novels for children found their appearance only through serial stories in periodicals. The serial story *Bayamā Irukke* (I am Afraid, 1947) was the first serial story for children that won the hearts of children. This was written by Tamil Vanan in the weekly *Aṅil*. Thangamani earned a place for himself as a novelist for children by mastering the theme of adventure. His novel *Amuda Nāṭṭu Kumuda* (Kumuda from the Country called Amuda, 1950) serialized in *Bālar Malar* is a famous one. The serial story for children *Ālam Viḷḷudu* (Aerial Root of the Banyan Tree) published in *Ānanda Vikaṭan* (1968) is important. This story has been translated into Kannada also. It has also been filmed in Tamil, Kannada and Hindi.

P. Thuran's *Māyakkaḷḷan* (Thief Who Deceives) broadcast over the A. I. R. for children is after the pattern of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. In the field of historical novels for children Revati takes a high rank. His *Kārvaṇṇan Kaṇḍa Kanavu* has as its theme the destruction of Kapāṭapura, one of the ancient legendary capitals of Pandy Nadu.

Children like detective stories best. In this category mention must be made of Jothirlatha Girija's *Vanajāvin Aṇṇan* (Vanaja's Brother), Mana Arangasami's *C. I. D. Śingāram* and Thumilan's *C. I. D. Śiṟuvargaḷ* (Detective Children). R. V.'s *Aśattu Picu* (Silly Pichu) is after the pattern of Devan's *Tuppaṟiyum Śāmbu* (Detective Shambu).

The following are the important novels for children; *Burmā Ramaṇi* (by Al. Valliappa), *Paraman Aruḷ* (N. C. Deivasigamani), *Pon Manam* (Iniyavan), *Nīla Malai Mēlē* (J. Ethirajan), *Naṭēśan En Naṅban* (Bhuvanai Kalaicheliyan), *Anbin Valimai* (K. Jayalaksmi), *Iru Kaṇgaḷ* (J. M. Sali), *Bāla Candru* (Poovai Amudan) and *Anbumaḷai* (Nagai Daruman).

The 'novel-contest' conducted by the journal *Kaṇṇan* and by the Association of Writers for children brought forth into this field a number of promising writers.

The practice of translating stories for children from foreign languages into Tamil has been in vogue for a long time. T. J. Ranganathan translated *Alice in Wonderland* into Tamil as *Alamūvin Adisaya Ulagam* (Alamu's Wonderful World). The *Adventures of Pinocchio* was translated by Nagamuthaiah as *Marapācciyin Kathai* (The Story of a Puppet). Many of the classical novels in foreign languages are now being retold in Tamil.

Thus, on the whole, novels for children have a bright future.

Drama

The most powerful influence in literature is exerted by drama. It has the dynamic power to influence the audience,

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producing empathy in them. It was the boy Mohandas who was moved to tears on seeing the play of Harischandra that rose to great moral and spiritual heights as Mahatma Gandhi.

Plays for children had their birth in schools and came to be fostered by them. The anniversaries and other cultural activities in schools saw the staging of several plays for children. In the earlier periods, plays with mythological themes found expression. Even when plays for children came to be broadcast over the air, the themes were mythological. In due course, modern plays adopting modern themes slowly gained momentum.

Santhalakshmi and K. M. Bhakthavatsalam, being teachers in schools, had great opportunities to write and stage plays for children. In Santalakshmi's plays (*Picchaikkāra Rājā*—Beggar Prince) prominence was given to songs and dances. In Bhaktavatsalam's plays (*Rani Maṅgamma, Aśōkan*) dialogue had prominence and hence his plays came to be published in book form.

Periodicals failed to publish plays for the children. The two AIR stations in Madras and Tiruchi helped to nurture plays for children. R. Ayyasami of the Madras AIR station broadcast excellent plays for children serially. Of those who wrote plays to be broadcast for children in Madras, mention must be made of Kuthappiran, Tanigai Ulaganathan, Sounder (S. Soundararajan) and G. Karttikeyan.

Kuthappiran (Kūttappirān) has to his credit no less than two hundred playlets for children. *Surukku Pai* (Small String Bag) and *Svapna Kuḷandai* (Dream Child) are two of his playlets that came in serial-form over the AIR, Madras.

Thanigai Ulaganathan (Tanihai Ulaganāthan) not only writes plays for children but gets them staged too. *Siruvar Nāṭaka Virundu* (Feast of Plays for Children) and *Vaḷanādum Iḷam Kanṟum* (A Nation and Young Calf) are the two dramatic collections for children published by him. *The Pied Piper of Hamelin* gave him the theme for his playlet *Eli Vēṭṭai* (Rat Hunt).

Puvannan (Pūvaṇṇan, b. 1932) has to his credit more than a hundred plays for children like *Ūnṟukōl* (Walking Stick) and *Anbin Nilayam* (The House of Love). Alandur Mohanarangam also is a gifted writer of plays for children. *Vetṟi Eṅgaḷ Kaiyilē* (Victory is in our Hands), and *Nāṅgaḷ Nallavarhaḷ* (We Are Good) are the plays written and published by him. His plays *Poyyē Nī Pōyviḍu* (Farewell to Falsehood) is a poetic (verse) drama.

The full-time play for children (three-hour play) was first written and published by Tiruchi Bharathan. His plays *Appāvin Āsai* (Father's Wish) and *Palāppaḷam* (Jack Fruit) were staged throughout Tamil Nadu by TKS Brothers in 1965 and 1967. Thambi Srinivasan's *Taṅga Kuḷandaihaḷ* (Very Good Children, 1959), a one-hour play, won the National Award.

In 1955, the Association of Writers for children conducted competitions in playwriting for children. The play *Uppillāta Paṇḍam* by Puvannan won the prize in this competition. In the same year six plays for children were staged during the Drama Festival for children conducted by this Association. Kuttappiran's *Annai Śol Amritam* won the prize. This Association conducts such competitions once in three years.

The T V Centre has also strengthened this trend in writing plays for children by telecasting them in the programme the subjects 'Kanmanippunga'.

If plays for children are really to be developed, a theatre exclusively for children should also come into existence.

Books on General Knowledge

The literary forms in which children take delight are the short story, the novel and the drama but the subjects which sharpen their intelligence are science, history and biography. These are generally presented in the form of essays or dialogues.

About 1887 the Society of Books for Schools in Madras brought forth many books on general knowledge for children. Some of the well-known books are *Oru Yānayin Carittiram, Marattin Paḷam Ēn Kīḻe Viḻuhiṟatu, Vari Pōḍuvatu Ēn*? and *Oru Rūpa Śolliya Tanvaralāru*. Each of these contained many attractive pictures designed to capture the child's imagination.

The period that followed this was a lean one in the production of books for children. It was only after 1950 that books on general knowledge for children saw the light of day. This was the boom period of books on general knowledge for children in several patterns. Books have been written on chemistry, astronomy, travelogue, geography, physics, physiology, zoology and botany by eminent writers like Vaithanna, P. N. Appuswami Aiyar, Naga Muthaiyal, Aḷa. Valliappa and many others.

Those who made a mark in writing books on general knowledge are Kalvi Gopalakrishnan and N. K. Velan. Both of them have distinguished themselves by writing a large number of books for children and winning many awards.

The biographies of great men serve as foot prints on the sands of time for children who undertake the journey of knowledge. Hence the biographies of great men of intellect, great soldiers, scientists and poets came to be written by many writers. Among these some highlight the early period in the lives of these great men who adorned the world. *Kuḷandaihaḷ Kalaik Kaḷañjiyam* (Encyclopaedia for Children) under P. Thooran's editorship in ten volumes with many colourful illustrations is a monumental work in this field. Tamil Nadu is the first to bring out such an encyclopaedia for children in South India.

Journals for Children

It is only the journals for children that bring into being

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books for children in any language. The first journal *Tamiḻ Tāi* in Tamil for the mature reading public came into existence in the year 1831. Exactly nine years later, in 1840, appeared the first journal *Bāla Dīpikai* in Tamil exclusively for children. This quarterly had a life of thirteen years. Soon several journals for children followed suit. *Vidyā Danam* was published in 1975 and continues to this day.

Ānanda Vikaṭan issued, for some time, a regular children's supplement in its usual issues. This was perhaps responsible for the starting of independent journals for children. *Pāppā Malar* (1942), *Bālar Malar* (1944) and *Pāppā* (1944) and *Anil* (1947) brought fame and name to children's literature. Each of these went into circulation in thousands, which was creditable in the early days. The commercial boom these journals had turned many in this direction. But this commercial boom was short-lived. These journals not only encouraged writers for children but also gave a rich intellectual repast for the young. Except *Gōkulam* none of the journals for children that came after this period maintained the standard expected of them. The present children's journals like *Ambuli Māmā*, *Bāla Mitran*, *Bommai Vīḍu* and *Ratna Bālā* lay stress only on folklore and anthology. That there is at present no journal for children on the type of *Anil*, *Bālar Malar*, *Karumbu* and *Pūñcōlai* is a matter for regret.

More than 2000 books for children have come into existence in the Tamil language. The Association of Writers for Children which celebrated its Silver Jubilee in 1976 has been responsible for this stupendous growth.

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Telugu

BALA BANDHU B. V. NARASIMHA RAO

Children's literature which was unknown in Andhra Pradesh a hundred years ago had its modest beginnings in the closing decade of the 19th century. Traditionally, children in Andhra after learning to read and write sentences in Telugu were made to read the *Śatakās* (Hundred Verses), *Gajēndra Mōkṣam*, *Rukmiṇī Kalyāṇam* and *Prahlāda Caritam* from the *Bhāgavatam* of Potana (1450–1510). A sense of moral rectitude and a spirit of devotion were inculcated by these classics which were learnt by heart even though the meaning of all the words might not have been grasped. Axiomatic verses and ethical precepts were committed to memory, which served as a reservoir for future use by the children.

The major part of the literature with which children came into contact was thus educative and purposive. It aimed at the transmission of the abiding values of life from generation to generation and sought to mould the mind of the child in accordance with the time-honoured patterns of thought and behaviour, wit and wisdom. But children's literature was not always moralistic or dry. Folk-tales, songs, rhymes and riddles had an element of entertainment and pleasure specially appealing to children. Their sense of wonder was kindled and fostered by simple and sweet songs, by tales of adventure and valour and their minds sharpened by quaint rhymes and riddles. Telugu literature is a rich store-house of songs and tales, mostly oral, whose inexhaustible treasure continues to enchant and delight children of successive generations. Though the names of the authors are lost in the mist of antiquity their influence continues to be perennial. These songs and poems belong to the *Dēśi* literature and very few of them have been preserved in written form.

Early Attempts

One of the earliest attempts in writing for children was by Pandit Sitarama Sastry (Śītārāma Śāstri, 19th century). His *Pedda Bāla Śikṣa* (1846), a concise book of knowledge for children, was in vogue for many years in the schools of Andhra Pradesh and left its impact on several genera-

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tions of students. A pioneer in many literary forms, Kandukuri Vireshalingam (Kandukūri Vīrēśaliṅgam, 1847–1919) not only wrote readers, informative and educative tracts for children, but also translated *Aesop's Fables* (*Nīthi Kathāmañjari*) providing delight and wisdom. Later, Vavilakolanu Subba Rao (1863–1936) published a series of tales under the title *Ārya Kathā Nithi* (1950) drawn from the puranas and traditions. He also published *Kumāra Hitacarya* (1941) and *Kumārī Hitacarya* based on *Advice to Young Men* written by William Cobbet. These early works were composed in a simple but purely grammatical style. They served as gateways to the renowned classics in Telugu. They also sought to offer moral edification but did not aim at appealing to the imagination of children.

The Modern Type

Children's literature of the modern type came into vogue in 1907 when G. V. Sitapati (Sītāpati, 1885–1969) published his songs *Chilakamma Pelli* (The Parrot's Wedding) and *Railu Baṇḍi* (The Railway Train). He wrote stories intended for children in an easy colloquial style ignoring rules of grammar; for instance, his tales about a paisa (coin) and a mango-tree; and about Krishna and Prahlada.

Credit should be given to Chinta Dikshitulu (Cintādīkṣitulu, 1891–1960) for having specialized in writing stories and songs for children. His rich experience in the department of education enabled him to arrive at a happy blending of pleasure and purpose in his works. He, being one of the earliest masters of the medium of short story in Telugu, succeeded in weaving tales around girls named Suri, Siti and Venki. He composed in the ballad style a humorous tale named *Hanumantuni Tōka* (The Tail of Hanuman, 1955). Inspired by *Alice in Wonderland* he wrote a long story named *Līlā Sundari* (1958) in a lucid and attractive style. Following the example set by Viresalingam, he wrote a series of Readers named *Līla Vācakās*, containing interesting material, old and new, which seek to combine knowledge and pleasure, information and imagination. Closely following the pattern of Viresalingam, Veluri Sivarama Sastry (1892–1967) translated and published a volume of stories entitled *Vijñāna Kathālū* (1969) with a couplet at the end of each story clinching the moral purport. Gurazada Appa Rao (Gurzāda Appā Rāv, 1861–1915) narrated the moving tales of Purnamma and Kanyaka in the *ślōka* (stanza) form called *Mutyāla Saram* (Garland of Pearls, a four-line stanza which can be sung like a song) which he borrowed from folk-songs and bestowed an artistic finesse upon it and literary grace. By their undercurrent of pathos and simplicity of expression they appeal to children as well as adults. Purnamma is the young daughter of a poor priest. When out of greed her father forces her to marry an old man, she plunges into the pond near the temple and ends her life. Kanyaka, the daughter of a tradesman, defies the passionate overtures of the ruler of the land and perishes on the burning pyre to preserve her honour. The theme as well as the treatment of these tales touches the heart.

The well-known twin poets Venkata Parvatiswara Kavulu (Veṅkaṭa Rāo, 1880–1972 and Pārvatīśam, 1882–1955) wrote a series of books in verse entitled *Bāla Gītāvaḷi* (Verses for Children, 1939 and 1940) which were composed in their elegant and lucid style dealing with original themes about things in Nature. They not only instructed children but also stimulated their interest. Their literary art lies in concealing art. These poets published simple illustrated versions of the Ramayana, the Bharata and the Bhagavata bringing the message of the epics within the range children's comprehension.

Poet Nalam Krishna Rao (Nāḷam Kṛṣṇa Rāvu 1881–1961) composed simple poems for children. The titles of his books are as attractive as their contents. *Tene Chinukulu* (Drops of Honey), *Mīgaḍa Tarakalu* (Pieces of Cream), *Pāpāyi* (Baby), *Muddu* (The Kiss) and *Venna Muddalu* (Lumps of Butter, 1935), all published in 1935, serve as illustrations of the beautiful titles. His aim was to please first and then preach lessons of moral and ethical value to boys and girls. He begins his narrative like a teacher and ends it like a preacher. For instance in his poem 'Lazy Somu', Somu is shown absconding from school and requesting a dog, a crow, a bee and an ant to play with him. But they all refuse, saying each one of them has responsibilities to discharge. The boy realizes his folly and attends school from the next day onwards.

Gudipati Venkatachalam (Guḍipāṭi Veṅkaṭācalam, 1894–1979) made a significant contribution to children's literature by pointing out the defects in the traditional system of education which curbed the creative faculties and instinctive impulses of children. He felt that the minds of children should be tenderly nurtured and given full scope for individual development without forcing them to conform to any stereotyped mould. He was a rebel against orthodoxy and pleaded for a better planning in the field of elementary education, which should aim at the harmonious and wholesome development of the various aspects of the growing child's personality. As a reformer and free thinker, he argued that curbing the child's instinct is as criminal as committing a murder. His works include *Biddala Śikṣana* (Training of the Children) and *Musings* (3 volumes).

The demand for children's literature has been growing and the popularity of the spoken style has added to its appeal. Writers have begun to write books for children without caring for the recognition of the textbook committees or the patronage of the education department which were reluctant to accept books written in any style other than the traditional stereotyped one.

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Agencies of Encouragement

Weekly magazines set apart a section for children's literature and gave encouragement to its cultivation. Journals exclusively devoted to children's literature came into vogue during the post-war period. *Bāla*, *Bālamitra* and *Candamāma* continue to provide delightful and informative material to children. The most popular children's magazine, *Candamāma* (Uncle Moon), which was first started in Telugu after the Second World War, set a model by its illustrations and attractive get-up. Published in many languages like Tamil, Kannada, Hindi, Marathi and English, it has also become the focal point of children's literature in Telugu because talented writers like Chakrapani and Kodavatiganti Kutumba Rao have guided its progress from its inception.

The Central and the State Governments have been encouraging children's literature by instituting annual awards for the best books written for children in the age groups of 3 to 7 and 7 to 14 years. Besides instituting awards the Central Government gave impetus to children's literature by organizing literary workshops like those held at Rajahmundry in 1956 and Hyderabad in 1958 and 1961 under the directorship of G. V. Sitapati. These workshops played a useful role by encouraging and guiding writers to turn out better reading material for boys and girls.

Scientific Literature

In course of time the nature of children's literature has changed and its scope enlarged. Though writers first thought that songs and stories alone constituted children's literature, they gradually realized that it was necessary to present different aspects of human knowledge pertaining to science, history, geography and allied fields in an interesting manner. Avoiding the colourless, dull techniques of textbook writers, it was felt necessary to make learning a pleasure. Learning without tears became possible when books colourfully illustrated and written in simple and clear language introduced the child to many branches of knowledge. Writers like Vasanta Rao Venkata Rao, Nanduri Ramamohan Rao and Venaraju Bhanumurthy wrote on scientific topics in a style which holds the interest of children. They wrote on topics such as the radio, electric energy, astronomy, health, journey to the moon, wonders in the space, The Wonderful World of Electrons, etc. These books read like novels with their narrative and human elements.

Akashvani. Special mention may be made of Sri Nyayapati Raghava Rao and Srimati Nyayapati Kameswari, who made memorable contributions to children's literature. For nearly three decades they conducted feature programmes for children broadcast by Akashvani. Though they scripted and broadcast numerous skits, songs and plays, the two stock characters Potti Bava (short brother-in-law) and Chitti Maradalu (little sister-in-law) who lend their names to the titles of the two miniplays by N. Raghava Rao linger in the minds of listeners. The mischievous imp Budugu (little fellow) created by the humorous writer Mullapudi Venkataramana continues to delight the readers with his pranks.

Credo

Poets like Kavi Rao and B. V. Narasimharao have specialized in writing songs and stories for the pleasure and profit of children. Kavi Rao (b. 1918) in his *Nelavanka* has ably rendered into simple Telugu Rabindranath Tagore's *Crescent Moon*, one of the finest masterpiece in children's literature. B. V. Narasimharao (b. 1913) has been carrying on a consistent and vigorous campaign that we should return to the primal and pristine innocence of childhood. He argues that the distortions of adult consciousness take us farther and farther away from Truth, Beauty and Bliss. Like William Wordsworth, he too affirms that Heaven lies around us in our infancy and that the older we grow in years, the farther we drift from the visionary gleam, the glory and the dream of childhood. Through his songs and tales in verse he pleads that we should recapture the first fine rapture of childhood which stands in sharp contrast with the drab and dismal facts of human existence.

Now the writers of our children's literature in Telugu are in a dilemma as to whether they are justified in re-telling the puranic stories as they are found in their source and feeding them with ideas about caste, religion, karma, the ways of God etc. And they now believe sincerely that every child should be treated as a Republic and as such be protected from exposure to any partisan truths and sectarian beliefs.

Thanks to technology, distance is annihilated and the peoples all over the world have come closer and can easily exchange their experiences and ideas. Books written for children in foreign languages are being freely translated and made available for the benefit and pleasure of our children as their thoughts and feelings everywhere are the same. They change and differ only when they grow into adults resulting in the loss of the Paradise of Wonder and Love.

Children's literature in Telugu continues to grow in quantity as well as quality to meet the requirements of modern times.

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Urdu

ABDUL HAQ

In every age our writers, poets and thinkers endeavoured, in prose and poetry, to impart wholesome education through tales, parables, fables and allegories. Akhlāq-i-Jalāli, Akhlāq-i-Nasiri, Akhlāq-i-Mohsini, Gulistan and Boostan as well as Hitōpadēśa form the links of this long chain and thus their translations provide a backdrop for children's literature in Urdu.

The real beginning of children's literature is marked by *Khāliq Bari* (Creator) ascribed for a long time to Amir Khusrau (1255–1324) of Delhi, being versified working dictionaries of Persian and Hindustani synonyms. Later researchers ascribed it to a namesake of Khusrau, living in Emperor Jahangir's times or even a later period (17th century). This was followed by a number of such versified glossaries or lexicons aimed at teaching language to children so that they might pronounce and communicate correctly. Most of these books are in verse. They also aimed at cultivating in them an impeccable poetic sense so that they might hum, sing and ultimately commit to memory couplets containing synonyms.

For a considerable time no attention was paid to children's literature in Urdu. The popularity of Urdu poetry in general, and that of the Urdu ghazal in particular, greatly handicapped the production and progress of this genre of literature. Moreover, cheap and superficial type of literature was condemned and discouraged. Literature was addressed only to the adult. It was because of this that the children's literature was confined to moral education and no great man of letters took care of it. Books pertaining to good conduct and character were written but they were outside the pale of literature. The contents of Mathnavis (narrative poetry of a special kind) and stories could undoubtedly be conducive to the moral health of children but, they too were subordinated to the theme of love and beauty. Fiction, with its supernaturalism and a climate of adventurism, could have been of some interest to children but for their unwieldy dimensions and grandiloquent style. Despite these flaws, these fictions contain such passages as may be of some utility to children.

The Pioneers

Nazir Akbarabadi (1735–1830) is perhaps the most important writer of children's literature in Urdu. Nazir took up only topics of special interest to children; and he employed their language and expressed their sentiments. From the thematic point of view, his poems are based on day-to-day experiences, observations and gentle and mild feelings, free from the elements of emotional complications, intricacies, abstruseness and abstraction. They concern seasons, festivals and daily routines. He himself taught children and often composed poems at their request. He was aware of their moods and preferences and composed in a language reminescent of their innocence. Coupled with melody and music, his writings occupy a prominent place in children's literature having immense capacity to inspire and elevate them. Having a moral for children, they are not merely educative and didactic but felicitious and thought-provoking. His poems *Banjara Nāma*, (Song of the Nomads), *Ādāmi Nāma* (Song of Man), *Barsāt Ki Bahāren* (Glory of the Rainy Season), *Id*, *Hōli*, *Diwāli*, *Roṭiyan* (Bread), *Jāre Ki Bahāren* (Glory of the Winter) and the like bear testimony to this fact.

The switch-over to political power during the year 1857, is no less than a cultural upheaval, which was more important than the change of government. The British not only introduced a new political system, but also brought their cultural legacy with vigour and aspiration. This culture gradually posed a threat to all that was oriental or Indian.

Of the cultural influences of the West, it was literary influence which proved strongest and most effective. It had a wider field and greater permeation. Moreover, it was the most powerful vehicle of communication. The

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form and contents of our literature and poetry manifest this influence. The Urdu litterateurs welcomed this change and, in this connection, the poetical get-togethers that were organized in 1874 under the auspices of the Ajuman-i-Punjab, Lahore, blazed a new trail and introduced a new genre—*Nazmi*, i.e. compact poems, written on one particular topic. In these gatherings, poems on certain topics were recited. The poems of Hali (1837–1914), Azad (1833–1910) and Ismail Meerathi (1844–1917) cannot be under-estimated.

Ismail Meerathi is exclusively a children's poet. A great bulk of his writings consists of this type of literature. This apart, he also prepared a syllabus for children, which still remains unparalleled. He has also kept in view the difference between syllabus and literature. This was preceded by a syllabus prepared by Mohammad Husain Azad but this could not be as popular as that of Ismail Meerathi. He was fully conscious of the psychology of children and had, for years together, pondered over this problem, and written on interesting subjects in their language. He paid due attention to this genre of literature and elevated it to the level of a literary creation. He included his own poems in the books prepared as reading material under the new guidelines for syllabus and earned popularity throughout the country.

Pān-Cakki, (Water Mill), *Hamāri Gāye* (Our Cow), *Chhoti Chunti* (Tiny Ant), *Kauvva* (Crow), *Rail*, *Dal Ki Faryad* (Complaint of Pulse), *Hava Cali* (Wind Blows), *Makkhiyan* (Ants), *Ūnt* (Camel), *Śēr* (Lion), *Becchā aur Mān* (Child and Mother), *Kacua aur Khargoṣ* (The Tortoise and the Rabbit) etc. are still read with interest. These poems are saturated with local colour and experiences which the children usually come across. He has particularly dwelt upon their moral aspect. Written in an attractive style, they do not lack the elements of melody and music. The students would recite these poems. They also contain a moral which the poet likes to impress upon the minds of children, not in a dogmatic way but in a pleasing manner—in a clear, chaste, simple and easily intelligible language. Children study these poems with fondness. Ismail Merathi was so much preoccupied with this topic that it became second nature to him. He also wrote short stories in a simple form and they are included in the syllabus compiled by him. In addition, he also included in his reading material poems and stories pertaining to seasons, animals, festivals, fairs and sports. It may be added that the primers and readers compiled by Ismail continued to be the basic syllabi for all Urdu students for about half a century and are still in use at some places.

He really lent vigour to children's literature, and through his writings drew the attention of his contemporaries to a significant yet neglected field of Urdu literature.

There are only a chosen few in Urdu literature who are the masters of a grand style and a beautiful language. Maulana Shibli (1857–1912) has to his credit a few very important poems on some historical events and they acquired popularity among children.

Muhammad Iqbal. At the turn of the 19th century Muhammad Iqbal (1873–1938) started his poetic career with poetical compositions specially written for children. Iqbal made his debut as a poet in the last decade of the 19th century but it was in 1901 that he gained prominence. The years from 1901 to 1905 mark the first stage of his art and thought and it is at this stage that he composed poems for children in a charming style. These poems are few in number and they are *Ek Gāye aur Bakri* (A Cow and a Goat), *Ek Pahar aur Gilahri* (A Mountain and A Squirrel), *Bacche Ki Dua* (Child's Prayer), *Hamdardi* (Sympathy), *Ma'n Ka Khwab* (Mother's Dream) and *Parende Ki Faryad* (Bird's Plaint). These are the six poems which were consciously composed for children. In addition to these, two other poems entitled *Tarane-i-Hindi* (Anthem for India) and *Hindustāni Bacchon Ka Qaumi Gīt* (National Song for Indian Children) were meant for children. At this stage of his poetic career Iqbal was so close to this topic that he composed many striking and thought-provoking poems on themes like *Ahd-i-Tifli* (Age of Infancy), *Tifl-i-Sir-Khwar* (An Infant) and *Baccha aur Ṣama* (The Child and the Candle). It is noteworthy that the six poems already referred to are mostly translated from English, but they have the charm of the original and appeal to our imagination and express moral awareness and insight. This, perhaps, accounts for the great popularity of his poem *Bacche Ki Dua* (Child's Prayer) in Urdu Literature. Next to it is the *Tarana-i-Hindi* (Anthem for India) which is no less popular. 'Sāre Jahan se Accha Hindustān Hamāra' (Our India, the Best in the Universe) has been adopted as one of our national songs and enjoys great popularity all over the country. These two poems could be justly adjudged as choric songs meant for children. The third poem belonging the same period is *Ek A'rzu* (A Desire), an adaptation from English, too has a charm of its own.

Other Eminent Writers. Iqbal was followed by Tilok Chand Mahrum (1887–1968), who is a very familiar figure in the world of children's literature. Being a teacher himself he took to children's literature quite seriously and made valuable contributions to this genre. His patriotic poetry too is, in fact, the extension of his children's poetry. The denizens of the world of his imagination are children—a world which belongs to the soil of India, where the sun rises from the Himalayas and sets in the Indian ocean. The fauna and flora of India, the rivers and brooks, the orchards and the landscapes lend local colour to his poems. Rich in music and melody, these poems have as their themes subjects and experiences relevant to children of various age-groups. *Kām* (Work), *Savere Uthna* (Early Rising), *Acche Kām* (Good Deeds), *Kitāb* (Book), *Bulbul* (Nightingale),

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Safāi (Cleanliness), *Adab* (Etiquette), *Accha Ādmi* (A Gentleman), *Phūl* (Flower) and *Barsāt* (Rainy Season) are some of his well-known poems.

The *Shah Nama-i-Islam* has brought an undying fame to Hafeez Jullundheri (b. 1900) but his popularity also owes much to poems and songs written for children. Beautiful, melodious and musical, these poems are composed in simple words with colourful imagery and they adequately express children's feelings. His facile imagination, free from abstract ideas and transcendentalism, enlightens and delights the child. They have been advised to keep their morale high, to be dauntless in the face of dangers, to be guided by the spirit of sacrifice and to maintain a high moral standard—pieces of advice delivered in a beautiful and attractive manner in the poems like *Khuda Sab Ko dekhta hai* (God Sees All), *Bōl mere murghe bōl* (Crow, Cock, Crow), *Sūraj* (Sun), *Ka'en Ka'en* (Crow Crow), *Bahadar Kisān* (Brave Peasant), *Kisān Ka Larka* (Peasant's Son), *Garmi Ki rut a gari*, (The Summer Season Comes), *Baiśākhi Ka mēla*) (The Baisakhi Fair), *Tāron Ki Mahfil* (The Assembly of Stars), etc.

Next to Ismail Meerathi, Shafiuddin Nayyar (1903–78), perhaps is the most important exclusive writer for children. The service he rendered to the cause of children's literature is memorable. In a well-planned and calculated scheme, he graded this genre of literature in accordance with the psychological, imaginative, emotional and social responses of children of various age-groups. The contemporary age lays much stress on children's psychology, and Shafiuddin Nayyar was benefited from it in full measure. He divided his writings into three parts—the first relating to the children of the age ranging between five and eight years; the second to those between eight and eleven years and the third to those between eleven and fourteen years. As children grow they also develop their intellectual and emotional faculties; their observation grows keener, their understanding sharper, and they gain in qualities of head and heart. In view of this rapid change such a gradation was imperative. He introduces children to various moral themes like cleanliness, devotion, mutual love, friendship and concern for fellow-beings as well as for animals, birds and flowers and blades of grass. He fully appreciates that human character is built up on the basis of these universal principles, and children brought up on such values may play a vital role in carving out the destiny of mankind. Shafiuddin Nayyar's books in prose and verse, on children's literature exceed forty-two in number.

More Poets. Besides, there are lesser poets and writers who enjoy a considerable amount of popularity in one or the other sections of the Urdu-knowing public. Hamidullah Afsar, (b. 1898), Nazir Ansari, Raja Mehdi Ali Khan, Mahvi Siddiqi, Inderjit Lal, Latif Faruqi, Mahri Siddiqi, Faiz Ludhianvi, Shafiq Kotti, Sufi Tabassum, Ma'el Khairabadi, and Saadat Nazir are some of the poets who are well known for making worthy contributions to children's literature.

Contributions in Prose

The domain of children's prose in Urdu is not without its guiding stars. A great part of this type of prose literature comprises short stories, novels and short plays. A section of fiction is replete with figures of speech and literary architectonics. In this regard the two early stories *Miyan Khon Khon* and *Kala Deo* by Hayatullah Ansari (b. 1911) are unforgettable. Besides, other short story writers like Qurrat-ul-ain Haidar, Krishan Chander (1914–78) and Shanukat Thanvi enlarged and expanded its scope, to be further improved with new shades and contours by writers like Salam Machlishahri (d. 1970), Dr. Zakir Husain (1897–1969), Adil Rashid, Mazharul Haq, Shabnam Qadri, Athar Pervez and Maqbul Ahmad Seoharvi.

In this category of writers, Abdul Ghaffar Madholi and Mohd. Hasan Hassan Nadvi stand out prominently. These two writers have done a great deal to elevate the standard of children's literature.

While discoursing upon the popularity and desirability of creative literature in respect of Urdu-knowing children, the important and vital role played by some periodicals and journals deserve special mention. Among them are *Phūl* (Flowers), *Kaliyan* (Buds), *Ghuncha*, *Tofee*, *Bacchon Ki Dunya* (Children's World), *Musarrat* (Bliss), *Chand* (Moon) and *Nau-nihal* (Baby), which introduced and inspired a host of important writers. Contemporary children's magazines include *Khilauna* (Toys), *Payame Taleem*, *Hilal*, *Noor* and *Bacchon Ka Ajkal*.

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Section 12

MOVEMENTS AND INSTITUTIONS

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Introduction

K. M. GEORGE

The division of Indian literature into the sections so far included has a generic basis; but this last section is a deviation. It deals with movements and institutions which are outside the general purview of literature as such. There are literary movements like classicism, realism and romanticism which come naturally within the range of literature and are therefore referred to while dealing with poetry, drama, novel, etc. But there are also extra-literary forces which promote literary creation and propagation: forces which emanate from religious, socio-political, national and regional thought currents. These forces are responsible for the creation of certain movements, organizations and institutions which serve the cause of literature directly or indirectly. They not only foster literary creations, but also establish canons of literary taste. Literature does not function in a watertight compartment. Thoughts and feelings which inspire and ennoble human minds come from various sources and when they are expressed in memorable words they become literature. And for a proper understanding of the works of literature, an informed knowledge of the social atmosphere of their place and time is a necessity. The articles that follow trace briefly the genesis and growth of important movements, organizations and institutions connected with the various languages.

Religious Ideas and Ideals

The wide-ranging impact of religious thoughts and beliefs on Indian literature can be gauged if writings on such topics are separated from the common stream. How impoverished the literatures of Sanskrit and modern Indian languages would be, if the literary works inspired by religious ideals are removed from the common stock! Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism, Islam and Christianity have contributed substantially to the diffusion of devotional thoughts, ideals and principles. This has in turn added a spiritual dimension to all our languages. But the various creeds of Hinduism dominate the scene. More than a religion, Hinduism is a way of life encompassing various faiths. The stories and legends about various Hindu gods and goddesses provided the raw material for most of India's early art and literature.

The Vedic literature, both verse and prose, not only served the purposes of religion, but provided a common literary source. Saivism, Veerasaivism and Vaishnavism are certain offshoots of Hinduism which produced literature both of thought and of devotion. The great spiritual preceptors of Saivism and Vaishnavism of the Tamil region started writing songs and poems even in the 5th century. Jainism and Buddhism also enriched the Tamil field with devotional literature in the same period. Jainism was very strong in the Kannada area from the 10th century onwards. Simultaneously we find the Kannada literary field fed by Saivism and Veerasaivism. Many of the composers were critical of other faiths, but on the whole they caused a remarkable spiritual awakening among the people.

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While Hinduism has great metaphysical emphasis, it is also a religion that can be felt or lived by the ordinary people. The goal that is attained by *jñāna* (knowledge) is also reached by the pursuit of *bhakti* or devotion. Here the devotee requires a personal God. The *bhakti* concept has been accepted and cultivated by all religions. Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism are considered to be reformative movements from within the fold of Hinduism, put forth to meet the spiritual demands of changing times. According to Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Islam and Christianity have become native to the soil through centuries of contact with Hinduism. 'Tasawuf' in Kashmiri is the popularization of Islam with striking affinities to the Saiva tradition and Rishi cult. The Sufi tradition in Urdu, Sindhi and Punjabi bears eloquent testimony to the *bhakti* idea of self-surrender. Some thinkers consider Sufi literature a synthesis of Islamic mysticism and Advaita Vedanta, *bhakti* and *yoga*. Then there are various cults like the *Mahānubhāv Panth* and *Bhakti Panth* (12th and 13th centuries) in Marathi. Mention may also be made of the Chaitanya movement which started in Bengal and spread through the whole of East India and the Natha cult popular in Hindi and Bengali. Christian devotional literature is comparatively recent. The earlier expressions can be seen in Malayalam (Maliekkal Thoma Rampan and Arnos Padiri, 17th century) and in Tamil (Veeramamunivar, 18th century).

This *bhakti* cult of various shades, finding expression in all our languages, has a common core which inspires people to rise above mundane interests and lead a virtuous life. The devotional hymns and poems of Tukaram (Marathi) and Kabir (Hindi) transcend the limits of any particular religion. Not only Hindus, but Muslims, Sikhs and Christians accept them and make use of them.

Sanskrit and Tamil followed by Kannada paved the way for other languages in the production of *bhakti* literature. In the vast majority of them (especially Hindi, Malayalam, Telugu, Bengali and Oriya) the period of efflorescence of *bhakti* literature is from the 14th to the 17th century. Actually in many of the modern Indian languages, writing commenced with works intended to introduce philosophical and religious teachings of the Upanishads and the Bhagavadgita as also the epics like the Ramayana and the Mahabharata to the common people who did not know Sanskrit. The language of such literary works had, therefore, to be comparatively simple and akin to the colloquial idiom. Here we see a movement designed to bring literature from the elite to the common man. *Rāmacarit-Mānas* of Tulsidas is considered the Bible of North India and is the main source of religious inspiration as it released the power of *bhakti* to the high and the low. However the role of Sanskrit as the national link language and the embodiment of Hindu culture cannot be minimized. The Sanskrit language and the Hindu religious thought were the main source of inspiration for all modern Indian languages especially in traditional poetry and classical drama.

Renaissance and its Implications

After a period of high efflorescence sustained mainly by Sanskrit and Hindu thoughts, lasting for a pretty long stretch of time, there was a period of decadence in all the modern Indian literatures. This comparatively sterile period is around the 18th century in most languages. Then came a breath of fresh air which produced a great renaissance in Indian life and letters on account of the powerful impact of the British rule and the introduction of a new system of education with English in a key position. In due course western influences seeped into many aspects of Indian life. Initially this influence was slight and superficial, but later it became more significant and marked. The most significant period of renaissance is the second half of the 19th century. The impact of the West was felt more or less uniformly in every region, though the urban areas were more exposed in comparison with the rural. Calcutta, the Imperial capital in the early days, woke up earlier than the other centres. That is why we see the fruits of this influence in Bengali literature earlier than in the sister literatures. But within two or three decades every

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major language in India had the beneficial effects of contact with English and its literature. As a matter of fact, English came to be accepted as the most effective modern link language of India and a window to the world outside, apart from its official position in the governmental machinery.

Politicians, administrators, traders, educationists and Christian missionaries came to India from Europe and, though each group had its own motivation, they all shared some common concerns and contributed to the modernization of our society, each in its own way. Their effective functioning depended largely on the currency of the English language in India. But they were not against the development of local languages. The missionaries in particular were interested in making the local languages a fit medium for propagating Christianity. They learned Indian languages, compiled dictionaries and grammars of them, established printing presses, started periodicals and published books, both religious and secular. This happened in every important language around the middle of the 19th century according to a well-conceived plan in which different missions and agencies co-operated. This was only an inauguration or an ushering in of the great renaissance which was to follow. It is not the European missionaries but the English-educated Indians like Bankim Chandra and Saratchandra in Bengali, Kesavasut in Marathi, Vedanayakam Pillai in Tamil, Kandukuri Viresalingam in Telugu and Chandu Menon in Malayalam who popularized new forms of literature like the novel, the short story, the prose drama, etc. in their own languages. The prose in our languages received a substantial fillip on account of this reawakening. Actually the western influence resulted in our discovering the potentiality of our prose and revitalizing our poetry which was fairly rich.

Social and religious reformers naturally took steps to establish movements and institutions for literary and cultural advancement. School book societies and similar institutions were set up in almost all language-areas as seen from the surveys. A brief period of surrender to the glamour of western civilization was followed by a reaction which was inevitable in the historical process. The intelligentsia woke up to the necessity of preserving the indigenous heritage. We come across a reawakening followed by an urge for reform and a critical appraisal resulting in revolutionary thinking and reconstruction. All these historical processes are evident in the 19th century which has proved a pivotal century in the long history of India. The 20th century has continued to carry forward most of these thought currents. The enormous transformations in the religious, social, economic, political and cultural spheres are reflected in literature, both imaginative and informative.

Social and Political Movements

The formation of Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, Ramakrishna Mission, etc. reveals the transformation not only in religious persuasion, but also in social life. The concern for the eradication of social evils like ignorance, untouchability and other caste taboos, child marriage, the appalling condition of women, etc. was evident in the programmes of the reformers.

Almost side by side came the National Movement for self-government with the setting up of the Indian National Congress in 1885. When Mahatma Gandhi became the unquestioned leader of the Congress in the second decade of the century its tempo intensified and dimensions increased. It became a composite movement not only for political liberation, but also for the ordering of a healthy and progressive national life. It accepted various programmes like the development of cottage industries, popularization of basic education, prohibition of intoxicants, and introduction of Harijan welfare schemes, in addition to the eradication of the social evils mentioned already. Even before the advent of Mahatma Gandhi, poets and writers in certain languages had written quite a bit expressing their feelings of national pride. But when Gandhiji dominated the scene, every language pulsated with feelings of nationalism. Great writers in all languages were

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moved by Gandhiji and his ideals and they poured forth poetry of such power and appeal that the whole of India throbbed as a single unit. Gandhiji was not just a saintly and shrewd individual, but an institution. He has influenced writers not only in the selection of themes and plots, but also in the manner of writing, stressing the advantage of simple and direct expression. Another celebrity who has influenced the whole of Indian literature like an institution is 'The Poet' (Rabindranath Tagore).

After nationalistic writings, which had their heyday in the second and third decades of the 20th century, comes the Progressive Movement in literature with its emphasis on left wing politics. Known by different names in the different languages (Pragati Sahitya, Purogamana Sahitya, etc.), this movement swept through the length and breadth of India for nearly two decades commencing from 1935. As a literary offshoot of this movement we had the dominance of socialist realism in all our languages for some time. The Progressive Movement was followed by a modernist phase which still continues to be experimental in nature. Marx, Freud and other European thinkers influenced the awakened writers in our languages; but the more mature among them were for a selective assimilation of western ideas and approaches.

Societies and Institutions

Literary societies play an important part in literary production and maintenance of high standards of scholarship. They are of various types: learned societies, writers' clubs and literary academies. In the 19th century all the major languages set up organizations of writers, designated in a variety of ways. Sahitya Parishads, Sahitya Sabhas, Sangams, Pracharini Sabhas and Vidya Sabhas attached to the languages are some examples. Then there are schools of thought like the Delhi School and the Aligarh School in Urdu. Tamil language had such a society entitled *caṅkam* (Sangham) even in the early centuries of the Christian Era. These societies arrange periodic gatherings of writers, organize discussions on literary subjects and also conduct poets' (*sammelans*, *mushairas*, etc.) at which new poems are recited.

Then there are the academies which recognize writers of achievement and encourage writers of promise. The Sahitya Akademi, which is the National Academy of Letters was set up by the Government of India in 1954 to foster and co-ordinate literary activities in all the major languages of India. On the lines of the National Akademi, regional academies were set up in about eight States. Other States have departments for literary and cultural development which perform the same function. These institutions have been set up after Independence and the reorganization of States with reference to the major languages; and they have been rendering useful service. Societies and institutions designed to promote literature have proliferated in recent years in every language. There are also writers' co-operative societies in a few states which help the authors by publishing and selling their books offering a high royalty. Such organizations and institutions foster literary writings and promote the welfare of writers. They are, therefore, intimately connected with literature.

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Assamese

SATYENDRANATH SARMA

The Early History

It has been stated in connection with traditional poetry that though Assamese literature originated around the beginning of the 10th century, it actually started its independent and unbroken course from the latter part of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century. The emergence of modern Indian languages, especially those that sprang from the Indo-Aryan family, is largely due to the conscious attempt made by medieval poets, reformers and preachers who on the basis of Sanskrit religious books, epics and puranas built up the different regional literatures by producing regional versions of the above mentioned works and *kāvyas*. By the end of the first millennium A.D., Sanskrit, the fountain-head of Indian thought, philosophy, religion and literature, became unintelligible to the masses and the final parting kick was given by the installation of Muslim rule at the end of the 12th century. Assam, the easternmost State, though politically free from Muslim occupation, nevertheless suffered from frequent clashes among the local contending powers, viz. the Koches, the Ahoms and the Kacharis from the 13th to the 17th century, when at last the Ahoms became the supreme power in the Brahmaputra valley. The Ahoms facilitated the emergence of Assamese as the principal language of the region by adopting it as the court language. Even before this political unification the scholars and poets of the region, discarding Sanskrit, had begun to use Assamese as the vehicle of translation and adaptation of epics and puranas. This practice of using Assamese had been in vogue since the 14th century, if not earlier, when the entire Ramayana was rendered into Assamese verse by Madhava Kandali (c. 1350). These individual literary attempts by half a dozen poets of the 14th and the early part of the 15th century were not backed by any conscious literary movement. They were mostly produced at the behest of the patronizing kings who exhibited enthusiasm for educating the masses in ancient lores.

The Vaishnava Renaissance

Towards the last quarter of the 15th century the literary flow gained new momentum in the shape of a regular literary upsurge in the wake of the Vaishnavite renascent movement initiated by the versatile genius Sankaradeva, who was ably assisted by a galaxy of poets like Madhavadeva (c. 1489–1596), Ananta Kandali (c. 1530–1600), Ramasarasvati (c. 1540–1620) and others. The literary upsurge, being concomitant with the Bhakti movement, served as the principal instrument of propagation and diffusion of devotional thoughts, ideals and principles. Besides translation of epics and puranas a large number of mythological *kāvyas*, dramas, lyrics and hagiographies were produced. Prose which had remained neglected as a vehicle of literature till then received special attention from some writers. Dramas were enacted with proper constume and varied forms of classical dances performed and songs with classical *rāgas* sung. The movement also popularized the folk arts and manuscript-painting in the religious centres. In fact, the Bhakti movement made a tremendous literary awakening. The poet also experimented with new patterns of rhyme and metre. The literature they produced permeated through the deepest recess of the Assamese mind and every Assamese, literate or illiterate, rich or poor, is familiar with some of the choicest writings of the Vaishnavite literature and can quote profusely from them. The individual prayer houses (*gosāinghar*) as well as the public prayer halls (*nāmghar*) even now resound with rhythmic clapping of hands and clattering of cymbals to the accompaniment of prayers, songs and musical recitations from Vaishnava literature. The poets on several occasions unequivocally declared that they had written for the benefit of the lower castes and womenfolk. Ananta Kandali boldly asserted that he could competently compose Sanskrit verse and prose, but had chosen Assamese as his medium with a view to giving the benefit of his scholarship to the masses.

The enthusiasm created by the Vaishnavite movement,

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however, considerably weakened towards the close of the 17th century. The writings of the 18th century, in spite of the royal patronage of the Ahom court, being somewhat artificial in style and sensual in treatment, could not draw the sympathy of the people. The frequent political troubles, internal rebellion and the anarchical condition of the country created by the repeated Burmese invasions from the last quarter of the 18th century to the end of the first quarter of the next century practically put a halt to all literary activities, though stray attempts could be noticed occasionally.

The Beginning of Modern Literature

Three Burmese invasions from 1817 to 1825 resulting in a large-scale massacre, plunder and arson not only depopulated Assam to a considerable degree but also ruined the country economically and politically. By virtue of the treaty of Yandaboo (1826), Assam was occupied by the East India Company. The British found the country in a state of devastation. There was no agriculture for years, trade and commerce was at a standstill and villages were mostly destroyed. The educational institutions remained closed for years. The East India Company took several years to restore peace and normalcy in the country. The new rulers introduced a new system of government with which the local people were quite unfamiliar. To man the new administration the rulers imported a large number of employees from Bengal and other provinces. The bulk of these being Bengalis, the new rulers were erroneously led to believe that Assamese was a *patois* of Bengali. The Bengali language was, therefore, imposed on the schools and courts for administrative convenience discarding Assamese. Thus Assamese almost became an alien language in its own soil for nearly forty years (1836–73). As a result, the cultivation of Assamese as a literary language received such a setback that it took several decades to recover from this traumatic shock.

Fortunately for Assam, a few learned members of the American Baptist Mission realized the mistake of the Government. With the assistance of a few newly educated Assamese young men like Anandaram Dhekial Phukan and Hemchandra Barua they tried to revive Assamese language and literature from its moribund condition by starting the first monthly magazine-cum-newspaper *Aruṇoday* (Aruṇodaya, : Sunrise, 1846) which continued intermittently till 1880. They also wrote grammars and a lexicon of the Assamese language in addition to the Assamese translation of the Bible and several tracts and story books inculcating Christian beliefs, doctrines and sermons. The missionaries also submitted representations to the Government with cogent arguments that Assamese, being a distinct language and having a long literary tradition, should be restored to its legitimate status. They for the first time opened the window to the West. The Government ultimately restored Assamese as the language of administration and schools in 1873. To the missionaries also goes the credit of initiating modern Assamese literature by importing western thoughts and ideas and for running a magazine for more than three decades, which no doubt encouraged the local literary men to start newspapers and magazines from the seventies of the 19th century. But in spite of the laudable attempts of the missionaries to revive the Assamese language and literature their endeavours did not produce a literary movement as the number of English-educated persons could be counted on the fingertips till the ninth decade of the 19th century.

The Romantic Trends

It was during the last quarter of the 19th century that the number of educated young men having familiarity with the renaissant movement of Bengal and the literary trends of English literature began to increase rapidly. As there was no college in Assam, not to speak of a university, all the students desirous of receiving higher education had to proceed to Calcutta, where, with the help of a few elderly residents, a literary association known as Assamese Students' Literary Club, the A. S. L. Club for short, was started in 1867. As the number of students increased during the next two decades a more representative association covering the entire Assamese residents, both students and others, was formed in 1888 and it played a conspicuous part in ushering in a forceful literary movement in Assam. The name of the association was Asamīyā Bhāṣār Unnati Sādhinī Sabhā (The Assamese Language Improvement Society) better known as *A. Bhā, U. Sā. Sabhā* in its abbreviated form. Its avowed objectives were not only the improvement and establishment of a standard form of a literary language throughout the Brahmaputra valley but also development and enrichment of the literature on modern lines. With these objectives in view, a few enthusiastic young members of the association, headed by Lakshminath Bezbarua, Hemchandra Goswami and Chandrakumar Agarwala, popularly known as the Trinity of modern Assamese literature, started a progressive magazine known as *Jonākī* (Moonlight, 1889) as the mouthpiece of the association. The patrons and contributors of the magazine, being English-educated men, were all inspired by the contemporary Bengali literature of Michael Madhusudan Datta, Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Rabindranath Tagore and others on the one hand and by the English literature, especially of the romantic period, on the other. The poets of the romantic period, mainly Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, Byron and Tennyson, fired the imagination of the Assamese poets, and among the dramatists, Shakespeare naturally drew attention most. The humanist philosophy of Comte and Bentham coloured their attitude and approach to life. The mystic-romantic

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verses of Chandrakumar Agarwala, the patriotic and sensuous love poetry of Bezbarua, the ecstatic nature-poetry of Raghunath Choudhary, the sad but sweet melody of Jatindranath Duara, the longer narrative poetry and sonnets of Hiteswar Barbarua (1876–1939), the rollicking fun and humour and stories of Bezbarua, the historical novels of Rajanikanta Bardoloi and the mythological and historical plays of the early 20th century are the legacy of the romantic tide unleashed by *Jonākī*. The magazine continued, with a few years' interruption, till the early years of the 20th century. It was in the pages of this journal that almost all the characteristics of the romantic literature became more or less evident although the basic causes of romantic revival in Europe were mostly absent in Assam. Exuberance of imagination, renascence of the sense of wonder, adoration of the past, love of nature, mysticism and sympathy for the elemental simplicities of life are some of the main features of this literary revival in Assam.

From the last quarter of the 19th century to the early decades of the current century, Assam also witnessed, in a smaller degree, some of the phenomena that marked the renaissant movement of Bengal and these naturally had echoes in Assamese literature too. Pleas for education and equality of status for women and remarriage of widows, eradication of the age-old superstitious customs and beliefs, reassessment of ancient literature and cultural heritage, rational and humanistic outlook on life, and a sense of new national awakening are some of the themes that moved the heart of a section of the younger generation of writers. It was not a renaissant movement in the true sense because it did not touch the major part of the population, but was confined to a very limited circle.

The Impact of the National Movement

With the dawn of the 20th century and the emergence of the Indian National Congress, the spirit of nationalism began to inspire all patriotic-minded people. Before the Indian National Congress came into existence in Assam in 1920, the political and social reformation moves had been initiated by the Assam Association (1903–1919). It merged in the Congress when the latter began to operate in Assam. The spirit of nationalism and the urge for independence roused by the above organizations were further intensified by newspapers like *Asamīyā* (1918) and *Bātari* (1929), both being weeklies initially, later converted to dailies. The contemporary literary magazines like *Cetanā* (1918–1926) also fanned the national sentiment. Fiery revolutionary verses of Ambikagiri Ray Choudhury (1885–1967) and Prasannalal Choudhury (b. 1900) and patriotic lyrics eulogizing the past glory and invoking future greatness by Bezbaroa, Binandachandra Barua (b. 1901), Dimbeswar Neog (1899–1967) and Jyotiprasad Agarwala (1903–51) dominated the period between 1920 and 1942. Some of the associated issues connected with the movement of Gandhiji, like removal of untouchability, development of cottage industry, prohibition of intoxicants and other constructive ideas supplied materials to the contemporary novelists and story tellers. In fact, the period of the national resurgence was also a period of patriotic upsurge in literature.

The Post-Independence Change

World War II came to the very doorsteps of Assam. Its aftermaths of corruption, near-famine condition, price-hike and the loss of integrity, not only disillusioned the younger generation with the sorry state of the society but made them equally angry at the highly imaginative romantic literature which generally overlooked the stark realities of a decadent society. The revolt against romantic tradition was first initiated in the mid-forties by a few young poets in the pages of the now defunct monthly *Jayantī* (1936–49). While decrying romanticists as escapists wallowing in the stream of luxurious imagination they advocated socialistic realism in literature. When things did not improve even after the Independence, but rather worsened, the younger generation decided to launch a crusade against the existing order of the society with new weapons. This gave rise to the modern trends in literature.

The exponents of the new literature advocating new ideas, techniques and forms were ably supported by the leading literary magazine *Rāmdhenu* (1951–64) which boldly brought into focus the new poetry harmonizing intellect and imagination. It is also a fact that the new poetry was verbose, frothy and devoid of clarity in most cases, but gradually intellectual verbosity and obscurity gave place to genuine feelings expressed in terms of new ideas and techniques. The generation of poets after Independence may be divided into two categories—the socio-political group which believe in the Marxian philosophy and the socio-humanist group which emphasizes the human values and tradition while advocating an egalitarian society.

The poets of the post-Independence era popularized *vers-libre* sprung verse and rhythmic prose. Some of the new trends of poetry, not only of England, but of the Continent as well, like Symbolism, Imagism and Expressionism have considerably influenced the technique of the modern poets. The picture of the Japanese Haiku poetry has also made some impact on the poetry of a few poets. As a result, the traditional poetic conventions, imageries and the logical sequence of the thought-process have been discarded and are replaced by a new set capable of expressing the modern mind. Some of the younger poets feel alienated from the society and some others are angry with the present state of affairs, but the majority have not lost the traditional moorings.

Similar experiments are noticed in the drama and the fiction also. Apart from the realistic plays having social

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implication, experiments have been made on the epic technique introduced by B. Brecht and the absurd drama of the Ionesconian type. Similar experiments have also been made in respect of the novel and stories. The annual output of literature has considerably gone up since Independence. The new urge to create is partly the result of the growing awareness on the part of the younger generation of the importance of the regional language and partly due to the rapid spread of higher education during the last 30 years. On the eve of Independence, there were hardly 15 colleges in the Assam Valley, but the number has increased to more than 200 in the eighties.

Literary Institutions

In accelerating the process of literary development some of the literary and cultural institutions have played a significant role. The earliest one, the Kamrūp Anusandhān Samiti (The Assam Research Society, 1912), is responsible for creating an inquisitiveness and an urge for research in the early Assamese literature and culture by collecting more than a thousand manuscripts and publishing a few early literary works. The most powerful literary organization at present is Asam Sāhitya Sabhā (1917) having nearly six hundred branches all over Assam and more than two hundred titles to its credit. It frequently holds seminars and workshops for new writers. The Department of Antiquarian Studies (1928), though primarily concerned with historical studies, has also published some valuable early Assamese works, both historical and literary. It has a good collection of nearly three thousand manuscripts. The Publication Board, Assam (Asam Prakāśan Pariṣad, est. 1956) is an autonomous body mainly financed by the Government. It helps needy authors with financial assistance and publishes good works on its own. It has published more than a hundred titles till 1980. Both Asam Sāhitya Sabhā and the Publication Board have been rendering useful service by publishing complete works of important dead authors whose works were not available to the public.

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Bengali

NARESH GUHA

Introduction

The theoretical framework of the historiography of literature has not as yet drawn adequate attention. Even in the West there is hardly any unanimity regarding, for instance, the problems of periodization in literary history. The problems become further complicated in comparative literature because of the vastness of the area that has to be taken into account. For a thorough review of the existing chaotic situation in this regard one may consult the relevant chapter in Ulrich Weissteine's book *Comparative Literature and Literary Theory: Survey and Introduction* (1973), where the author finds it necessary to warn that 'it would be foolish to employ terms like era, age, movement or period statically and mechanically instead of dynamically and flexibly, since, by their nature, historical phenomena remain fluid even in restrospect.'

We are here concerned with the term 'movement' which

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is quite often mixed up with another term, 'school'. A school, according to Renato Poggioli, a Harvard comparatist, 'presupposes a master and a method, the criterion of tradition and the principle of authority'. While the 'school' has a static quality, a 'movement' is dynamic and exists for the propagation of specific ideas and creeds. A movement usually constituted by coevals has a leader but no master unlike in the school. In this article we give prominence to movements, including those outside the pale of literature proper.

Religious Influence

Keeping the above distinction in mind, if a rapid review of Bengali literature is made, it becomes clear that the early schools of this literature were sustained by the motive force of religion. *Charya* poems, whether or not they were composed exclusively by the tantric Buddhists, were mystical and, therefore, religious in spirit. 'The outward meaning of the songs', observes Sukumar Sen, 'has indeed a literary flavour... but the outward sense was intended only to disguise the inner meaning which recorded the mystical practice, experience, and emotions of the masters in their process of self-realization'. The composers followed an old tradition and produced a distinct school of religious poetry, the earliest recorded in Bengali. So did the versifiers of medieval *Maṅgala* poems which were intended to glorify lesser or minor deities such as Manasā (the goddess of snakes), Śitalā (the goddess of smallpox), Dharma and Chandi. The titles of such narrative verses always ended with words like 'mangala', 'vijay' or 'puran'. Till the beginning of the modern era, poets had still been writing *Maṅgala* poems, though at that time the religious urge was on the wane. The deities glorified in early *Maṅgala* poems had different names and attributes, but the general structure of the work remained the same in each case. These poems suggested a conception of the world where the borderline between the natural and the supernatural was not very distinctly drawn. Though not morally superior to the common run of human beings, these gods are devotedly depicted as manipulating and commanding human submission. Apart from priests and scholars, nobody reads them today for elation, though some episodes and characters are delightfully memorable.

The most important religious school of Bengali poetry is of course that of the Vaishnava lyrics. They were, and still are, widely read and regularly sung with self-negating devotion and ecstasy. The young and the old alike weep publicly over the songs. They were written in an intentionally archaic vocabulary. The vowel lengths of this 'created poetic language' are variable as in Sanskrit, and the metre used is moraic. The length of each poem ranges from ten to twenty lines in *tripadī* or *payār* metres. The use of refrains is distinctive. And the poem usually ends with a colophon couplet identifying the composer by name as a devotee. As bhakti poems they express devotion to Krishna according to the prescribed aesthetic rules laid down in Rupa Goswami's poetics called *Ujjalanīlmanī*, and are meant to be understood strictly according to the authentic aesthetic canons of the Vaishnavas. Some of the finer poems of this category, however, are so good that a modern reader tends to read them simply as aesthetic compositions. 'Must they be read with heaven in mind?'—this rhetorical question in a poem by Rabindranath on the spirit of Vaishnaba lyrics finds echoes in many hearts today. Basically, however, they belong to a religious school of poetry resulting from the overwhelming acceptance of the bhakti cult in the medieval period. At one time Sufi mysticism did also contribute to the development of the cult in Bengal. But the true inspiration actually came from the Bhagavata which some scholars consider to be of South Indian origin. The bhakti cult was firmly established with the advent, in the 15th century, of Chaitanya as an incarnation. The impact of this God-man on society and literature can hardly be exaggerated.

Western Impact

Things changed radically on our historic encounter with a new kind of civilization and culture coming from the West. One might be tempted to assert that an interaction with the western mode of thought and literature gave birth to a new trend in the Bengali literature of the 19th century which may perhaps be called Romantic. The temptation has to be curbed, however, since there was no concerted attempt, nor was it possible at that time, to found a new conception of art comparable to that in the West. Some romantic qualities were certainly there, like the intensely sad personal feelings in some lyrics even of Michael Madhusudan. But alongside, as a distinct impact of western rationalism, can be seen non-fiction prose works like those of Bankim Chandra and others. During the first half of the 19th century the emphasis was on social and religious reforms, on compiling modern textbooks and historical tracts, on translating didactic and instructional books from Sanskrit, Persian, English and through English from other European literatures[1]. The primary aim was not the creation of 'art literature', but education and enlightenment. Creative modern literature came of age in the second half of the century, with the achievements of Michael Madhusudan (1824-72) and Biharilal Chakrabarty (1835–84) in poetry, Dinabandhu Mitra (1829–74) in drama, and Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay (1838–94) in fiction. The process of this development was quite complex because it was not simply a matter of imitating and assimilating western modes. The impact that came from across the oceans roused the mind of the educated Bengali to make far-reaching revaluations of traditional values and to discover a voice of his own in conformity

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with the spirit of the times. What happened as a result of this growing tension in the Bengali psyche came to be known as the 'Bengal Renaissance' though the legitimacy of this term has been questioned in recent years. The importance of the impact is impossible to minimise, and it caused an unprecedented transformation of the mental if not of the physical world of Bengal. A host of new literary genres—the subjective lyric, the sonnet, the secular fiction including the historical novel and short stories, and a new form of drama—were introduced. Interest in man's worldly life replaced that in the hereafter. Contact with western romanticism or as much of it as was available through its English representatives—Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley, Keats and Walter Scott—did not blaze into a distinctive Romantic movement in Bengali literature. For Biharilal as also for a large number of minor poets (including Akshay Choudhury, Surendranāth Majumdār, Debendranath Sen and Gobindra Chandra Das) western romanticism acted as a source of inspiration. Young Tagore himself modelled many early compositions on or translated from the poems of the romantics, particularly of Shelley. But as was in the case of Goethe, romanticism was only a part, maybe an important part, of the composite whole that was Tagore's genius. We cannot, therefore, call the 19th century phenomenon in Bengali literature a movement which is dominated by a system of norms whose introduction, spread and diversification, integration and disappearance can be traced.[2] The literature of the entire century can, however, be regarded as forming a remarkable *period*. There was in it as much a cry for the star as also a determination to stand firmly on earth and understand man and his secular world. Taking a cue from Tagore, it would be meaningful to call this new *period* of literature, born out of the historic confrontation of the East and the West, 'modern'.[3] Tagore used an extended metaphor to bring out the nature of this phenomenon. To him this was like the mythical touch of a 'foreign golden wand' that magically roused the sleeping princess of the fairy tales. 'It liberated something in us that was not exotic in nature but was our inmost self.... Man discovers this self when his mind is convulsed by coming into contact with outer forces, and only then does he come to extend his dominion by pulling down the crumbling walls from around him.'[4] Bengali literature was thus liberated.

Literary Periodicals

Journals and periodicals have greatly contributed to the development of new trends in Bengali literature during the last two centuries. At least the following periodicals among hundred others immediately come to mind: *Sambād Prabhākar* (1831), *Tatthvabodhinī Patrikā* (1839), *Bibidhārtha Saṁgraha* (1854), *Baṅgadarśaṇ* (1872), *Bhārati* (1877) and *Prabāsī* (1901). Literary and aesthetic programmes of any distinctive nature were not particularly associated with any of these literary organs. The first journal that had any polemical programme ensuring an abiding impact on subsequent literature belongs to the present century: it was the quarterly *Sabujpatra* (1914) edited by Pramatha Chaudhury. Some of the best works of Rabindranath were published in its pages. It was indeed a model example of the 'Little Magazine', displayed rare excellence, did not care for commercial success and so never printed any advertisement. At times an entire issue was devoted from cover to cover to just a single contribution, like the entire verse translation from Omar Khayyam by Kanti Chandra Ghosh, for instance. Among the new authors who had gathered around the journal and its eminent editor were people like Satyen Bose (of the reputation of the Bose-Einstein theory), Dhurjatiprasad Mukherjee (a renowned professor, conversationist and man-of-letters), Atulchandra Gupta (the great lawyer who wrote impeccable literary prose), and Amiya Chakravarty (the poet). Pramatha Chaudhury and his *Sabujpatra*, however, has remained memorable for the royal battle it had won on behalf of *calitbhāṣā*—the spoken language of the cultivated class, once an object of derision and slander—over the established chaste language, *sādhubhāṣā*, as the proper vehicle of literature. Rabindranath himself became a total convert to this new mode of literary language, and the brilliance of his writings in this vein more or less silenced the controversy. 'To those who maintained,' writes Buddhadeva Bose, 'that *calitbāṣā*, permissible in fiction and light literature, is unthinkable in 'serious' works, a crushing reply has been given by both Rabindranath and Pramatha Chaudhury who have written in it on philosophy, philology, physics and the agrarian problem: the former magnificently, the latter exquisitely.'[5] Apparently a stylistic experiment, the tenets of this school have become common property now, and changed not just the sound pattern of the literary language but its very soul.

The next literary journal after *Sabujpatra* which may be said to have established the modernistic trend in Bengali literature, with an emphasis on a new kind of realism having romantic undertones, was *Kallol* (Rumblings, 1923). It was jointly edited at first by Gokul Nag and Dineshranjan Das, and after Nag's death, by Das alone. The journal soon attained notoriety for the unconventional mode of writing by the young authors it patronized. Conservative readers exaggerated its faults and tried to condemn the journal as the mouthpiece of an anti-Tagore faction with revolting moral principles. Others identified it with the spirit of youth and with revolt. Years later, an important member of the *Kallol* group, Buddhadeva Bose, had this observation to make on the Kalloleans: 'Adolescent rebels, we derided Rabindranath's peace and swooned in ecstasy over his lines, reciting them in chorus in hot streets and cheap restaurants, and murmuring them alone in bed at night; we read Whitman, the Russians and Scandinavians;

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we demanded a freer atmosphere, a greater eclecticism in diction and form, including verse technique; we praised, unlike Wordsworth, what man has made of man, that is himself, claiming that man is noble in his unremitting struggle with the brute nature within him, not because he wins, for he may not, but simply because he struggles.'[6] The aims and achievement of *Kallol* have been summed up differently by another critic: 'The lives of the people who were deceived, cursed and disapproved,' says he, 'started to become the subject of stories and novels. In verse and prose, that hunger, thirst, work and fancy which people had recognized in life but had not considered admissible in literature and arts, started to be voiced. A tide of new youth flooded the soil turned barren by the cleanliness of *Prabāsī* and the cleverness of *Sabujpatra*.'[7] From these two observations it becomes clear that the journal did not have any uniform and distinct programme. By accident it actually became a common platform for the modernists having disparate interests and achieved a historical importance.

Kallol had introduced new writers like Tarasankar Bandyopadhyay, and drew attention to authors like Sailajananda Mukhopadhyay, Premendra Mitra, Buddhadeva Bose, Achintyakumar Sen Gupta, Prabodhkumār Sānyāl and Manish Ghatak. If the Kalloleans appeared to be young rebels swearing against Tagore, it is not unlikely that *Kallol* had also a reverse impact on the Master himself. This is perceptible, suggests Bose, in much of the work of his later years, 'for often does he enter the world of his younger contemporaries, if only to correct their doctrines and teach them the truth.'[8] *Kallol* never attempted to be a commercial success and as an influential 'little magazine' existed for just less than seven years.

If *Kallol* ushered in the modernist movement in fiction, modernist Bengal poetry had to wait a little longer for becoming a force, say, till the advent of the quarterly *Kavitā* (1934). Having all the qualities of a good 'little magazine' it soon became an institution in itself. Right from the beginning the journal was more intelligently organized than any other literary organ, with a credo to offer to the new generation of poets. The editors having been ex-Kalloleans, a myth still persisted that this new journal, for the first time exclusively devoted to poetry and nothing else, was also another focal point of the so-called anti-Tagore rebellion. Discomfiture awaited the censors when Tagore himself graciously blessed the venture and contributed as frequently as his advanced age permitted. The announced creed of the journal, that prose rather than metrical verse was more suitable for the new poetry, was soon found to be rash and so untenable. The editors themselves abjured the principle as too narrow. The journal, however, eminently succeeded in closing the gap between the language of prose and that of verse, and in encouraging technical versatility as also thematic expansiveness. Poetry was no longer to be narrative or descriptive but suggestive and even evocative. Looseness in expression was firmly rejected, and poets turned to distinguish between unintentioned vagueness and profundity. Almost all talented poets of the new generation, Jibanananda Das, Bishnu De, Amiya Chakravarty, Samar Sen, Subhas Mukhopadhyay and others, found their first serious audience on being published in *Kavitā*. Since commercial publishers were reluctant, the editor (now Bose alone) himself sponsored, with the imprint of Kavitabhavan, many early volumes of these new poets. The rugged battle on behalf of modernist poetry was more than half won when the first prestigious anthology of these verses, published mostly in *Kavitā*, came out in 1938. The first edition of the volume called *Ādhunik Bāṅglā Kavitā* (Modern Bengali Poetry) was edited by two eminent non-poets, Abu Sayeed Ayyub and Hirendra Nath Mukherjee. Many unsuspecting people were rather mystified to discover that the largest number of poems by a poet in the volume were by Rabindranath Tagore himself! Extreme financial distress dogged the career of this distinguished journal until it finally wound up after almost a quarter of a century. Modernist poetry had by that time become the other name of all worthwhile poetry in the language.

Socialist Trend

The Marxist trend of the thirties and forties of this century assumed the form of another literary movement. Literary 'sāmyavād' (socialism) appeared first in the writings of Nazrul Islam (1898–1981) in the twenties though nobody ever claimed that he was an authentic Marxist. He actually wrote a poem called *sāmyavād* in 1925. His indomitable spirit and his forceful verses marked him as *the* rebel. Quite a few of his verse collections (*Agnivīṇā*—The Lute of Fire, 1922), *Biṣer Bāṅsī* (The Poisoned Flute, 1924), *Bhāṅgār Gān* (Wrecking Songs, 1924), *Pralay Śikhā* (Flames of Perdition, 1930) and others were at once proscribed by the government of those days. However, works of some of the first and real Marxist intellectuals in Bengal—Sushovan Sarkar, Dhurjati Prasad Mukherjee, Nirendranath Roy and Hirankumār Sānyāl—were first published by the non-Marxist Sudhindranath Datta, the distinguished poet-editor of *Parichay* (Acquaintance, 1931). This was another extraordinary journal for modernist writings though its forte was not poetry but non-fictional prose. The quality of its sophisticated, intelligent and informed reviews has never been surpassed. The principal aim of its editor was to enlighten the readers by introducing them to world literature and to the world of ideas, both eastern and western. Ten years later when the editor decided to move away from editorship, he somehow allowed the journal to be formally acquired by the Markists, and since then *Parichay* became the most notable organ of Marxist literature in Bengal.

A few years before this, in 1935, had been founded in

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London the Indian Progressive Writers' Association which later came to spearhead all Marxist literary activities in India. Its first conference was held in Lucknow and the second in Calcutta in December 1938, shortly before the World War started. Of the five-member Committee of Presidents for this second conference three were from Bengal—Sailajananda Mukhopadhyay, Sudhindranath Datta and Buddhadeva Bose. Other Bengali writers who actively participated included Satyen Majumdar, Hirankumar Sanyal, Premendra Mitra and Prabodhkumar Sanyal. Only a year before this had been published for the first time an entire volume of predominantly Marxist writings in Bengali called *Pragati* (Progress, 1937) with Surendranath Goswami and Hirendranath Mukherjee as its joint editors. It included writings also from some eminent non-Marxist authors like Sudhindranath and Buddhadeva Bose.

Thus was started quite an influential literary movement in Bengal. So far it had received only an incipient support from the liberal *Parichay*. After 1939, another journal, *Agrani* (The Herald, ed. Prafulla Roy), calling itself a 'leftist monthly' became the Movement's vigorous mouthpiece. It was clearly a party organ and was therefore sharply critical about non-Marxist authors like Buddhadeva Bose. Buddhadeva, who had already pinned his final hope on the middle class, and not particularly on the proletariat, hurriedly disengaged himself from the 'progressive' front, and so remained the target of leftist attack till his death in 1974. The Fyasibādi Lekhak O Śilpī Saṁgha (The Anti-Fascist Writers and Artists Society) came to be established in March 1942 as part of the earlier Association. Along with Buddhadeva, quite a few other liberal authors like Atul Chandra Gupta, Sudhindranath Datta, and Subodh Ghosh left the Society by 1944. Around this time was founded the Congress Sahitya Saṁgha with a pronounced anti-Marxist ideology. It had 'Banaphul', Subodh Ghosh and Sajanikanta Das as its main champions. The Saṁgha has not left any memorable impress on Bengali art and literature, but the Marxist group flourished in a number of literary periodicals like *Parichay* (since July 1944), weekly *Araṇi* (1941), *Notun Sāhitya* (1946) and *Sāhitya Patra* (1948). A considerable number of both elderly and younger writers started to write from a specifically Marxist point of view. They included poets (like Bishnu De, Manindra Roy, Maṅgalācaraṇ Chattopādhyāy, Āhsān Habib, Subhas Mukhopadhyay, Sukānta Bhaṭṭācārya, Arun Mitra, Birendra Chattopadhyay and Shiddheswar Sen), fiction writers (such as Gopal Haldar, Shaokat Osman, and Mānik Bandyopādhyāy), playwrights (such as Bijan Bhattacharya), and essayists (such as Binoy Ghosh, Debīprasād Chattopādhyāy and Gopal Halder). The movement took firm root in Bengal. Only a handful of authors, both young and elderly, decided to remain unruffled by the demands of the Marxist way.

Marxism in literature is still a trend though its force as a movement has gradually petered out. It is perhaps no coincidence that shortly before the most important Marxist author, Manik Bandyopadhyay, died in misery in December 1956 at a Calcutta hospital, Buddhadeva Bose started a series of powerful poems, later collected in *Je Añdhār Ālor Adhik* (Darkness that Excels Light, 1958), which casually negates the ineluctable Marxist faith in the collective. 'Sonnet for 3 a.m.' for instance, has the following lines:

> ...Do you think that Christ
> Was a philosopher? Or Buddha a committee chairman,
> Hard-working, venerable, loquacious,
> Dribbling vain saliva? Far from the drums and watchmen
> Of the wholesale vendors of salvation,
> Softly they walk their ways of vagrancy.
> I say, let go the world, let go where it will....[9] (tr.)

The poem begins with a startling announcement that 'Only the personal is holy.' Since these poems, no non-Marxist authors in Bengal had to feel apologetic for ideological non-compliance.

Institutions

Two more institutions other than the 'little magazines' should be mentioned for their characteristic contribution to the well-being of Bengali literature. One of these is the literary *āddā* or *cenacles* or clubs like London's Rhymers' Club at the Cheshire Cheese restaurant where the *fin de siècle* authors regularly met. But Bengali *āddās* probably resemble Mallarmè's Tuesday evenings in Paris in the eighties of the 19th century, or Yeats's Monday evenings in London which were attended by 'little Sarojini' from Hyderabad as also by Rabindranath in 1911. These are places for regular informal gatherings of like-minded people devoted to art and literature where good conversation is the principal attraction but where guests do not mind if the conversation is followed by an excellent dinner or if the dinner is preceded by a reading from interesting unpublished compositions. Some of the early *cenacles* were patronized by the house of the Tagores: the 'Khāmkheyāli Sabhā' (a league of eccentrics, 1897) or 'Bicitrā Club' (a motley club, 1915), for instance, where Rabindranath read many of his stories, poems and plays in the presence of the most talented people in town. Attending members included Chittaranjan Das, Dwijendralal Roy, Atulprasad Sen, Manomohan Ghosh, Saratchandra Chatterjee, Pramatha Chaudhury, Brajendranath Seal and Abanindranath Tagore. The editors of *Sabujpatra*, and later of *Parichay* and *Kavitā* also kept open house every week and attracted authors and intellectuals. These *cenacles* became stimulating sources for literary inspiration. Well-documented memoirs have been written on their impact on literary life in Bengal.[10]

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The other important institution, Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, is more formal in nature, and its aim is more academic than creative. The 'parishat' (academy) was founded in 1893 as the Bengal Academy of Literature, having a periodical of the same name for literary advancement. Next year the name was changed to Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, and in 1901 it became a public trust with five trustees. Rabindranath and Hirendranath Datta were among the trustees from the beginning and Ramesh Chandra Datta (1848–1909), the civilian novelist, acted as its first President till his death. The main purpose of the Parishad has been to encourage important literary research and to publish, among other books, standard editions of Bengali classics. Its collection of rare manuscripts is very large indeed—nearly seven thousand—and its library has been enriched by gifts of important collections belonging to eminent men like Vidyasagar and Ramesh Datta. The Parishad occasionally honours eminent men of letters, and its journal, though now irregular, still maintains a high scholarly reputation.

NOTES

1. Dusan Zbavitel, *Bengali Literature*, Wiesbaden, 1976, pp. 211ff.
2. Wellek and Warren, *Theory of Literature*, New York, 1949, p. 89.
3. Two volumes among Tagore's literary criticism, both published in 1907, are called *Prācin Sāhitya* (ancient literature) and *Ādhunik Sāhitya* (modern literature). The first contains articles on Valmiki, Kalidasa and Banabhatta. Articles in the second volume consider Vidyapati, Bankim Chandra, Biharilal, and some predecessors and contemporaries of Tagore. It is important to note that the approach to all these articles is that of a comparatist which places a book or an author in a much broader perspective than is available in a single literature.
4. From an article called 'Sonārkāthi' (Golden Wand), first published in *Sabujpatra* (1915), now collected in *Parichay*, tr. Naresh Guha.
5. Buddhadeva Bose, *An Acre of Green Grass*, Orient Longmans, 1948, p. 23.
6. Ibid., p. 71.
7. Zbavitel, p. 283. The critic is Nandagopal Sen Gupta.
8. Bose, p. 72.
9. Author's translation, in *An Anthology of Bengali Writing*, ed. Buddhadeva Bose, Macmillan India, 1971, p. 143.
10. See Hiran Kumar Sanyal, *Parichayer Kuḍi Bachar* (Twenty Years of Parichay, 1979) Buddhadeva Bose, *Āmāder Kavitābhavan* (Our Kavitabhavan, in *Desh* Annual, 1974, yet to be published in a book), and an entire volume of *Desh* annual for the year 1975.

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Gujarati

D. D. JADEJA

The Bhakti Movement

The 12th century witnessed the rise of (medieval) Gujarati literature. This medieval period, which came to an end in 1852, was perceptibly dominated by the Bhakti movement. Almost all the poets of the period were influenced by the movement and this influence is apparent in their writing. The most outstanding of them is Narasinh Mehta (Narasimha Mehta, 1414–80). What was the source of this tidal upsurge of devotion experienced in the whole of the sub-continent?

The original form of typical devotional attitudes can be traced back to the verses in the Vedas and Upanishads. Along with *Jñāna*, *Karma* and *Yoga*, the Gita has woven the strands of devotion (Bhakti). Puranic literature is full of descriptions of Lord Krishna's *Bāl Līlā*. The climax of the concept of devotion may be seen in the Bhāgvata composed during the 9th century. It depicts the *Premlakṣaṇa*

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bhakti of the gopis. The Radha-story was prevalent as a folk-tale among the people of Abhir race. Lovely tales of Krishna's adventures as a divine child were extant in religious Sanskrit literature. By the 11th century, *Krishna-Gopi* (Radha) *Līlā* and Vaishnav faith propounding bhakti appear to have spread all over India and the leading voice in all literary expression appears to be that of bhokti.

In Gujarat, the Bhakti cult developed mainly during Muslim Rule. Umashankar Joshi (Umāśaṅkar Jōśī, b. 1911) thinks the Bhakti movement was a manifestation of the urge to break free from the stagnation of public life. He sees in it not the decline but the illumination of the genius of the Indian people (*Gujarati Sahityano Itihas*, vol. II, p. 80).

Gujarati devotional poetry of the middle-period is an expression of the agony of separation from God as well as an ecstatic expression of the realization of God. The Love-Devotion concept propounded by the Bhāgvata can, in current terminology, be described as the cult of 'erotic mysticism'. Narasinh Mehta is one of the foremost exponents of this *Prem Bhakti*.

The numerous poets who came under the influence of the Bhakti Movement in Gujarat were saints. The utterance of several, expressing intense emotions, is excellent religious poetry. But the utterances of some mediocre saint-poets, though devotional, fail to attain the level of poetry. The ideal concord of devotion and poetry is found in the works of Narasinh, Meera (Mīra, 1498–1565) and Dayaram (Dayārām, 1772–1852).

Puranic Movement

Puranic literature, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, have been a great cultural influence in India.

'The tradition of mythic kings;... stories and hymns glorifying gods and goddesses... all this puranic wealth had brought uniformity of belief, conduct and outlook to all who looked upon *Bhārata Khanda* as their land.... When the Muslims overran the country, the puranas became, in the hands of Brahmans, formidable instruments to preserve religion and culture' (K. M. Munshi: *Gujarat and its Literature*, 1954, p. 163). The narration of puranic tales has contributed to the development of local vernaculars. The puranic priest-narrators and *Ākhyānkārs* of the medieval period were successful in combining pleasure and recreation with religious culture through songs, prayers, narrations and precepts. Like many other Indian poets of the medieval period, Gujarati poets too derived inspiration from a number of puranas.

Among these poets, Premanand (Prēmānand, 1649–1714) of Baroda is the most outstanding from the points of view of racy richness, creativity and realism. In his *Ākhyānas*, based on the puranas, he has fulfilled his pledge: 'May the Gujarati language be rich with implied meaning.... May her feet be full of grace and ornament. May she excel all her comrades. May she reach the pedestal occupied by the languages of Gods (tr. from Sanskrit)'—K. M. Munshi: *Gujarat and its Literature*, p. 240).

The convention of puranas was unbroken in Gujarati poetry even after the arrival of the British. But it no longer occupies a prominent place. In the modern era, after contact with western civilization, the problems of mundane life have become more important in poetry. Nationalism, the urge for social welfare, Nature and love are all themes introduced into Gujarati poetry as a result of the western type of education.

Western Impact

During the latter half of the 19th century, the modern age of Gujarati literature was ushered in as a result of contact with western civilization . With the dethronement of Peshwa Bajirao II, the foundations of the British rule were laid in Gujarat. The peace that followed was of positive help to cultural development. Cultural servitude under the British ironically helped the cultural renaissance. Educational institutions established by the British and eminent Indians, as well as the Press, played an important role in this renaissance in Gujarat.

If life during the medieval period was religion-oriented, modern Gujarati life and literature are practical and materialistic. Life itself, which is the prime source of literature, has grown in width and depth and has been susceptible to external influences.

The period after 1852 is known for the literature of social reform. In the latter half of the 19th century several social reforms were introduced in Gujarat. As a result, literature became full of fervour for national development and progress. The life-force of this reformation was English education. The corruption prevailing in the religious institutions and the narrow social conventions infuriated the literati. A dissatisfied people aspired for progress. Political awareness had also developed, and the leaders had begun to envisage a prosperous life through economic independence. All these tendencies are reflected in the literary movements in Gujarat.

Literature in the middle period had been predominantly in verse. Contact with western literature introduced the prose form in Gujarati literature. Of course, there had been prose-writing of the religious type from the beginning of the middle period in Gujarati literature, but the new prose writings have been more secular. Chief among these are plays, novels, short stories, biographies, autobiographies, essays and literary criticism, all influenced by western literature. The literature of this period of social reformation, however, abounded in quantity, though not in quality.

The two major writers of this period are Dalapatram (Dalapatrām, 1820–98) and Narmad (1833–86). Compared with Dalapatram', Narmad's understanding of

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literature is more profound. Even so, the works of this period of renaissance can hardly be called pure literature. The writers used literature as an instrument of mass-communication, writing in order to bring about social reformation through instruction and entertainment. Most of the authors of this period wrote about the evils of child marriage, the helplessness of child-widows, female subordination, blind faith, superstition, conservative customs, poverty, illiteracy, etc. Along with such healthy social concepts, they welcomed the economic regeneration ushered in by the Industrial Revolution.

Gujarati Parsis laid the cornerstone of reformation by acclimatizing themselves quickly to the changes resulting from British rule. By founding the first press in Gujarati, publishing the first newspaper and by producing the first Gujarati-English Grammar, they ushered in the era of progress. Several journals and magazines as well as social and educational institutions have since served as tributaries to widen the literary stream of Gujarati.

The Pundit Era

The Indian National Congress was established in 1885. Political awareness spread among the people, and the Swadeshi Movement gathered momentum. Shri Ramakrishna Paramahaṁsa and Swami Vivekananda brought a new perspective to the Hindu religion. Serious attempts were made to reconcile the ancient Indian cultural heritage with the attitudes of modern western thought. Brahmo Samaj, Prarthana Samaj, Theosophical Society and other such institutions were attempts at religious synthesis. The consequences of all this were apparent in the field of literature too.

The period between 1887 and 1920 is known as the Pundit Era. K. M. Munshi (Munśī, 1887–1971) describes this period as one of 'Sanskrit revival'. The main trend during this period was the attempt to synthesize Indian and western cultures. During the earlier age, writers were dazzled by the new light of western civilization, whereas the writers of this era, having studied Sanskrit literature in depth, were fully conscious of the greatness of the Indian cultural heritage. They imbibed these new ideas from English literature, but expressed the same in a language laden with Sanskrit *tatsamas*.

During the Pundit Era, the writers, conscious of high aesthetic principles and possessed of a broader outlook, wrote on a wide range of subjects which had qualities of seriousness and grandeur. The authors of this era paid more attention to aesthetic considerations, to diction, metre and overall refinement of the literary form. As compared with the age of social reformation, the language of this period is more refined and precise. The classical novel *Sarasvaticandra* (1887) by Govardhanram Tripathi (Gōvardhanrām Tripāṭhī, 1855–1907) was published during this period.

During the latter half of the 19th century, the poetic form of the *ghazal* was introduced, following contact with Persian literature. But, compared to English and Sanskrit literatures, its influence on Gujarati literature was minor. Gujarati poetry was also influenced by local folklore. The best representative poetry of that type was by Nanalal (Nānālāl, 1877–1946).

Gandhian Impact

Mahatma Gandhi's (1869–1948) identification with the common man was so great that he wanted literature to be understood by the layman. The literature of the Pundit Era, which was incomprehensible to the masses, did not fit in with this realistic ideology, and, therefore, it gave way to a simpler style. At the same time, there were new concepts, such as independence, non-violence, sympathy for the downtrodden, satyagraha, etc., which brought about a change in the basic attitudes towards life. Consequently, writers had to abandon the established traditional themes.

The third decade of the 20th century marks the beginning of the Gandhian era. The far-reaching effects of Gandhiji's philosophy aroused a new fervour in the hearts of writers. This was especially true of the poets who were fostered by stalwarts such as Balvantray Thakore (1869–1952). Under Gandhiji's influence the horizon of literature widened to take in the concepts of love for the poor, restoration of villages, respect for industry, non-violence, love of truth, world citizenship, etc. At the same time, Tagore's humanism also exerted an equally strong influence. The literature of this period was thus influenced on the one hand by Gandhiji's principles and on the other by Tagore's tremendous appeal for devotion to beauty. The Russian revolution of 1917 also had its effect on Gujarati writers. The spark of patriotism thus flared up.

During the Pundit Era literature had, in its quest of aesthetic excellence, drifted away from the people. In the Gandhian era it came closer to the people, while still attempting to maintain standards of literary excellence.

The literature of the Gandhian period tends to be more realistic. Even love-poems and lyrics show the realization that 'lips however rosy must be fed.' Poets like Jhaverchand Meghani (Jhavērcand Mēghāṇī, 1897–1947) raised their voice to herald a revolution as well as to appeal for world-peace. Patriotic poetry is interspersed with fervent war-cries. In poems written to uphold the cause of the downtrodden, the gentle Gandhian approach is at times ignored in favour of direct socialistic action. But, on the whole, Gandhiji's principles of universal love and non-violence along with Tagore's humanism successfully mellowed such poetry.

All forms of poetry and prose display a steady and healthy development during this era. According to Sundaram (*pseud.* of Tribhuvandās Puruṣottamdās Luhār, b. 1908) the well-known modern poet, the chief characteristics

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of the literature of this era are: (i) lucidity of verse; run-on lines instead of rhyme-bound separate lines or couplets; use of various metres, and other such experimentations in the forms of poetry, (ii) universality of subjects, (iii) The varying shades from common dialects to archaic Sanskritized diction, (iv) the introduction of several forms of poetry, (v) the change of values. The two major poets of the Gandhian era are Sundaram and Umashanker Joshi.

During the post-Independence period, the social atmosphere had to face a major setback; as the high hopes raised by the fervour of the Freedom Fight began to recede and people began to realize that their dreams were all but shattered. Gandhian ideals were now considered unrealistic and impractical. On the other hand, the post-World War II literary movements of the West, such as existentialism, began to influence the writers.

Contemporary Scene

The modern author is constantly trying to find ways to escape from tradition. Society's claims are rudely rejected and the author scarcely anticipates readers or audience. Like all modern art, modern Gujarati literature too has become highly individualistic.

'Modernity has expressed itself in new images, new symbols and new figures of speech as well. The modern poet talks about the ruins of his existence, about dissipation, darkness, violence, stones and boulders, blood-thirst, vacuum, death and destruction. He also depicts the morbid, the ugly, the repugnant' (M. M. Jhaveri, *History of Gujarati Literature*, 1978).

Modern short stories in Gujarati literature lean more towards the psychological study of the individual. Action-packed stories are considered old-fashioned and out-dated. Modern fiction aims at complete elimination of action. The short story writer or the novelist accepts action merely as a prop on which detailed psychological analysis can be based leading the reader into the inner recesses of the character's mind. A study of the human mind replaces the philosophizing and exposition of set theories which have lost their value.

Modern western trends have found their way into Gujarati criticism. Mention of Suresh Joshis' (b. 1920) name may be made here. He has propounded the new concepts of western criticism in contemporary Gujarati literature and his influence on Gujarati short story and poetry is noteworthy.

In the seventies, however, there is no particular movement to be traced. The present generation of writers is indeed groping to find a direction, trying to figure out the proper means of expression. Existentialism, Surrealism, etc. have almost faded out and the modern writer, faced with the complexity of human existence, is perplexed, perhaps more so than ever before.

In the midst of modernity, however, there are certain contradicting trends. Sri Aurobindo's idealistic faith has attracted some authors, particularly poets. Continuing the medieval tradition of devotional poetry is the noteworthy voice of Makarand Dave (Makarand Davē, b. 1922). His poetry is lucid and simple and it captures the purity and sincerity of medieval poetry.

Institutions and Organizations

Several institutions have contributed towards the development of literary activities in Gujarat. The Gujarat Vidya Sabha (earlier known as the Gujarat Vernacular Society), established in Ahmedabad in 1848, is a pioneering institution connected with the cultural renaissance in this region. Inspired by the then judge of Ahmedabad Court, Mr. A. K. Forbes, and established with the active co-operation of the noted Gujarati poet Dalpatram, this institution brought out, in 1849, the first Gujarati weekly *Vartmān*, which continued to be published till 1864. The Vidya Sabha (popularly known as Society) started in 1850 a fortnightly, *Buddhiprakāś* (which later became a monthly), which has also been rendering valuable service in the field of literary journalism. This institution has published about a thousand books, most of them literary. The Vidya Sabha has now extended its activities to other academic fields such as education from primary school to post-graduate research as well as to arranging lectures on various subjects.

The Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, another Ahmedabad-based institution, founded in 1904 (originally founded in 1898 as the Social and Literary Club), undertook some activities to promote the spread of literature, two of which are of importance:

(i) Publishing in book-form the yearly reviews of all Gujarati books published every year after 1929; and
(ii) Awarding the prestigious Ranajitram Suvarna Chandrak Gold Medal (the medal is named in memory of the Sabha's late founder-president Shri Ranajitram Mehta) to the author or the artist of a meritorious work of art.

The Gujarati Sahitya Parishad, founded in 1905 (also in Ahmedabad) to foster a literary atmosphere in Gujarat, to popularize Gujarati literature and promote the emergence of literature from all venues of learning, has been holding its conventions not only in Gujarat but also outside the State (in Karachi, Calcutta, Delhi, Madras). Since 1959 it has undertaken the praiseworthy activity of holding, every alternate year, a *Jñāna Satra* (seminar) in the rural areas of Gujarat. It has undertaken various other activities such as publication of books, instituting awards, medals and prizes for meritorious publications, arranging lectures,

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and the publication of magazines such as *Parab* and *Bhāṣā Vimarśa*. Eminent Gujarati litterateurs have been its presidents. If not as the generating centre, the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad can certainly be described as the clearing centre of literary works.

In 1920, with the beginning of the Indian non-cooperation movement, Gandhiji founded the Gujarat Vidyapeeth in Ahmedabad with a view to promoting the cause of holistic education on national lines. One of its aims was to impart higher education through the medium of the mother tongue. Contributing towards the Freedom Movement and rural-oriented-education, the Gujarat Vidyapeeth has played an important role in the fields of publication and mass education. At one time it could enlist the services of renowned men of learning and its past students made a considerable contribution towards social welfare, education and literary activities in Gujarat.

Apart from the institutions already mentioned, the Forbes Gujarati Sabha (established in Bombay in 1865) deserves attention. Similarly the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, founded by K. M. Munshi in 1938 (in Bombay) has also rendered noteworthy service to the cause of literature and culture. Autonomous bodies such as the universities in Gujarat State and the University Granth Nirman Board (1970) have also been contributing towards the enrichment of Gujarati literature, especially by publishing books that make Gujarati an effective medium of higher education. The Gujarat University, the Maharaja Sayajirao University and the Sardar Patel University have also contributed substantially by publishing scholarly Gujarati books.

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Hindi

R. C. PRASAD

Hindi literature, like the literatures of western Europe, can easily be viewed as a parade of movements—Bhakti, Riti, Chayavada, Pragativada, and so on. Some of the poet-critics, indeed, have delighted to regard it in such a way. In order to complete the sketch of the frame in which Hindi literature has developed, a place is therefore reserved for the great movements of thought or shifts of sensibility and style which characterize its historical corpus. 'It has always been a literature of trends,' observes Sachidananda H. Vatsyayana, the well-known Hindi writer, 'rather than of individual achievement, great exceptions notwithstanding' (*Contemporary Indian Literature*, New Delhi, 1959, p. 80).

The Bhakti Movement

The upsurge of *bhakti* or devotionalism in the North synchronized with the appearance of a galaxy of saint-poets, reformers and preachers whose utterances remain unparalleled in profundity and sincerity. Earlier theories that the movement originated under the impact of Islam or that the rich devotional poetry which came in its wake resulted from a sharp reaction to contemporary social and political conditions are now negated by the simple fact that there is so much genuine faith and hope embodied in the Bhakti cult that any suggestion of a mere negative outlook on life cannot be entertained. Though Islamic, and particularly

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Sufi, influences may have been felt later, there is no denying the fact that the earliest genuine devotional poetry of Tamil Nadu precedes the coming of Islam.

One of the factors that gave the new movement a decisive impetus was that Hinduism in the medieval North, overlaid as it was with all kinds of decadent notions and superstitions, did not answer the spiritual cravings of the common man and inspire him with faith and hope. Divided and subdivided into so many cults and sects, the *Siddhas* of the *Vajrayāna* denomination and Kāpālikas dominated the eastern region while the *Nātha Yogīs* filled the western parts. It was obvious that the ordinary man was beginning to lose all faith in Hinduism and was gradually getting alienated from it. His religious performances were confined to certain ritualistic formalities and observances, to the undertaking of pilgrimages and bathing in the sacred rivers on certain holy occasions. Neither the Buddhist *Siddhas* nor the *Yogis* of the *Nātha* sect were concerned with resurrecting Hinduism or galvanizing it into some sort of life.

When the spark of the popular religious movement was ignited in the Hindi-speaking areas the whole of North India was seen aflame with this resurgent and fervent faith. A new attitude to God—emotional, passionate bhakti—replaced the age-old attitudes which demanded sacrificial rite and ascetic, monistic meditation. Love songs sung to the Lord replaced the older forms of religious expression and encouraged group singing—a new popular cultural form—of *kīrtans*. With the change in the forms of religious expression not only were the old gods, old attitudes, and old cultural forms pushed aside but the new movement relegated Sanskrit, the sacred language, back into the memories of the pandits. The first and greatest among the leaders of the movement was the Vaishnava mystic Ramanuja (Rāmānuja, d. 1137), founder of the *Śrīvaiṣṇava* sect Madhava (1197–1276), a Kanarese Brahmin, founded the *Madhva* sect, while the Telugu Brahmin Nimbarka (Nimbārka, 13th century) settled near Mathura where he sang the songs of bhakti and the praises of Krishna and Radha. The famous Telugu-born philosopher, saint Vallabha (1479–1531), wielded tremendous influence on the movement. The sect of the Lingayats was Saivite and had considerable influence on several north Indian saints.

Ramananda (1400–70), who was the chief figure and recognized leader of the movement in the Hindi-speaking areas, was at first a follower of Ramanuja's *Śrīvaiṣṇava* sect and in his early days resided in South India. On his return to the North he is said to have settled down at Varanasi where he established the sect popularly called the 'Ramanandis'. What set the adherents of this sect apart from others was their frank egalitarian basis, which was possibly influenced by the contemporary Muslim Sufis, and the exclusive use of the vernacular with a flavour of the soil.

Kabir (1440–1518), a disciple of Ramananda, preached antinomian theism through verses written in an unpolished, colloquial style suited to the tastes of the people for whom it was written. Kabir's poetry is devotional and mystical and thoroughly imbued with religious ardour. An important trait of his religion is that God is conceived as a completely spiritual Being whom one should endeavour to discover in the depths of one's own interiority. Consequently the illusory manifestations of the divine under the form of *avatārs* should be rejected. Influence of the *Nātha* sect is particularly noticeable in Kabir's rejection of Brahmanical authority regarding prescribed ceremonies, *varṇa* distinctions, sacred languages, and scriptures; in his emphasis on mystical unity with God and his search for introspection based on experimental truth. The influence of the Sufis on Kabir may also account for the latter's tendency to oppose traditional duties and love of God. The Sufis were well known for their antinomian tendencies, and these tendencies were particularly noticeable among medieval Indian Sufis who claimed for themselves a special way reserved for the initiates.

Kabir's community, known as the 'Kabirpanth', exists to this day. It gave rise to a dozen other sects, the most important of them being that of the Sikhs, founded by Guru Nanak (1469–1538), a disciple of Kabir. A large number of Kabir's compositions are found among the texts of the *Ādi Granth*; his influence is further seen in the doctrines of Nanak, and in Sikhism. Nanak was followed by nine gurus, most of whom were poets. The tenth guru, whose name was Govind Singh, held office from 1675 to 1708. He composed many verses, mostly in Hindi (Brajabhasha), but some also in Persian and Punjabi.

Dadu (1544–1603) founded another community, known as the 'Dādūpanth'. His spirit of forgiveness and kindness (*dayā*), which earned for him the title of Dayal, reminds one of Kabir minus the latter's Muhammadan ideas. Dadu's doctrines are contained in the *Bāṇī*, a book of about five thousand mellifluous verses divided into thirty-seven chapters dealing with such subjects as the Divine Teacher, Remembrance, Separation, Meeting, Mind, Truth, Good, Faith, Prayer, etc. The sect which he founded has a rich literature in Hindi. His two sons were poets, and all his fifty-two disciples are reported to have composed verses.

Besides the Sufis who enriched Hindi literature, there were other sects too whose followers wrote and preached in Hindi. The contributions of the Lal Dasis, the Sadhus, the Charan Dasis, the Siva Narayanis, the Garib Dasis, the Rama Sanchis, the Satnamis, the Prem Nathis, etc. cannot in this context be ignored.

The movement included two other important groups, namely the Krishnaite saints and Ramaite saints. Like the Ramaite cult, the worship of Krishna had its beginnings in the centuries before this period, but about this time it received a new impetus, which was marked as well as fur-

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thered, by the use of the vernacular for its religious literature. It was the child Krishna who was often—and especially—thought of as an object of worship, but more often it was that aspect of Krishna's life which was concerned with his relation to Radha and the other Gopis that received most attention.

The greatest Ramaite poet was Tulasidas (1532–1623), another spiritual heir of Ramanand. Tulasi belongs to the tradition of the Vaishnava poets who were devoted to Rama and who wrote their poetry mostly in Awadhi. He is not only the supreme poet, but the unofficial poet-laureate of India. A religious thinker and reformer as well as a poet, he strove, like the Italian poet Dante, to translate his dream from the sphere of ideas to the sphere of facts: first, his dream of a living Hindu culture, for which he strove to revitalize every aspect of Hindu society and culture as he found it, and then, his dream of integrating this culture into his own devotional ideology, for which he strove to harmonize the divergent facets of Hindu culture by standing firmly in the existing tradition of which the Sanskrit *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* is an example, and translating it into the vernacular language.

The story of Rama appears again and again in the works of Tulasi, especially in his *Rāmacaritamānasa* (1574–77), *Gītāvalī* (1571), *Kavitāvalī* (1612) and *Barvairāmāyaṇa* (1612), while his *Vinaya Patrikā* (Petition to Rama) consists of a large number of hymns to Rama.

Of Krishnaite works of the Vaishnava poets, mention should first be made of the love songs of Vidyapati, one of the contemporaries of Ramanand. His importance cannot be overestimated for the simple reason that though essentially a poet of love, his sweet warblings inspired devotional writings in Hindi, Bengali and Assamese, notably those of the Bengali poet Chaitanya. The latter's contemporary, Vallabha, bequeathed nothing remarkable to Hindi, but his teaching of the acquisition of divine grac called *puṣṭi-mārga* is embedded in the works of the four of his disciples and in those of the four disciples of his son, Vitthalanatha, collectively called the *aṣṭa-chāp* (eight die-stamps), the trail-blazers of Krishnaite literature. Of these Suradasa (1483–1563) is the most outstanding devotional poet whose *Sūrasāgara*, directly inspired as it is by the Sanskrit *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, presents a pellucid, vivid account of Krishna's childhood pranks and youthful dalliance. Another poet of note belonging to the same tradition of Krishna worship is Nandadasa (b. 1528), whose poetry is suffused with a superb polish and urbanity and who excelled in describing the manifold merits of the impersonal and personal concepts of the Deity in the *Bhramaragīta*. Mira Bai (1503–73), a Rajput princess who was widowed at an early age, was the first to achieve poetic fame as a devotee of Krishna and as one whose poetry is alive with a remarkable freshness and femininity, pathos and simplicity, without the frills and flowers of rhetoric.

The Medieval Court

The medieval feudal courts appear to have exercised considerable influence on the development of Hindi literature. Even while the Rajput clans were consolidating their power or struggling with the Muslim invaders, every Hindu court had its minstrels and bards who celebrated in song the heroic deeds of their patrons. These bards—*Cāraṇas*, *Bhāṭas*, *Sevagas* and *Pañcolis*—composed their songs in local Prakrit which gradually developed into the modern vernacular. The most important of these early singers are Pusya (or Punda), Kedar, Ananya Dasa, Masaud, Qutub Ali and Akram Faiz. *Khumān Rāso*, a 16th century poetic chronicle of the ruling family of Mewar is said to be based on a work written in the 9th century. Works like *Kumāra Pāla Caritra*, *Bīsal Deva Rāso*, *Pṛthvī Rāja Rāso*, etc. owe their existence to royal patronage.

About the middle of the 16th century there appeared a new artistic influence in Hindi literature, namely, that of Persian, with whose polished verses many Hindus had gradually become acquainted. Many Hindus who were connected with the court learnt this language of their rulers, and when Urdu literature developed it was fashioned after Persian models and the polished Persian verse suggested a higher artistic standard in Hindi literature than there had been before. The reign of Akbar (1556–1605), for example, was marked by the establishment of a large library of books in various languages and translations from Sanskrit into Persian and the vernacular. Poets were patronized with great liberality and the Emperor himself pursued a policy of protection and encouragement of Hindu learning. The patronage thus extended to men like Todar Mal (1523–89), Raja Birbal (1528–83), Raja Manohar Das (d. 1577), Abdul Rahim Khankhana (1553–1627), Gang Kavi (c. 1533–1617), etc. encouraged improvement in the standards of poetic and other arts and stimulated a great outburst of creative activity.

Erotic Rhetoricism of the Rīti Period

After the overflow of devotional exuberance, often wearisomely repetitive and only occasionally relieved by heroic romances, a new trend welled up in Hindi literature under the patronage of the Mughal court. The socio-political milieu in which medieval Hindu devotionalism was grounded had undergone a gradual change paralleled only by a change in the literary sensibility of the writer, his patron and his reading public. Consequently a new period dawns about 1600 and continues for no less than two centuries, during which a kind of literature was produced which the moralists of the early 20th century condemned as unethical and which the Romantics of the *Chāyāvāda* School spurned as deficient in the subtle sense of beauty.

After reading the erotic-rhetorical works of the *Rīti*

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poets it is apparent that the problems of form—*rasa*, *alaṅkāra*, *dhvani*, etc.—and the differences between one kind of heroine and another interested them more than the same problems did their bhakta predecessors. Poetry, they knew, meant making, and they made poetry to illustrate rhetoric and classify the different kinds of heroines. Lack of sympathy with their taste for what is called *lakṣaṇa granthas* has led to the popular judgment that they lacked the profundity of the Sanskrit poeticians who preceded, and the freshness and initiative provided by the later 19th-century writers.

One of the most representative poets of the *Rīti* period and one of the earliest is Kesavadas (1555–1617) who wrote *Rasikapriyā* (1591), *Kavipriyā* (1601), and *Rāmacandrikā* (1601), all works of consummate formal artistry by one who was a good poet, a skilled courtier, a clever historian and a connoisseur of horses. The *Satsaī* of Abdur Rahim Khankhana is rich in ever-crisp apothegms and wordly-wise distichs which have achieved a popularity in the Hindi-speaking regions of North India which equals, but not excels, that of Bihari Lal (1603–63), whose *Satsaī* frames a collection of visual, verbal vignettes and pictures, each almost self-contained, drawn round the amorous dialogues between Radha and Krishna and the Gopis. Among some of the other notable poets who enriched the erotic-rhetorical tradition are Bhushan (c. 1625–1680), the well-known poet laureate to the Maratha leader Sivaji, and Matiram (1616–1715), a rhetorician who, patronized by northern rulers, produced two of the exquisitely lucid rhetorical works of the *Rīti* school, *Lalitalalāma* and *Rasarāja*. Bhushan's *Śivarāja-bhūṣaṇa* is at once a panegyric and an excellent account of rhetoric as used in poetry with each figure of rhetoric illustrated by a verse in honour of Sivaji. Another poet in the bardic tradition, Lala Kavi (1657–1707), wrote *Chatraprakāś* in which he chronicled the story of the Bundel chieftains, especially that of his patron Chatrasala (?–1658). Deva's (1673–1745) *Premcandrikā*, Ghananand's (1689–1739) *Sujānasāgara*, Giridhara's (b. 1713) *Kundaliyā* and Padmakar Bhatt's (1753–1833) *Jagadvinoda* and *Padmābharaṇa* are also worthy of mention as illustrative of the main trends which distinguished the *Rīti* movement from the ones that preceded and followed it. The decline in Hindi writing throughout the *Rīti* age, which has been variously accounted for, is in reality a phenomenon parallel to the decline of the Mughals and the degeneration and decadence of 18th century society.

The Renaissance

The 18th century in India is characterized by a kind of intellectual stagnation. The country, untouched by the new scientific spirit which was so rapidly transforming the West, was a land rife with internal dissensions and devoid of any central political power. Hindu chieftains and Muslim governors vied with one another for the remnants of the fast disintegrating Mughal empire, while the common man pursued his traditional occupation in relative indifference to the religious or regional origins of his rulers.

Of the several new factors that combined to produce an awakening, the first was the devotion of a small band of European scholars to research in Indian history and philology. One of the spectacular results was the identification made by Sir William Jones of the emperor Chandragupta with the Sandrokottus of the Greeks, and the second was the discovery of the key to the Brahmi script by James Prinsep, Mint Master of Calcutta, which led to the opening of the vast treasure-house of Buddhist literature to the world. Discoveries in the domain of philosophy made by scholars like Jones stimulated interest in Indian languages and culture while the British rulers set themselves to promote an intellectual revival among both Muslims and Hindus. A Muhammedan college was founded in Calcutta by Warren Hastings for the teaching of Islamic subjects, and the Bengal Asiatic Society by Jones, for disseminating the true wisdom of India embodied in Sanskrit literature. For founding the Hindu College at Banaras credit goes to Jonathan Duncan, who was but one of the several officials who encouraged the new movement.

Yet another important factor which contributed to the Renaissance in Hindi literature was the translation of the Bible into Hindi, and the publication of missionary pamphlets. The decision taken in 1835, that 'the great object of British government ought to be the promotion of English literature and science among the natives of India' was one of the turning points of Indian history. It opened the floodgates to European literature, submerging the whole subcontinent in liberal and scientific thought.

The impact of the Renaissance on Hindi literature was felt in several directions. For the first time in Hindi literature a prose medium—Khariboli—came to be evolved and literature in prose with its various genres began to multiply. The efforts of the Christian missionaries to translate religious texts and of the authorities of Fort William College of Calcutta to prepare suitable textbooks led to the enrichment of Hindi prose, and the first author of note was Lalluji Lal of Agra (1763–1835), who wrote his *Prem Sāgar* in 1803. The contributions of Pandit Sadal Mishra, Ramaprasad Niranjani, Pandit Daulatram and Munshi Sadasukhlal Niyaz helped Hindi prose literature to stabilize itself. Hindi prose, however, developed into a literary vehicle only in the 19th century through Insa Allah's novel *Rānī Ketakī Kī Kahānī* (c. 1800) and Raja Siva Prasad's newspaper *Banāras Akhbār* (1845 ff.). While Siva Prasad popularized a rather Persianized Hindi, Raja Lakshman Singh, translator of *Śākuntalam* (1868) used a highly Sanskritized prose style. The impact of newspapers and periodicals such as *Hindī Pradip*, *Hariścandra Candrikā*,

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Sārasudhānidhi, *Bhāratendu*, *Ananda Kādambinī*, etc., on the evolving Hindi prose, more particularly on modern Hindi criticism in Khariboli prose, is reminiscent of a similar phenomenon observed in the 18th-century English literature. The man who truly epitomizes the spirit of the Indian Renaissance was Bharatendu Harischandra (1850–85), poet, dramatist, historical novelist, editor, and litterateur. One of the most remarkable literary events of the period was the founding on 16 July 1893 of Kāśī Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā for the growth and development of Hindi literature. Under the leadership of Shyam Sundar Das a large number of old manuscripts were discovered, a pioneering work which was later undertaken by Shyam Bihari Misra and Hiralal also.

The National-Cultural Movements

With the spread of English education in the 19th century western ideas came to have the glamour and romance of the exotic things that they appeared to be. Those who imbibed them broke down everything old and alienated themselves from their ancient moorings. Thus the Renaissance of Hinduism witnessed the emergence of a number of seminal minds from among the ranks of Hindu society to respond to the combined challenge of Christian religious ideas and of modern western rationalist and utilitarian thought. Rammohan Roy, influenced as he also was by Benthamite utilitarianism, brought forth new weapons to meet the challenge posed by European thought while he inveighed against the orthodox for their polytheism and idolatry. The crowning achievement of his organizational ability was the founding of the 'Brahmo Sabha' (later known as Brahmo Samaj) in 1828. During this time Bengal produced one of her greatest scholars, Isvar Chander Vidyasagar (1822–91), who took up the widow remarriage movement. In 1875 Dayanand Saraswati (1824–83) founded his reform society, the Arya Samaj, the members of which adopted Hindi as a language of their teaching and propaganda. In 1880 an elite group, thoroughly nationalist, emerged to identify itself openly with the Indian nation and occupy itself with political agitation. Two such outstanding leaders of this group were Bankim Chandra Chatterjee (1838–94) and Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1857–1920). The Indian National Congress was founded in 1885.

Another important religious movement was the Ramakrishna Mission movement inspired by Ramakrishna (1836–86), a great Hindu saint in direct line of such sages as Chandidasa and Chaitanya. His disciple, Swami Vivekananda (1863–1902), was strongly influenced by western education, the teachings of Brahmo Samaj and by his master, Ramakrishna.

From the beginning of the 20th century Hindi literature was increasingly coloured by the political and religious ideas of all these leaders. The influence of the political aspirations of the day was felt typically by Bharatendu Harischandra (1850–85), Sridhar Pathak (1876–1928), Ayodhya Singh Upadhyaya (1865–1946), Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi (1870–1938), Subhadra Kumari Chauhan, Makhanlal Chaturvedi, Maithili Sharan Gupta (1886–1964) and a host of other writers. Tagore's influence was felt by the poets of the Romantic school led by Nirala, Pant, and others. Influence of the Arya Samaj is noticeable in the writings of Swami Shraddhananda, Sant Ram, Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, Balamukunda Gupta, Radhacharan Goswami—all men of considerably historical significance. Those directly influenced by the nationalist movements were poets and writers who clustered around Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi and his *Saraswati* (1900–20), the literary journal which he edited.

Chāyāvāda

This new poetic movement, which characterizes the inter-War period, has been described as an aesthetic, subjective movement, a personal revolt against formalism and dry-as-dust didacticism and the puritanical moralizing of the age of Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi. Like the bhakti movement of the medieval period, it regarded the claims of the heart as an enthusiastic, paramount principle and based its literary eminence on humanism and the supremacy of the imagination. Indeed, to all appearances, the devotionalism of the bhakti age, the erotic rhetoricism of the *Rīti* poets and the standards of the ethics and morality laid down by Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi and his age had not permitted full play to all innate tendencies; some, like the poet's love of nature, his sensitive use of vowel values and word consciousness, a strongly pantheistic undercurrent, had only been repressed and were waiting their time. When, after the heyday of rhetoricism and didacticism, inspiration dried up and form decayed, the unexhausted humanistic bend of the national mind asserted itself.

Jayashankar Prasad (1889–1937), Sumitranandan Pant (1900–77), Suryakanta Tripathi 'Nirala' (1896–1961) and Mahadevi Varma (b. 1907) are the most representative poets of the *Chāyāvāda* school. The themes of natural scenery, night, moonlight, death, exoticism, valediction, agony of separation, etc. are persistently treated and new myths are created in the process with a liberal sprinkling of pathetic fallacy and a fund of impassioned feeling of spontaneity. The powerful stimulus of English Romantic poetry is behind most of the poems of this school, particularly behind those of Pant, but all such sweeping analogies are obviously inapt and misleading.

Progressivism

The early 1930s witnessed the eruption of Marxism as a new trend in Hindi literature, though the infection caught

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by the writers was neither stiflingly malignant nor quite unsalutary. An atmosphere somewhat congenial to the hungry outcaste already existed in the country owing mainly to the efforts of Mahatma Gandhi. Class hatred was thus diluted, though a section of the youth continued to take pride in radicalism. It is the angry young men of these years who even hailed Premchand as the Gorky of India and reacted 'to the turbid emotionalism and phantasy' of *Chāyāvāda*. Amongst those who profess Marxist leanings, mention should be made of Yashpal, Ila Chandra Joshi, Rambilas Sharma, Nagarjun, Kedarnath Agrawal, Rangeya Raghav, Suman, Trilochan and others. The writings of these progressives are influenced by the political and social realities which they actively strive to explain and shape, in order to make the transition from capitalism to socialism as humane as possible. Their Marxism is in fact the natural heir to the great humanistic tradition in which it discerns the stages of mankind's emerging freedom as expressed by its relation to nature, society, and the state. Writers like Rambilas Sharma, Prakash Chandra Gupta, Amrit Rai, Namavar Singh and Sivadan Singh Chauhan have given new meaning to the works of great Hindi poets, medieval and modern, and have viewed the historical, political and social individual who haunts the literature of the *Rīti* age and the modern psychological literature as the product of a dying feudal culture, a product whose ideological function it is to disparage human achievements. They are convinced that bourgeois art and bourgeois criticism are not interested in the development of a historical, aesthetic consciousness in India and therefore must feed on alienation raised to metaphysical heights. Thus to them the poets and writers of the new school who imitate Joyce, Kafka, and Mann are the great diagnosticians, analysts and critics of the period of bourgeois decomposition.

Experimentalism

Experimentalism in Hindi literature dates from the publication of *Tārasaptaka* (1943), the first in the *Saptaka* series of anthologies edited by S. H. Vatsyayana 'Ajneya', who is regarded as the initiator of this new movement. Most of the poets included in this anthology were influenced by Marxism except Girija Kumar Mathur. Muktibodh's poem 'To the Capitalist Social Order', Nemichandra Jain's 'The Poets Song', Bharat Bhushan's 'To his own Poet' and 'Be Ever Vigilant', Machwe's 'The Lower Middle Class' and 'The Twentieth Century', and Rambilas Sharma's 'World Peace' are all imbued with communistic ideology. It seems therefore that Experimentalism in Hindi literature proceeds directly from western progressivism. *Pragativāda* has primarily been to the common reader an expression of modern, humanist socialism, while Experimentalism stems from individualism. It is also clear that in its initial stages the individual consciousness which characterizes experimentalism was not unrelated to or uninfluenced by Marxist humanism. *Dūsrā Saptaka* (1951) has indeed been more obviously inclined towards experimentalism, a 'quest for new values and searching examination of the basic sanctions and sources of value'. The poems in it are more pronouncedly experimental, more interiorized and more aggressively engaged in searching for identity. The need for experiment is felt because the poet wants to realize his truth through it, and the poet's truth is what his experiences awaken. The experimentalists felt that the living realities of the day—the new temper, the new science and the new technology—demanded a new mode of expression to reflect the changed sensibility. The poets who represent the Experimentalist school are Shamsher Bahadur Singh, Raghuvir Sahay, Shriram Varma, Dharmavir Bharati, and others who are all anxious to harbinger a new age and who are deeply humanistic. If their tone becomes disparaging or their poetry at times sardonic, it is because they dislike those who tether life to moribund traditions and dead conventions. In most of their writings, especially on those of the three poets who collectively started the experimental movement (1954) called *Nakenavāda*, one can easily discern the influence of European Imagist Movement in general and of T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound and E. E. Cummings in particular. The Hindi novel has also been sensitive to the influences of the western experimental novel, especially the novels of Zola and Flaubert, and to such psychoanalytical novelists as Marcel Proust and Joyce. *Śekhar: Ek Jīvanī* by 'Ajneya' and the novels of Ilachandra Joshi are cases in point.

New Writing

Experimentalism naturally led to the movement called New Writing, and here again Ajneya's contribution is no less significant. It is often held that New Writing in poetry assumes a distinctive shape with the publication of *Tīsrā Saptaka* (1959; *Cauthā Saptaka* appeared in 1979) and continues to find its most representative practitioners in 'Ajneya' (b. 1911), Dharmavir Bharati (b. 1926), Shamsher Bahadur Singh (b. 1911), Bhavani Prasad Mishra (b. 1913), Virendra Kumar Jain (b. 1916), Girija Kumar Mathur (b. 1919), Sarveshwar Dayal Saxena (b. 1927), Laxmikant Varma, Naresh Mehta (b. 1924), Bharat Bhushan Agrawal (1919–76), Raghuvir Sahay (b. 1929), Kunwar Narayan (b. 1927) and others. They celebrate in their poems the themes of the importance of the moment, existentialist determinism, isolation and alienation. The hero has vanished from the new novel and the new short story and in criticism an attempt is made to forge new standards of judgement in place of the outmoded ones which are said to be both inadequate, and incapable of judging the contemporary reality.

The new poets depend upon their auditory imagination

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and allusiveness and are often extremely obscure due to their dense intellectual content and idiosyncratic symbolism. Among those who have rejected the traditional concept of the story as a unified narrative form with a plot, characters and point of view, Krishna Sobti, Rajendra Yadav, Mohan Rakesh, Mannu Bhandari, Naresh Mehta and Srilal Shukla occupy a pre-eminent place and are considered 'new' in their refusal to be bound to the 'clock and the calendar', to the age-old technique of the novel. While the search for identity, the attraction of the new, and the eagerness to try fresh forms and rhythmical devices led Sambhunath Singh, Kedarnath Agrawal, Trilochan Shastri, etc. to some of the most radical experimentations in Hindi poetry, similar urges and enlarged human sympathies led some of the novelists to employ the idiom of the masses and to return once again to the countryside. Phaniswaranath Renu (1921–77), Kesava Prasad Mishra, Manohar Shyam Joshi, Shiva Prasad Singh and others have without doubt enlarged the scope of Hindi fiction by writing what is called *Āncalika* (regional) novel.

It must, however, be admitted that New Writing in Hindi had its problems from the very beginning; for although some of its devices appear to have become firmly established in the scheme of things and have become a recognized part of Hindi literature, there are yet certain grave abuses which pass under the name of New Writing, and which threaten its value as serious literature. There is also the fruitless pedantry of some 'New Critics' who reject all classical poetics and their exponents and collect differing opinions of various old authorities only to pulverize them without ever arriving at definite results.

Literary Institutions

Institutions like the Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā (f. 16th July 1893), Hindī Sāhitya Sammelana, Allahabad (f. 1910), Bihār Rāṣṭrabhāṣā Pariṣad (f. 1949), the Central Hindi Directorate, Hindī Samsthān, Lucknow, and the Publications Division, Government of India have rendered invaluable service to the cause of Hindi literature and language. The efforts of the Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā of Banaras have led to the discovery of hundreds of manuscripts and to their publication, and the Sabhā has encouraged many creative and critical talents by awarding them prizes and medals. The Sabhā's venture to publish a fairly detailed history of Hindi literature in seventeen volumes entitled *Hindī Sāhitya Kā Bṛhat Itihāsa* is unique as far as any Indian language is concerned; and most of the volumes have already been published. The Hindī Sāhitya Sammelana of Allahabad holds examinations, organizes literary conferences and establishes libraries for the popularization of Hindi besides publishing books of rare worth. Similar institutions at Madras, Trivandrum, Ujjain, Nagpur, Patna, Allahabad, Saran, Patiala, Delhi, etc. are actively engaged in the propagation and development of Hindi. Then there are the Hindī Sāhitya Samitis of Dehradun, Bharatpur, Indore, Rajapur, Akola, Berar, Hosangabad, etc. and the Uccatara Hindī Samsthan of Simla. No less important for their contribution to Hindi language and literature are the institutions called Hindī Sāhitya Pariṣads with their offices at Kanpur, Lucknow, Gauhati, Mathura, Mirzapur, Meerut, Srinagar, Sirsa (Allahabad); the Hindī Pracāra Pariṣad of Mysore; Hindī Pracāra Sabhās of Tamil Nadu, Madras, Madura, Hyderabad, and Hindī Pracāra Samitis of Ernakulam, Bangalore, Bhopal, Hindī Prācāriṇī Sabhās of Khurja, Trichnopoli, Kenya (East Africa), Balia, Haryana; and one of the most important of them all—Bhāratīya Hindī Pariṣad, which meets every year at important cultural centres. One must also remember in this connection the contribution made by such journals as the *Sarasvatī*, *Hamsa*, *Mādhurī*, *Dharma Yuga*, *Sārikā*, *Nayī Kavitā*, *Samīkṣā*, *Ālocanā*, etc., by the All India Radio and the Hindi Departments of the various Indian Universities, and by such publishing concerns as Rādhā Kṛṣṇa Prakāśana, Rāja Pāla and Sons, Rāja Kamal Prakāśana, Sarasvatī Bihār, National Publishing House, Loka Bhāratī (Allahabad), Jñānamaṇḍala (Varanasi), etc. Hindī Anusandhāna Pariṣad of the Department of Hindi, Delhi University, for example, rendered great service to Hindi literature by encouraging pure research in the subject. Some of the most eminent writers, including such trail blazers as Shyamasundara Dasa, Ramachandra Shukla, Hazari Prasada Dwivedi, Nanda Dulare Bajpeyi, Dr. Nagendra, Ramadhari Singh 'Dinkar', etc., have been associated with the Universities. They have all helped Hindi writers to produce original books and also to translate important books from European languages. The Nāgarī Pracāriṅi Sabhā and Jñānamaṇḍala have published standard Hindi dictionaries and reference books. Books on subjects connected with political science, philosophy, morals, history, medicine, biology, physics, chemistry, etc. are being constantly issued from the press, and the Hindi Sahitya Academies of Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh are very active in this regard. A great deal of what is being written and published may not have great value as literature, but all this will help to cultivate and enlarge the resources of the language to meet the needs of the times.

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Kannada

G. VENKATASUBBIAH

Jainism

The author of the earliest extant work, *Kavirājamārga*, Srivijaya mentions several earlier writers. Therefore, the possibility of quite a rich harvest of Kannada poems by prominent writers even before the great Pampa (10th century) cannot be ruled out. But almost all these works are lost, and so we can only conjecture on the evidence of the huge number of available inscriptions; most of these are in praise of great Jaina scholar-saints. There was a period when Jainism was very popular in Karnataka and conversion to Jainism took place on a large scale. The life and achievements of the Jain saints evoked admiration and life revolved around Jaina religious centres. A great saint who attained Svarga by penance, such as fast unto death, was extolled in verses. These are inscribed on stone panels and we have hundreds of them in all Jaina centres particularly at Shravana Belagola. In later days the inscription took the form of a short poem, each in praise of a king or a philanthropist who gifted lands and money. There were gifts of land to great scholars and mutts. Men who died in an attempt to save the village cattle or protect the honour of a woman and women who performed 'Sati' have been honoured with such inscriptions. These form a large part of the early available literature and are the only source of information about the history of Karnataka, political, literary and even religious. This practice among the scholars led to classical compositions in Kannada culminating in the two great poems of Pampa which shine in splendid isolation.

From the 10th to 16th century the harvest was bountiful. The poets were proficient in both Kannada and Sanskrit. The early Jaina poets are known for the *Campu* form of writing and Pampa (Pampa; 10th century) is the greatest of them. His *Ādi Purāṇa*, the earliest of Kannada poems, is a religious work (a *Purāṇa Kāvya*). His other poem, *Vikramārjuna Vijaya* or *Pampa Bhārata* is a secular work (a *Loukika Kāvya*). Because of Pampa's example, the composition of a *Purāṇa Kāvya* and a *Loukika Kāvya* became the inevitable qualification for the title of a great poet (Mahakavi). Pampa, Ranna, Nagachandra, Nemichandra and Janna are the best examples of this movement. But there are a few non-Jaina writers, great in their own right, like Nagavarma (Nāgavarma, 10th century) and Rudrabhatta (Rudrabhaṭṭa, 12th century).

The *Campu* form of writing continued with some intermissions for about three centuries. Jaina religious fervour has given us the best of early Kannada poetry. But slowly poetic excellence gave place to skilful pedantry and there was a period of over-Sanskritization which was bound to fail as literature. It was given to Nayasena (Nayasēna, 12th century) to compose his *Dharmāmṛta* (the Nectar of Dharma), to propagate the tenets of Jainism. He also led the revolt against the excessive use of pedantic Sanskrit and forged a simple style.

Andaiah (Āṇḍayya, 13th century), who wrote *Kabbigara Kāva* (Saviour of Poets, 1235) attempted to write in a Kannada unadulterated with Sanskrit. But this resulted in the creation of numerous untidy and unseemly *tadbhava* forms, many of which have been used neither before nor after Andaiah. This 'Desi' movement was a minor ripple which later settled down to a rational blending of Sanskrit and Kannada which is simple and melodious. A poet describes this style as 'looping red corals with black beads'.

Virasaivism

Virasaivism, which took hold of the Kannada country in the 12th century, is only the logical development of the

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belief and work of the great exponents of Saivism in Tamil Nadu called Nāyanmārs. The Saivite writings in Tamil are called Tirumurais. Virasaivism is called Śivādvaita or Śakti Viśiṣṭādvaita, because, according to its tenets, Siva is the ultimater eality. Basava was the leader of the Virasaiva movement in Kannada. He succeeded in establishing a new religious order and a new awakening spread throughout the length and breadth of Karnataka.

Basavanna (Basavaṇṇa, 12th century), an exponent of Virasaivism, was both a mystic and a social reformer who preached equality, liberty and fraternity. His religious experiences gave Kannada literature a great treasure of powerful expressions in the form of prose lyrics called *Vacanās*. A *Vacana* is a fine artistic unit and deals with spiritual, ethical or social aspects of man's mundane existence. Even in the formal pattern there lis an effective speech rhythm. Being an artistic entity and the outcome of a single experience either emotional or devotional or moralistic or reformist, philosophical or metaphysical, the *Vacana* is aphoristic. The *Vacana* literature, which is in simple and chaste Kannada, has imbibed the best in the spoken Kannada of the period. The dignity of labour, inward goodness and purity, the emancipation of women and the equality of men of different castes and creeds formed the theme of these *vacanas*. Hundreds of Vacanakaras (writers of *vacanas*) who followed Basavanna have composed literature the like of which is not available in any other literature of India. The greatest of these Vacanakaras are Basavanna, Chenna basava, Siddarama, Allama and Mahadeviakka, all of the 12th century. For the first time a number of women associated themselves with literary activity. While Allama reaches metaphysical heights in his *Vacanas*, the homely language of Basavanna blending emotion and intellect and breathing rare enthusiasm reaches everyone.

The Haridāsa Movement

The Virasaiva Bhakti movement led to a similar movement in the 15th century called the *Haridāsa Pantha* (way). It may be said that mysticism in Karnataka had its origin in the *Bhāgavata*, the *Śāṇḍilya Sūtra*, the *Nārada Bhakt Sūtra* and the philosophical systems of Sankara, Ramanuja and Madhwa as well as the Alwars of Tamil Nadu.

Though Vaishnavism had an early beginning it developed into a real movement only in the 15th century under the inspiring leadership of Sripadaraja, who was in Tamil Nadu and saw how the Alwars brought about a social reformation and delighted in personal mystic experiences. On his return to Karnataka he exposed the Kannada people to these new thoughts and experiences. From him followed a line of Haridasa saints like Vyasaraja, Purandara and Kanaka, all of the 15th century.

The Haridasa movement comprised two groups, *Vyāsa Kūṭa* and *Dāsa Kūṭa*. To the first group belonged scholars in Sanskrit, well read in the *Vedas*, *Upaniṣads* and *Darśanās*. They could appreciate and propound the metaphysics and interpret the incarnations of God Vishnu, their supreme Lord. The second group consisted of *Dāsas* who could convey the message of Dvaita philosophy to the ordinary man through the *Kīrtanas* sung to the tune of the *Tambūra*. Sripadaraja, Vyasaraja and Vadiraja belong to the first group while Purandara, Kanaka etc., belong to the second group. The *Dāsas*, followers of Madhwa, firmly believed that the divine is to be realized within oneself for Vishnu permeates the whole universe. They also believed that God is both personal and absolute and realization of Him is possible only through *bhakti*. Like the *Śaranas*, the *Dāsas* were non-sectarian. They tried to rid society of superstition and credulity. They used everyday speech to convey mystic experience, to expound philosophy and to preach right conduct.

The *Dāsas* of the *Dāsa Pantha* gave thousands of songs to Kannada literature. Purandaradasa became a master musician. Musicologists hail him as the founder of Karnatic music. The famous Telugu composer Tyagaraja seems to have borrowed many ideas and even phrases from the songs of Purandaradasa. The songs of Purandaradasa and Kanaka, embodying fundamental truths in simple language, are heard in humble homes and high-brow musical performances. The best of songs are remarkable for their literary merit, devotional fervour and moral and philosophical teachings and mystic impacts.

The *Dāsa* movement is alive even to this day. A number of people around Raichur, Adwani, Bijapur and Gulbarga are continuing the tradition of *Dāsa Pantha*.

Ramanuja's teachings were mostly in Sanskrit and his followers also wrote in Sanskrit. It was only late in the period of Chikkadevaraya (Cikkadēvarāya, 1672–1704) that a few Kannada works dealing with qualified monism with Vishnu as Supreme came to be written. *Cikkadēvarāya Binnapa* is a work in point.

The Christian Missionaries

After the British established their power in India many Christian missionaries came with the express purpose of setting up churches and converting Indians to Christianity. The abject poverty and ignorance of the down-trodden people on the coast line of India opened out a virgin field for their activity. By 1850 about 400 missionaries belonging to 40 different Christian Missions were active in India alone, while their total number elsewhere in the world was hardly one hundred and twenty. In Karnataka five different Christian Missions were active—the Jesuit Society, the London Mission, the Wesleyan Mission, the Methodist Mission and the Basel Mission, the first being Roman Catholic and the rest Protestant.

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The missionaries learnt the local languages, wrote text books for the newly established schools and published periodicals. The Kannada country received its first printing press in 1820 and thus started a number of publications, religious and secular.

In 1817, Dr. William Carey printed *A Grammar of Kurnataka Language* at Serampur in Bengal. In 1823 the first Kannada version of the Bible was printed in the same place. Rev. W. Reeve published his English-Kannada Dictionary in 1832, F. Ziegler (1820-1906) published his *English-Kanarese School-Dictionary* in 1876, Daniel Sanderson (1810-) published *Kannada English Dictionary* in 1858 and Rev. Ferdinand Kittel (1832-1903) published his *Kannada-English Dictionary* in 1893. The impetus given to education brought about the establishment of many educational institutions like the Central College in Bangalore (1875), the Karnataka Bhāṣojjivinī Sabhā (1880), the Sanskrit College (1889) and the Oriental Library (1887), all in Mysore. The Department of Archaeology came into being in 1887. B. L. Rice (1837-1927) was the first to head the Department. By 1916, he had collected about nine thousand Kannada inscriptions. The volumes of *Epigraphia Carnatica* contain these inscriptions. *Bibliotheca Carnatica* (1884) was a series started with the purpose of printing old Kannada classics for the first time. As a result of this, interest in literature revived and old Kannada classics were published in two different series headed by local scholars, M. A. Ramanuja Iyengar (Rāmānuja Ayyaṅgār, 1862-1938) and S. G. Narasimhachar (Narasiṁhācār, d. 1911), viz. *Karṇāṭaka Kavyamañjari* (1892-98) and *Karṇāṭaka Kāvyakalānidhi* (1900-20).

A number of Christian religious texts were printed by the missionaries. Titles like *Daiva Parīkṣe* (God's Test, 1862), *Divya Mātruke* (Divine Mother, 1862), *Satya Veda Parīkṣe* (An Enquiry into the Bible, 1866), *Sukruta Mantragaḷu* (Sacred Hymns, 1866) and *Protestant Emba Patitara Mārga* (The Way of Protestants—The Sinners, 1867) give us an idea of the content of these texts. All these were translations from Tamil by E. L. Charbounaux. He also compiled a *Latin-Kannada Dictionary* (1861) and a *Kannada-Latin Dictionary* (1885). A number of famous English books were translated into Kannada. Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* became *Dēśantriya Prayāṇa* (1858). B. H. Rice composed a number of Kannada songs to be sung to western tunes, and published them in a book called *Kannada Saṅgītagaḷu* (1836). Herman Moegling (1800-70) translated *Dāsara Padagaḷu* into German. Parts of the famous *Jaimini Bhārata* also were translated into German. In 1915 Rev. E. P. Rice (1849-1936) wrote *A History of Karnataka Literature*. Thus Kannada literature was made known to the literary world of Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries. W. G. Wurth published a selection of Kannada poems. He included in this collection, *Prākkāvyamālike* (1868), a few Christian religious songs in Kannada, composed in new stanza patterns. Christian literature during this period was prolific but was limited to a small group.

Rev. Ferdinand Kittel is probably the man who did most for Kannada. Encouraged in this task by B. L. Rice, Kittel published in 1862 *Kathāmāle*, a collection of songs from passages in the New Testament. He edited an old Kannada grammar *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* (1872) and another book *Candōmbudhi* (1875). He wrote a short *History of Kannada Literature* as a preface to the latter work. By far his greatest contribution is the *Kannada-English Dictionary* which continues even to this day as the basis of all work in that field. He introduced the popular poet Sarvajna, Shivasaranas (Vacanakaras) and the Dasas to the English-reading public through the *Indian Antiquary* (started 1872).

F. Ziegler prepared text books on mathematics, geography and botany. It was he who gave Kittel Latin equivalents to botanical words in Kannada.

Mysore Archaeological Reports by B. L. Rice, *Historical Sketches of South of India* and *History of Mysore* by Mark Wilks (between 1805-08), the collection of historical records by Colin Mackenzie and Dr. Buchanan etc. form the basic material from which much of the past history of Karnataka has been reconstructed.

The Royal Court at Mysore

The court of the Maharajas of Mysore, particularly during the reign of Krishnarajendra Wodeyar (Kṛṣṇarājēndra Oḍeyār, 1794-1868) III and Chamaraja Wodeyar (Cāmarāja Oḍeyār, 1863-94) gave great encouragement to the study of Kannada literature and the translation of the works of great English writers into Kannada. The establishment of Cāmarājēndra Nāṭaka Sabha (Chamarajendra Theatrical Company) was the great forward step which put on the boards plays translated from Sanskrit like *Mṛchhakaṭikā*, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, *Ratnāvalī*, *Śakuntaḷā*, *Nāgānanda*, etc., and several of Shakespeare's plays. So, by the beginning of the 20th century, the ground was very well prepared for the renaissance called *Navōdaya* that followed. The publication of Prof. B. M. Srikantia's (1884-1946) *English Gītagaḷu* (1921, second edition with additional poems, 1926) had a great impact on Kannada readers and writers alike. It was a case of the right man att he right moment. In his translations B. M. Srikantaiah made bold experiments in discarding traditional metres and evolving new stanza patterns. Joys and sorrows inherent in human life and the beauties of bountiful nature depicted in these translations continue to delight the reader to this day.

Nationalism

Nationalism influenced the early writing of poets like K. V. Puttappa (b. 1904) and D. R. Bendre (1896-1981). In 1930,

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Puttappa gave an optimistic picture of free India and its great possibilities in the last scene of his play *Śmaśāna Kurukṣētra*. His poems *Nuru Devaranella Nūkache Dūra* (Brush Aside all the Hundred Gods) and *Bhārata Tapasvini* are fine examples depicting national idealism. Bendre in his *Kanasinolagondu Kaṇasu* (A Vision in a Dream) gives a passionate picture of the inner urge of the motherland to become free. Otherwise the Nationalist Movement brought to bear its influence on fiction only after the Quit India Movement in 1942. A. N. Krishna Rao's *Amara August*, Basavaraja Kattimani's *Māḍi Maḍidavaru* and *Svātantrya-deḍege*, Karanth's *Oudāryada Uruḷalli* etc., are fine examples of such novels. The National Movement has yet to find its Shakespeare and Tolstoy.

Progressivism in Kannada

In the forties of this century A. N. Krishna Rao led a revolt against the established ideas of morality. Some important writers who called themselves *Pragatiśīlaru* followed him. Social justice was their theme. They sought to discard a language that was unnecessarily respectable and prudish. The exploitation of the poor by the rich, of woman by man, of children by the adult, and other such evils fired their imagination. This movement was limited to the novel and the short story. It was a brief movement. A. N. Krishna Rao (1908–71), 'Ta. Ra. Su' (Subbarāya, 1920–1984), Basavaraja Kattimani (b. 1919) and 'Niranjana' (Kuḷa Kuṇḍa Sivarāya, b. 1923) are the writers who focussed the attention of the reading public on realism in literature. Gorky, Zola, Ibsen and Shaw and Oscar Wilde were the writers who influenced them. Shivarama Karanth (Śivarāma Kārant, b. 1902), one of the greatest in the field of fiction, remained outside this movement, but he has done more for their cause than anyone else. After a brief period the old order returned with a difference. The language had acquired a new dimension and writing became more free and reading became more popular. These writers could not diversify their themes, and a few, like the life of the prostitute, were overworked and so the movement failed.

Institutions

It is necessary to consider some institutions which encouraged promising literary talent. The Karnataka Vidya Vardhaka Sangha was established in Dharwar in 1890. Important writers like Gaḷaganatha wrote novels to secure the prize that was instituted by the Sangha. In North Karnataka it stimulated interest in the history and literature of Karnataka.

The Kannada Sahitya Parishat came into being in 1915 under the inspiration of Sir M. Visvesvarayya. Its aim was to bring about the emotional integration of all the Kannadigas who were scattered under different administrations. It sought to achieve uniformity of language in standardized textbooks, to compile authoritative dictionaries, to encourage research in language and literature, to publish periodicals and conduct seminars and annual literary conferences. It has become a force in the literary world. It possesses a well-organized library and holds a permanent exhibition of recent publications. It has a library of tape-recorded voices of most of the eminent men of Karnataka. But its most important work is the compilation of a historical, etymological dictionary on the model of the great Oxford Dictionary. Four volumes have already been published and the fifth and last is getting ready for the press.

Mention must also be made of two distinguished associations of University talents, Tarunara Dandu at Mysore and Geḷeyara Gumpu at Dharwar. At Mysore stalwarts like T. S. Venkannayya (Veṅkaṇṇaiya, 1885–1939), T. N. Sreekantaiah (Śrīkaṇṭaiya, 1906–66) and D. L. Narasimhachar (Narasiṁhācār, 1906–71) guided literary discussions and encouraged new talent, while at Dharwar D. R. Bendre and V. K. Gokak (Gōkāk, b. 1909) were at the head of such activities.

The Karnataka Sangha of Central College, Bangalore, took shape in 1918 under the inspiring leadership of Prof. A. R. Krishna Shastry (Kṛṣṇa Śāstri, 1890–1968). He started under its auspices a quarterly journal called the *Prabuddha Karnāṭaka* to train young writers. This Karnataka Sangha proved to be the precursor of many such associations. The Karnataka Sangha, Maharaja's College, Mysore and those at several other places have served as centres of literary activity.

The four universities in Karnataka State have served as centres of study and publication on a big scale. Mysore University is preparing an encyclopaedia and eleven volumes have already been published; it has also a project for a subject encyclopaedia. The *Kannada-English Dictionary* is being revised. The old volumes of *Epigraphia Carnatica* are being re-edited with additional information and five volumes have already come out. Bangalore University and Mysore University have both been publishing history of Kannada Literature, conceived and executed differently. Karnataka University at Dharwar has undertaken to print all extant *Vacana* literature. *Sāhitya Vārṣika* of Bangalore University offers a considered evaluation of the literary output of each year. Thus the field of literature is humming with activity. Many unpublished old Kannada works are getting printed after being carefully edited in all these places of learning. The University of Agricultural Sciences at Bangalore has published many scientific books on agriculture and allied subjects.

New Writing in Kannada

The dawn of Independence had raised high hopes, but dis-

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enchantment soon set in. In this atmosphere of despair the intellectuals of the country turned for inspiration to what was happening in the West. They came to be influenced by writers like T. S. Eliot, W. H. Auden and Dylan Thomas, Eugene Ionesco and Pablo Neruda, Kafka and Camus and by pioneers in different spheres like Sigmund Freud, Jung, J. G. Frazer, Engels and Marx. So *Navya* (modernist) literature was born.

An uninhibited down-to-earth language was deliberately chosen by the *Navya* writers to excite anger and dislike of the old attitudes. Sometimes writing became obscure, the complexity of the life of man in the unpredictable circumstances being the reason. The bewildered readers constantly debated upon the 'how' and 'why' of this change. Now it looks like more readers could understand the new writing, and writers also are trying to become more helpful.

In the seventies forces calling themselves *Dalita*, *Banḍāya* and *Śūdra* have been fighting against what they call the affluent and *Purōhitaṣāhi*. There are a number of groups with different ideologies with a central literary figure in each. An attempt to bring all these schools under a single banner was made in 1976, but without much success.

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Kashmiri

GULSHAN MAJEED

Literature is created by individuals and not by movements. Yet, movements generally provide the necessary impetus and suitable intellectual conditions for the overall development of literature. Kashmiri, however, remained for all practical purposes, the language of a submerged population. It could not, therefore, derive any nourishing sap from the aesthetical ideas of the great theorists of Kashmir like Anandavardhana (9th century) and Abhinavagupta (10th century). It was, nevertheless, deeply influenced by the cultural milieu which had to be propagated through Kashmiri, the language of the masses.

The Saiva Tradition

The 9th and 10th centuries saw the decline of the Buddhist faith and the revival of Hinduism with a local colour in the form of Saivism, a monistic school of philosophy. Revival of Saivism, however, cannot be correlated with the revival of Kashmiri literature as there is no reliable evidence to support it. The inimitable literary brilliance of the four-line verses of Śiti Kaṇṭha (13th century) and the *Vākh* of Lal Ded (1335–84), nevertheless, bears out that there must have been a long and respectable tradition of Kashmiri verse before these two poets. But in the absence of written records, it is not easy to trace anything certain about the thematic predilections and linguistic peculiarities of the poetry duringt he 10th and 11th centuries. The only traces of the earliest Kashmiri verse are those found in some Sanskrit works of Abhinavagupta.

The verses, in fact, expound some basic principles of Saiva philosophy in the link language of the day. Their popularity seems to have impressed renowned philosophers like Abhinavagupta; otherwise he would not have bothered to quote them. The first work in full of known authorship is *Mahānaya-Prakāśa* of Siti Kantha, who seems to

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have perfected the form of what later came to be known as the *vākh*, intrinsically suitable for didactic poetry.

The first great poet who got the maximum benefit from the fecund tradition of Saivistic mysticism was Lal Ded. She is respected as a spiritual luminary by all castes and creeds in Kashmir. In her poetry we find all those literary traditions, at least in embryo, which later became permanent features of Kashmiri poetry. She can, therefore, be recognized as an institution in herself. Her poetry is, on the one hand, the culmination of the preceding traditions and the beginning of several new traditions on the other. The subjective view of life, the optimistic view of death, grim seriousness, density of images and total commitment to metaphor are some of the distinguishing features of Lal's poetry which have influenced every later poet in varying degrees. Lal's daring deviation from the decadent tradition of using Court language is her use of the idiom of common speech. She at the same time enriched the expressive potentialities of Kashmiri language and made available to the later poets a language which was simple but not bizarre. She retained the native resourcefulness of the colloquial idiom and exploited it to the maximum for her imaginative flights.

Impact of the Rishi Order

Another tradition-setting individual poet who was considered an institution was Nunda Ryosh (Rishi), reverentially known as Sheikh-Ul-Aalam (1377-1438). His poetry mirrors the intellectual and cultural milieu of the period which is peculiar in the history of Kashmir as Islam and its mystic theories were for the first time gaining ground without facing any confrontation with native thought. The Sheikh accelerated the cultural synthesis which was taking place around him, and his poetry seems to have been inspired by this very development. The homiletic quality of his verses mixed with his characteristic mellifluousness makes him the most popular poet of the Kashmiri language. He has always his audience in view; now in the form of soliloquy and now in direct apostrophe, he intends to instruct and transform. This constant consciousness of the audience still haunts Kashmiri poetry and has often proved detrimental.

Court Patronage. The creative process in Kashmiri seems to have come to a standstill after Sheikh-Ul-Alam and we find a barren period extending to as many as 200 years. The underlying cause of this sterility is obviously the civil wars and political turmoils which did not allow the writers the necessary quietude, and destroyed all the manuscripts which had a meagre circulation. Mention must, however, be made of Bhaṭṭa Autār, who was a reputed poet of Sultan Zainul Abidin's period (1420–70). His epic romance in Kashmiri *Bāṇāsurakathā* (The Story of Banasura) is in itself the product of a new tradition in Kashmiri, which could not however flourish in such unfavourable circumstances. It was a part of the literary movement which was patronized by the king himself, whom all the known chronicles of the period appreciated for his literary tastes and for his assisting the development of arts, particularly the drama. Court patronage of Kashmiri poets, however, came to a sudden end with the death of Sultan Hasan Shah in 1484.

The Folk Lyric and Persian Influence

One of the most important literary movements which has had a far-reaching impact on Kashmiri poetry was sponsored by Haba Khotan (?–1605), the beloved queen of Yousuf Shah Chak. The spirit of the movement was to revive the emotional exuberance of folk literature, to employ folk music in poetry and to harmonize it with the rigid rules of Persian prosody. All this could not be a spontaneous and unmotivated development. There was an ingenious brain behind it, and that was Haba Khotan. She employed the *vatsun*, a lyrical form which was quite congenial to the overflow of her amorous sentiments. Haba Khotan was an accomplished musician also, and she made the *vatsun* popular even with the singers who generally preferred Persian compositions to Kashmiri songs. Although poets like Sheikh-Ul-Alam had already experimented with this form, it was left to Haba Khotan to make it the most popular and dominant poetic form. The *vatsun* tradition was revitalized by Arnimal (?–1778) before it reached its zenith in the poetry of Mahmūd Gāmī (1765–1855). He brought it so near the folk-song that it sometimes becomes difficult to differentiate between the two. Mahmood Gāmī, a versatile poet, also introduced new themes into it and retrieved it from dullness and monotony.

The Persian Masnavi. Mahmood's other contribution to *vatsun* is his innovating 'sarāpā', i.e. description of the physical features of the hero or heroine, often sensually motivated. However, it may be pointed out here that the reader is often bored to find the same kind of 'sarāpā' everywhere without any consideration of variations in the human form. The tradition continued in all the narrative poems and became a permanent feature of Kashmiri poetry.

Mahmood Gami's importance in determining the future course of Kashmiri literature lies also in his general innovations: he introduced for the first time in the Kashmiri language genres like the *masnavī*, (*mathnavi*: a versified narrative in couplets), *ghazal*, *maṅqabat* and *nāṭ* (devotional songs in praise of Prophet Muhammad). Some of his important *masnavis* are *Lailā Majnūn*, *Yousuf Zulaikhā*, *Harūn Rashīd* and *Sirīn Khusraw*. His remarkable achievement is that he completely rendered the Iranian themes into Kashmiri so much so that the reader never feels any strangeness in the landscape or in the emotional attitudes. Mahmood not only heralded the *masnavī* tradition but also exhibited an

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unparalleled craftsmanship in this new poetic form. All the later *masnavī* writers remained under his spell and continued to repeat his themes, metaphors and phrases, so much so that these themes lost their original freshness and became hackneyed cliches. Maqbūl Shah Krālawāri (1802–'77), Walī Ullah Matū (?–c. 1858), Aziz Ullah Haqāni (1854–1919), Prakash Ram (?–c. 1875) and Lassa Khan (1893–1965) are some of the *masnavī* writers who could show their individual worth. *Gulrez*, the unblemished *masnavī* by Maqbūl Shah Krālawāri, is beyond any shadow of doubt, the most perfect from the literary point of view. Among other *masnavī* writers Lakhyman Koul Bulbul (1812–84) and Wahāb Parey (1846–1914) exhibited considerable excellence in the art of narration, while a number of writers like Amīr Shāh Krerī (1839–?) specialized in religious themes including those of the *Jaṅgnāma* (Islamic War-Chronicle) series.

Tasawuf. We find a parallel development of another movement, i.e. *tasawuf* (Islamic mysticism) with the *masnavī*. *Tasawuf* spread here as a natural corollary of the popularization of Islam and found a fertile soil here by virtue of its striking affinity with the native philosophies namely, the Saiva tradition and the Rishi cult. The poets who had already inherited a mystic view of life from their predecessors were immediately inspired by the outlook on new spiritual evolution. *Tasawuf* provided them with new horizons of imaginations to explore, with its new phraseology, metaphors and rich allusions. Before the spread of *tasawuf*, individuals were more important than movements, but now it was the movement which became the shaping principle of creative literature. It based its aesthetics on order and harmony, on the unity of being and subjectivism. One of the most characteristic features of the Sufi poetry is the subservience of its images to the ideas. Consequently it used the vehicle of allegory. Outstanding poems of the period are *Tamsili Adam* (The Allegory of Man) of Mahmood Gāmi, *Nay* (The Flute) of Ahmad Baṭawārī (1845–1918) *Āb dar Nāv ta Nāv dar Āb* (Boat in the Water and the Water in the Boat) of Svacha Krāl (?–c. 1857), *Śaś Raṅg* (Six Colours) and *Mānch Tulur* (The Honey Bee) of Rahmān Dār (?–1900), *Kul ta Tśāy* (The Tree and the Shadow) of Parmanand (1794–1879) and *Śinyā Gatśythuy Oes Myoen Oeluy* (My Nest was Beyond Nothingness) of Shams Faqīr (1843–1904).

Social Concern and Emergence of Prose

At the beginning of the 20th century some new influences began to pervade Kashmiri literature. The older traditions continued repeating themes and phrases. The beginning of the century saw an unprecedented interest in various fields of literature other than poetry. It was a period of political awakening and growing social awareness among writers. The vehicle of poetry could not satisfy the new demands; hence they employed prose to approach the people in order to awaken them and thereby strengthen their moral values. The form of drama, which has survived down the corridors of time through its folk tradition, viz. the Bāṇḍa Pāthur was revived and the first stage drama was written around the year 1920 by Nandlal Koul (1877–1940). It was a *dhārmic* play entitled *Satuc Kahwaṭ* (Touchstone of Truth). Enthusiastic interest in the field of drama had already been aroused by 'Rās-Līlā' parties. Urdu and Hindi plays, particularly those written by Āgā Hashar, Betāb and Master Rahmat, gained immediate popularity, which resulted in the establishment of a sort of Kashmiri theatre. Plays written in the new spirit were dominantly religious in character in the first instance. Tārā Cand Bismil (1904–48) and Nila Kanth Sharma (1888–1970) particularly contributed to this new tradition. It was however Ghulām Nabī Dilsoz, (1916–41) who for the first time experimented with the secular drama. He drew upon the Persian and Arabic legends, and his popular plays like *Laila Majnūn* and *Śīrīn Khusrav* were recorded by the Rajpal Company. Mohi-ud-Dīn Hājinī (b. 1917) may be safely regarded as a pioneer in the field of writing secular plays, making contemporaneity the essential source of themes. His play *Grīsy Sund Gara* (The Peasant's House, 1938) seeks to present a realistic portrait of the life in the thirties in Kashmir. Modern Kashmiri plays, however, came to be written much later in the fifties when socio-cultural issues began to be viewed in a non-conventional perspective.

The Progressive Trend. Social realism became the slogan and basis of the progressive trend which certainly had the magnitude and character of a movement. In its initial days it was merely a spontaneous response of poets to the moving style of the Urdu poet Iqbāl (1877–1938). Ghulam Ahmad Mahjoor (1885–1952) and Abdul Ahad Azad (1903–48) were particularly attracted to Iqbal by his revolutionary themes. Azad was also under the influence of socialism and became an enthusiastic supporter of the revolutionary politics of the October Revolution. Under Mahjoor's and Azad's influence a host of writers and poets began to feel that propagation of the revolutionary message was the first and foremost purpose and duty of art and that the artist should join hands with the proletariat to end exploitation by feudalists and capitalists. 'Anjuman Taraqqī-pasand Musanifīn' and writers affiliated to it like Josh, Sardar Jafri and Faiz had considerable impact on the progressive movement in the Kashmiri language. Setting up of organizations and societies was felt to be the prime need of the revolutionary so that the literature of the past and the present could be assessed and the conditions for genuine revolutionary literature be ensured. The P. W. A. of Kashmir set up in the forties was, for all practical purposes,

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a local ally of the Progressive Writers Association of India, and it organized regular meets at which various types of writings were shared and discussed within the perimeter of progressive views. Earlier still, an organization that fostered the progressive movement in the valley was the F.S.U. of Kashmir. Kashmiri literature undoubtedly benefited much from the progressive movement, but at the same time it was considerably damaged by the baneful effect of extra-literary motives.

The progressive movement in Kashmiri was made popular mainly by the monthly *Koṅg Poś* which was, in fact, the official organ of the Jammu & Kashmir Cultural Congress, established in 1954.

Modernity

The progressive movement in Kashmiri literature lost its unity of purpose as a result of differences within the communist camps. Another reason for its disintegration was that a number of socio-political reforms were made and privileges such as free education and subsidy on food were obtained by the people. Consequently, general masses came out of pauperdom with several avenues lying open before them. The literate class found government jobs and became engrossed in cricket and the cinema; while the elite became disillusioned and bewildered and was constrained to participate in general competition to obtain what the market displayed. Some of the creative writers at the same time abondoned their prejudices and predilections in their study and became familiar with other thoughts of the West. They were also inspired by the new experiments in technique and consciously tried them in their own writings. The deviation from the progressive movement came to be known as 'modernity' which, *inter alia*, demanded from the writer an impersonal representation of modern sensibility. The modernistic trend, traceable in the literature of the later fifties, however, is not yet popular with all the writers. There are a number of poets and short-story writers who still believe in the social purpose of art. D. N. Nadim (b. 1915), the protagonist of the progressive movement, for instance, continues to write 'to persuade' though he also avails himself of the new poetic devices. Yet some of his comrades in the progressive movement, particularly Rahmān Rāhi (b. 1925) and Amīn Kāmil (b. 1924) have become leaders of the modernistic movement.

Societies and Organizations of the Day

Mention must be made of those societies and organizations which have during the period 1960–'80 contributed to the harmonious, though slow, progress of Kashmiri language and literature. 'Abdi Markaz Kamrāz', (Literary Centre of Kamraz) a literary society of the writers of Bārāmullah District, 'Marāz Abdi Sangam' (Literary Confluence of Marāz), a literary society of the Antanang District, 'Halqae Adab Hājan', 'Bazmi Adab Kāprin', 'Koshur Adabi marqaz Yāripora', 'Cultural Organization', 'Koshur Mahāz' (Kashmiri Front) and 'Koshur Samut' (Kashmiri Union) are some of the societies at present working for the enrichment of Kashmiri literature. The Jammu & Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and Languages (est. 1956) and Postgraduate Department of Kashmiri of Kashmir University are the chief publishing departments which function for the enrichment of contemporary literature besides re-editing and revaluating old literature some of which are lying hermetically sealed in manuscripts. Over and above these institutions, the Radio Kashmir and the State Academy of Culture have proved effective carriers of trend-setting influences. Kashmiri versions of National Programmes of Plays and Features, and Akashvani Poetical Symposia have made the Kashmiri writer well aware of the new possibilities of literary expression.

Finally, it appears in the fitness of things to pinpoint the pioneering role of a few journals, particularly college magazines, in bringing the Kashmiri language face to face with modern realities. The *Pratāp* (Magazine of the S. P. College, Srinagar) was the first to start a Kashmiri section in the mid-thirties, and *Lāla Rokh* (of the A. S. College, Srinagar) came out with a Kashmiri section in the forties. Similarly *Koṅg Poś* (Saffron Flower) of the J & K Cultural Congress (1954), was the first to strike a contemporary note in prose as well as verse, while *Gulrez* (Flower-showerer) of the Kashmiri Bazm-e Adab had the privilege of exploring wider possibilities with which the State Academy of Art, Culture and Languages has, since 1956, preoccupied itself through its *Śīrāza* and *Soen Adab* (Our Literature).

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Malayalam

O. M. ANUJAN

The development of Malayalam literature cannot be dealt with in isolation from certain non-literary factors which influenced various stages of its development. It was the Bhakti Movement which heralded the evolution of Malayalam from a language of oral communication into a medium of sophisticated literary expression without drawing heavily from Sanskrit and Tamil which had, at one time, threatened to tilt even the grammar and idiom of the language. In modern times, the social and political awareness of the early 20th century was largely responsible for the flowering of the romantic period. And, more recently, Marxian thought, towards which a majority of the Malayalam writers were attracted in the second quarter of the present century, contributed a great deal to the development of fiction, drama and criticism. These movements brought literature closer to the common man and, from time to time, gave the language a new vitality and dimension.

Bhakti Movement

The 16th century witnessed a cultural renaissance throughout Kerala inspired by the Bhakti cult. Though this movement had two clear divisions, namely the Vaishnava and the Saiva school, Kerala did not have this cleavage. Saint Chaitanya had visited Kerala and under his influence the Vaishnava Bhakti dominated the intellectual atmosphere. The translation of the Bhagavad Gita into Malayalam by Madhava Panikkar (14th century) is considered to be one of the earliest in any Indian language. Cherusseri's *Kṛṣṇagātha* is a 15th century classic based on the tenth canto of the Bhāgavata. Despite these and many other works based on puranic stories containing passages of a devotional nature, it was only in the 16th century that the moral and spiritual impact of the Bhakti Movement found its full expression. Though this was essentially a cultural movement, poetic works written under its influence were responsible for the standardization of the written language and its elevation to the level of sophisticated literary expression.

Ezhuthacchan (Eḻuttacchan, 16th century) travelled far and wide and imbibed the spirit of the Bhakti cult which was very strong in neighbouring Tamil Nadu. In order to popularize the ideals of this movement, he chose to relate the stories of the chief incarnations of Vishnu i.e., Rama and Krishna, as described in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. His *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇam* is based on a Sanskrit text of the same name composed by a contemporary of Ramananda about the 14th century. Unlike in the epic of Valmiki, in this version of the story, the hero is endowed with all divine qualities and is God himself. This work, as the title indicates, also contains frequent philosophic exhortations. His Mahabharatam is an abridgement of the original epic projecting Krishna as the guiding character. Other works ascribed to Ezhuthacchan are *Uttara Rāmāyaṇam*, *Dēvī Māhātmyam*, *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇam*, the first nine cantos of *Bhāgavatam Kiḷippāṭṭu* and two philosophical treatises, namely *Harināma Kīrttanam* and *Cintāratnam*.

Ezhuttacchan's disciples like Karunakaran, Suryanarayanan, Devan and Gopalan continued the work of translation in the style handed down by the master. Besides these, several *stōtras* (devotional prayers) and hymns with invocatory refrains were composed by these poets.

Pūntānam Nambūdiri was a contemporary of Ezhuttacchan. He too expounded the message of Bhakti and Vedanta, but his style of language and thought was different. While Ezhuthacchan chose a grand style and often rose to philosophic heights, Puntanam wrote his *pāṅas* (songs) in the simplest language and in a style marked by extreme clarity and directness. While the former was only a devotee, the latter's relation to God was that of a close blood relation. For the childless poet, the infant Krishna was as intimate as his own son—an emotional rapport so far unseen in Malayalam poetry[1]. His *Jñāṅappāṅa* (Song of Knowledge) embodies in itself high philosophical teachings in a common man's unembellished language.

By the 18th century, the Bhakti Movement had lost much of its fervour. Poems composed for solo dance (*tuḷḷal*) and dance drama (Kathakali) had in them long passages of invocation, but they were intended only to provide entertainment. Ramapurathu Varier (Rāmapurattu Vāriyar, 1703–53) was the only outstanding poet in the century who enriched devotional literature by his poem in the Vañcippāṭṭu (boat-song) metre, namely *Kucēlavṛttam* (The Story of Kuchela) based on the story of Sudama. He also gave a free rendering of the *Gita-Gōvindam* entitled *Bhāṣāṣṭapadi* in his own musical scheme.

Later Bhakti Poetry

Several poets of the 19th century wrote a number of *muktakas* (single-stanza verse) invoking gods and goddesses, but their bhakti had the guise of humour. Most major poets of the present century have written devotional poetry,

1 'Why need thou have other children while infant Krishna plays in the heart?' (*Jñāṅappāṅa*).

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but special mention has to be made of P. Kunhiraman Nair (Kuññirāman Nāyar), Ottur Unni Nambudiripad (Ōṭṭūr Uṇṇi Nambūdirippāḍ) and V. K. Govindan Nair who, through their poems, established an attachment to Lord Krishna.

Christian Devotional Poetry. Christianity in Kerala, according to tradition, dates back to 52 A.D. when St. Thomas, one of the disciples of Christ, landed in Koḍuṅṅallur and established seven churches in various parts of Kerala. The Kerala Christians observe many Hindu customs and rituals and the Christian poets borrowed freely from the rich traditions of epic, didactic and hymnal poetry for their devotional poems.

John Ernestus Hanxeleden, popularly known as Arnos, a German priest born in Hungary, lived in Kerala from 1699 to 1732. He was the most notable among the Christian devotional poets. His *Caturantyam* is a poem in four cantos dealing with the tension of Man on his deathbed and the ultimate journey of the soul to hell or heaven. *Misihācaritram* (The Story of the Messiah) is a *maṇipravāḷa* (a blend of Sanskrit and Malayalam) work on the life and death of Christ. Another work, *Ummapaṛvam* is on Virgin Mary. The Austrian priest Paulino (1748–1806) wrote a hymn in Sanskritized Malayalam and a poetical work on St. Teresa. There were poets like Chekot Ashan (Cēkōṭ Āśān, 1773–?) and Chacko Mappila who wrote *kirtans*, *tnllals* (see Traditional Poetry) and Kilippattus (Parrot Song), but they were not of a very high standard.

Social Revolt

Malayalam writers have been subjected to several sorts of humiliation throughout the history of Malayalam literature. The first of them often mentioned is Punam Nambudiri (16th century). Though the most outstanding writer of his time, he was called a half-poet (*arakkavi*) because he preferred to write in his mother-tongue rather than in Sanskrit. Puntanam is said to have been looked down upon by Sanskrit scholars for his ignorance of Sanskrit grammar. Kuñcan Nambiyār (18th century), who belonged to the community of caste-Hindu percussionists (*pāṇivāda*), often proclaimed that he was a Pariah, and fearlessly criticized the decadent feudal society of his days.

It was only in the early 20th century that an organized fight against social injustice was waged under the leadership of Sri Narayana Guru (1854–1928) and his disciple, the poet Kumaran Asan (Kumāran Āśān, 1873–1924). A member of the untouchable Ezhava community, Asan went out of Kerala to study Sanskrit. During his stay in Calcutta, he was attracted towards the Indian Renaissance Movement led by Rabindranath Tagore and Swami Vivekananda. He returned to Kerala in 1900, and, soon afterwards, associated himself with the founding of the Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana (SNDP) Yogam in 1903. He remained its secretary for sixteen years. In 1904, the Yogam started a monthly organ entitled *Vivēkōdayam* to ventilate the grievances of the backward class. Kumaran Asan was the editor of the journal. The Ezhava movement, which fought against the caste system and other social evils and to secure political and educational rights for the backward castes, has to be viewed in the light of other social movements like the Akali movement in the Punjab, the Brahmo Samaj in Bengal and the non-Brahmin movement in Tamil Nadu.

Kumaran Asan's deep social concern found expression in his poetry. He was an idol-breaker both in life and in letters. He broke the outmoded values not only of society but also of literature. The cornerstones of his philosophy were love and liberty. Love and compassion for the sinner, a Buddhist ideal, was his weapon against the inhuman caste system. Freedom for oppressed classes as well as the oppressed sections of society, like women, was his watchword.

Asan's ascent on the literary horizon helped other writers belonging to untouchable castes to come into the limelight. Special mention must be made of Murkoth Kumaran (Mūrkōttu Kumāran, 1874–1941), K. P. Karuppan (Kaṛuppan, 1888–1938), C. V. Kunjuraman (Kuññurāman, 1871–1949), Pallathu Raman (Paḷḷattu Rāman, 1892–1950) and K. Ayyappan (1890–1968) who gained acceptance in a literary world dominated by the caste Hindus.

Social revolt was not restricted to the backward classes alone. Nambudiri Yogakshema Sabha, an organization of Nambudiri Brahmins founded in 1909, fought for widow re-marriage and modern education for girls and boys. This movement also fought against polygamy and other such evils prevalent in the upper strata in the second quarte, of the century. V. T. Bhattathiripad, M. P. Bhattathiripad, M. R. B. and Mūthiringod Bhavathrathan Nambudiripad, through their powerful dramas and stories, and through the columns of *Uṇṇi Nambūdiri*, succeeded in reforming the orthodox Nambudiri community and also in enriching such branches of literature as drama and fiction.

Nationalism

Vallathol Narayana Menon (Vaḷḷattōḷ Nārāyaṇa Mēnōnr 1878–1958), one of the three most outstanding contemporary Malayalam poets, is the pioneer of nationalism in poetry. Brought up in the classical tradition, he came under the spell of the National Movement led by Mahatma Gandhi in his late thirties. In January 1922, he rejected the royal award from the Prince of Wales in recognition of his literary contributions. He met Gandhiji in 1928, and attended the Congress Sessions in Madras (1927) and Calcutta (1928). His earliest nationalist poem was on the death of Dadabhai Naoroji in 1917. Though Vallathol was not an activist, his poems composed between 1917 and 1924 made him the

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most powerful spokesman of nationalism in Malayalam poetry.

Vallathol knew from the classics he had studied that India had a long, hoary past. To revive this past glory, to regain the lost paradise, became his life's mission. Vallathol's most brilliant lines are nostalgic ones of Puranic India. He took episodes from the Indian epics in order to inspire the younger generation with the values that inspired Rama and Rantideva. Gandhiji was represented in his poems as one endowed with all the qualities of an incarnation (*avatāra*) to save Dharma rather than as a political leader in flesh and blood. In later years, Vallathol sang in praise of the violent Russian revolution, because he thought that it was inspired by the ideals expressed in the Gita.

A few contemporaries of Vallathol also wrote patriotic songs and poems, but they did not have the passionate appeal of Vallathol's poetry. G. Sankara Kurup (Śaṅkara Kuṟup, 1901–78) imbibed a blend of Gandhian nationalism and Nehru's internationalism. He wrote of the horrors and the loss of human values in World War II. He wrote many moving poems on the Partition of India, the communal riots that engulfed North India, the newly independent colonies of Asia and Africa, and the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. Essentially a subjective poet, Kurup was not in a position to establish as much intellectual rapport with the masses as Vallathol.

It is interesting to note that creative prose was not much influenced by nationalist sentiments. Whereas writers of fiction like Bankim Chandra and Sarat Chandra, in Bengali, and Prem Chand, in Hindi, made notable contributions to the new nationalist upsurge, no notable novel was inspired by these ideals in Malayalam in the twenties and thirties. Nationalistic impact mainly remained confined to journalism and poetry.

Progressive Movement

Inspired by the All India Writers' Conference held at Lucknow in 1936, some progressive-minded writers assembled at Trichur in 1937 and started Jīvat Sāhitya Samiti (Society of Live Literature). They attacked the blind adherence to antiquated literary techniques and called for a new social consciousness aimed at human progress. They came into direct conflict with the Sahitya Parishad, which, according to them, represented the Establishment. This Samiti soon ceased functioning owing to the difficult conditions during the First World War.

The first Purogamana Sahitya Sammelanam (Progressive Writers' Conference) was held at Shoranur in Malabar in 1944. The organization then formed was called *Purōgamana Sāhitya Samiti* and took into its fold most of the Malayalam writers. It soon established contacts with sister organizations in other languages, and delegates from various parts of the country attended its conferences.

The guiding principles of this movement were the following:

> A writer is obliged to study the problems of his times and lead society along the path of progress. Literature should reflect social realities and provide a sense of optimism in respect of the future of mankind. Writings which are defeatist and pessimistic should be discouraged. A writer has a social mission; to fulfil that mission, his writings should be simple and direct. Portrayal of fantastic and unreal life in an incommunicably complicated and artificial language should be objected to.

The writers of this group, however, soon came into direct conflict with a section which believed in the 'eternal values' of literature. They argued that, if the sole purpose of literature was social reformation, it would cease to have any relevance as soon as that purpose was achieved. There are some values, they stated, which are valid for all ages and for all human beings and these should find pride of place in literature. Kuttikrishna Marar (Kuṭṭikṛṣṇa Mārār, 1900–78), a leading critic, was the spokesman of 'eternal values'. Another renowned critic, Joseph Mundassery (Muṇṭaśśēri, 1903–80) argued for the 'perfection of form'. This was interpreted by the opposite camp to be an attempt at formalistic revival as explained in *Kairaḷiyuṭe Katha* by N. Krishna Pillai. Poet Vallathol argued that the *bhājana* (vessel) should be as clean as the *bhōjana* (food) and that he could not relish a sweet served in a dirty coconut shell. They also argued that doctrinal commitment would narrow the writer's vision.

This conflict came to a head when a literary manifesto prepared by E. M. S. Nambudiripad and five others was presented at the annual conference of the Samiti in 1948 at Trichur. It was strongly opposed by another section and it failed to get through. The split within the movement by then had reached a point of no return. Though meetings were held by the Samiti till 1956, the organization had lost much of its fire by then.

The failure of the progressive writers' movement was that it was never free from ideological influences. Progressive literature was equated with Marxist ideology, which in turn was intended to serve the organizational requirements of the Communist movement of the forties and fifties. But the movement did result in the creation of a healthy atmosphere for assessing basic literary values and it enriched all branches of literature for over a decade.

Institutions and Organizations

Literary patronage till the middle of the 19th century was extended by kings and feudal landlords. Special mention has to be made of King Udayavarma of Kolathunadu (15th century) who patronized Cherusseri; Manaveda, the Zamo-

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rin of Calicut (16th century) who had in his court eighteen and a half poets (the half poet was Punam Nambudiri, the Malayalam poet, while the others were Sanskrit poets); Devanarayana of Ambalappuzha (18th century) who patronized Kunchan Nambiyar; and Swati Thirunal of Travancore (19th century), who is known all over the country for his encouragement of arts and letters.

Bhashaposhini Sabha

The second half of the 19th century witnessed a literary renaissance heralded by Kerala Varma in South Kerala and the Venmanis (father and son) in Central and North Kerala. The need for a common forum for the exchange of ideas was felt by the writers who knew one another through the columns of the new literary journals. In 1892, an organization of poets called Kavisamājam (Association of Poets) was established at the initiative of Kerala Varma and Kandathil Varghese Mappilai (Kaṇḍattil Vargīs Māppiḷa, 1858–1904). The *samājam* set as its goal standardization of a literary language out of regional dialects, development of prose, and publication of older texts. This organization at one of its meetings recommended that a quarterly should be published under its auspices and that prizes should be instituted for outstanding works. This *samājam* was thereafter known as the Bhasha Poshini Sabha (Bhāṣāpōṣiṇi Sabha) and a quarterly named after it was published from Kottayam. Annual meetings were held at Trivandrum, Trichur, Calicut and Tellichery. Its activities weakened with the death of Varghese Mappila in 1904 and ended with its Vaikkom conference in 1911.

In 1913 a literary organization called the Cochi Sahitya Samajam started functioning. In 1922 another group formed an organization named the Sanmarga Poshini Sabha. These two did not last long.

Sahitya Parishad

In 1931, the Samasta Kerala Sahitya Parishad, a literary academy still active, held its first meeting at Edappally, near Cochin. It was registered in 1932 and a quarterly entitled *Pariṣatraimāsikam* was started in 1933. The Parishad soon attracted all literary men and, in time, enriched Malayalam literature through the contributions of outstanding writers to the columns of its journal and the presentation of study papers at its annual conferences which were later collected and published in book form. Leading writers like Ulloor Parameswara Iyer, Appan Thampuran, Vallathol and Sankara Kurup were its presidents.

The Parishad made plans for preparing a lexicon, a history of Kerala and its literature, a glossary of technical and scientific terms, a comprehensive collection of ballads and folk-songs, biographies of men of letters, translations of literary masterpieces from Malayalam into other major languages and vice versa, a University for Kerala etc. Though it could not translate all these dreams into reality, its plans show how far-sighted the Parishad was. It inspired other agencies to give shape to these dreams. The Parishad functioned as a common forum for all writers and championed the oneness of Kerala, thus helping its literary awakening.

The Library Movement

The first library in Kerala was established in Trivandrum in 1835. Subsequently, public libraries were established at Ernakulam (1870), Trichur (1873), Kottayam (1882), Tellichery (1901) and Calicut (1929). It was only in 1930, mainly due to the nationalist sentiments aroused by the Independence Movement, that village libraries came into being in Malabar. In Cochin it was in 1931 and in Travancore in 1933 that library movements, though shortlived, took shape.

The present Granthasala Sangham was established in Travancore in 1945 and it spread to Cochin and Malabar after the reorganization of the States. It had only 47 libraries then, but now there are over 4,000 such centres, each functioning under an elected committee. These libraries get government grants both for the purchase of books and for construction of buildings. The Sangham publishes a monthly and organizes literary gatherings to cultivate reading habit and literary taste, and to disseminate knowledge among the people.

Kerala Sahitya Akademi

The Kerala Sahitya Akademi was established on 15 August 1956, on the model of the Central Sahitya Akademi with K. M. Panikkar as its president. The main functions of the Akademi are: Promotion of co-operation among men of letters; publication of works of literary and research value; assistance to individual authors for publication of their works; awarding of prizes and distinctions to writers; providing financial aid to authors; establishment of a full-fledged Malayalam library and a portrait gallery of writers; bringing out translations of Malayalam books into other languages and vice-versa; and conducting seminars, centenary celebrations of authors and workshops for young writers.

The Akademi has brought out a bibliography of all Malayalam books published upto 1970. It has also published a Sahityakara Directory, (a Who's Who of Malayalam writers, past and present), with their photographs. The Akademi has a cultural exchange programme by which writers of different regions in the country meet and exchange their views. It also publishes a Malayalam quarterly, an English quarterly and a monthly bulletin giving particulars of literary activities in Kerala and outside. The Akademi is currently building up a Writers' Museum and preparing a journal index. It is also planning to renew the

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publication of the Rama Varma Research Institute Bulletins.

Sahitya Pravartaka Co-operative Society

Kerala is the first State where writers have organized a co-operative society for the publication and marketing of books written by them. It was founded on April 30, 1945 by twelve writers who invested Rs. 10/- each as share capital. Besides publishing books, the Society runs a press and also ten bookstalls located at ten district capitals. More than 80 per cent of Malayalam writers are its members. Its annual turn-over is now about Rs. 40 lakhs. The greatest achievement of the Society is that it pays to authors royalties up to 30%, a world record.

The Society has formed a two-lakh rupee trust to help authors in distress and award prizes for the best books each year. It has a book instalment scheme by which individuals and small-sizedlibraries can purchase costly books by easy instalments at pre-publication rates. These incentives have resulted in a publication boom in Kerala.

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Marathi

R. B. JOSHI

The Bhakti and the Mahanubhava Sects

Writing in Marathi did not begin with works of entertainment but with works for spreading the philosophical and religious teachings of the *Upaniṣads*, the *Bhagavadgīta*, the *Bhāgavata*, etc., among the common people who did not know Sanskrit. Some of the writers like Mukundaraj, Dnyanadeva and Ekanath specifically said so.

The first known work in Marathi is *Vivekasindhu* (1188) written in verse, by Mukundaraja. It is a treatise on the Vedanta philosophy based on the study of the *Upaniṣads* and the works of Sankaracharya. Mukundaraja does not seem to have been immediately followed by other writers. The tradition of writing in Marathi was not firmly established until the last quarter of the 13th century when two religious movements, similar in certain respects but at the same time distinct from each other, were started. One of them was the *Bhāgavata* or *Bhakti Panth*, of which Dnyanadeva (Dnyānadeva, 1275–96) is acknowledged to be the founder. The other was the *Mahānubhāva Panth* founded by Chakradhara (1194–1274). Both these movements produced voluminous literature in Marathi.

Dnyanadeva's contribution to Marathi literature is his monumental work *Dnyānēśvarī* (1290), which is a commentary on the *Bhagavadgīta*. This *Bhakti Panth* (Path of Devotion) is open to all, irrespective of caste or sex, as is promised in the *Bhagavadgīta*. *Dnyānēśvarī* is read and studied by thousands of people of all classes and castes in Maharashtra and by some non-Maharashtrians even to this day.

During the next four centuries the Bhakti Movement gathered tremendous force, and literally hundreds of Bhakta-poets made their contribution to the Bhakti literature in Marathi. Vitthala, of Pandharpur, was the centre of this Bhakti cult and hundreds of thousands of poetical pieces about him, or addressed to him, were composed. Men and women of all castes, from the Brahmins to the so-called 'untouchables', were involved in this movement and contributed to Bhakti literature. Even Muslims were drawn into this movement and scores of them wrote

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devotional and spiritual poetry in Marathi. In this the contribution of Ekanath (Ekanāth, 1533–99), Tukaram (Tukārām, 1598–1651) and Ramdas (Rāmadās, 1608–81) stand out, each of them having its own characteristic qualities.

Ekanath wrote a commentary on the Ekādaś Skandha of the *Bhāgavata*, *Bhāvārtha Rāmāyaṇa* and other works. Ramdas travelled widely throughout the country and his comments on what he had seen, his advice and his philosophy are to be found in the *Dāsabōdha* (1659), his major work which is almost encyclopaedic in the range of the subjects covered.

Tukaram stands apart by himself. He is one of the greatest saint-poets of Maharashtra and his *abhangas* (compositions in a flexible metrical form), which number more than four thousand, are read widely even today by all classes of people.

At the beginning of this article reference was made to two movements which produced literature in Marathi in those days. The Bhakti Movement started by Dnyanadeva has been dealt with above. The founder of the other movement, Chakradhara, was a Samavedi Lada Brahman of Broach. But he came to Maharashtra, settled there, and founded a sect popularly known as the Mahanubhava Sect.

Shri Krishna and his *Bhagavadgīta* were held in high regard by both the Bhāgawatas and Mahanubhavas. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* was also a sacred book for both. Both the Bhagawata saint-poets and the Mahanubhava pandits wrote commentaries on the *Bhagavadgīta* and narrative poems based on the stories in the *Bhāgavata*. But there was a difference between the two panths on some basic matters. The Bhagawata saints did not repudiate the *Vedas* and the 'varna' system, although they emphasized that in the path of bhakti all were equal. Chakradhara was indifferent to the *Vedas* and the caste system.

Like the other Bhakta poets, the Mahanubhavas too wrote their works in Marathi and discouraged writing in Sanskrit. Among the most important works produced by the Mahanubhavas the place of honour would go to the *Līḷācaritra*, which is a compilation of the significant incidents in the life of Chakradhara, and of his sayings and doings. It is the first prose writing in Marathi and was completed by 1278, i.e. twelve years before the *Dnyānēśvarī* was written. It is a well-preserved record of the colloquial prose of the period. In the following centuries hundreds of Mahanubhava pandits wrote thousands of works in prose and verse.

With all this prolific writing, Mahanubhava literature was a closed book to the non-Mahanubhavas until about eighty years ago. This was because about the middle of the 14th century all Mahanubhava works were re-written in different code scripts. So the Mahanubhava literature did not have an impact on the mainstream of Marathi literature. Now, however, most of the important Mahanubhava works have been published and we know the value and importance of their contribution to Marathi literature.

Besides these two Bhakti Movements there were a number of other panths, or cults, like the Datta, the Natha, the Lingayata and the Jain. Their followers also produced literature in Marathi. Among the orthodox, the Datta Panth has had a large following, and the *Guru-caritra* (15th century) has always been widely read in Maharashtra.

After the death of Tukaram in the middle of the 17th century, the Bhakti Movement seems to have lost its vitality; and the same is true of Bhakti literature also.

The Poetry of the Pandits. However, during the same century, namely, the 17th, a new trend made its appearance in Marathi poetic literature. Pandits and pedants wrote poetry based on the canons of Sanskrit poetics and in Sanskrit metres. The movement soon gathered momentum and acquired both prestige and popularity among the upper classes. Prominent among these poets were Vaman Pandit (1618–73), Raghunath Pandit and Moropant (1729–94). Poetry in this style continued to be written till even the early decades of the 20th century.

The Arrival of the British: Periodical Literature

Soon after the establishment of the British rule in Maharashtra in 1818, a complete change took place in the literary scene. The British rulers and the various Christian missionaries founded schools for Indian boys. Textbooks and books for general reading were prepared. Dictionaries were compiled, grammar books written, and syntax and orthography regulated and standardized. Thus the foundation of the modern Marathi language was laid.

Soon newspapers in the language began to appear. The *Darpaṇa* (1832), the *Dnyānōdaya* (1842), the *Dnyānaprakāśa* (1849) and the *Induprakāśa* (1862) appeared in quick succession, and they took notice of the books that were published from time to time. But more serious and detailed notice of literature began to be taken with the founding of magazines and journals like the *Dnyānaprasāraka* (1850–66), the *Vividha-Dnyāna-Vistāra* (1867–1937) and the *Nibandhamāla* (1874–80). The range of subjects covered by these magazines was almost encyclopaedic, but all of them gave literature its due importance, especially the *Vividha-Dnyāna-Vistāra*. In it, Indian and western theories of art and poetics were discussed and detailed critical reviews of books written by eminent critics. Serious criticism on forms of literature namely drama, novel and poetry was published. In short, the magazine set a standard of literary criticism. Poems, stories, novels, plays and humorous essays were also published in it.

Other magazines, literary and general, also appeared soon after. The *Kathāratnāvalī* (1875, for publishing stories), the *Kāvyētihāsa-Saṅgraha* (1873, for publishing poetry and

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historical documents), the *Nāṭyakathārṇava* (1879, for publishing plays and plots of plays), the *Kāvyaratnāvalī* (1887, for publishing poetry, old and contemporary) and the *Kādambarīkalpadruma* (1900, for publishing novels serially) were some of the specialized magazines. Of these, *Manōrañjana* (1895–1935) was largely responsible for the development of the short story and modern poetry while creating a taste for reading in a large public.

This increased readership led to the establishment of publishing houses for the exclusive publication of novels. The most popular of them were the Sarasa-vaṅgmaya-ratnamālā (1913) and the Surasa-grantha-prasārakamaṇḍaḷī (1916). Though most of their publications were translations or adaptations of English or Bengali novels they encouraged the writing of novels and many novelists came up.

The third and fourth decades of this century saw the emergence of a number of exclusively or predominantly literary periodicals. *Yaśvanta* (1928–67) published only short stories while the *Pratibhā* (1933–37), a fortnightly, was started as a purely literary periodical. In addition to poems, short stories, novels and autobiographies it had reviews and criticism as regular features. Theories of art and literature, literary movements at home and abroad and articles on controversial topics such as art in relation to morality, propaganda and society appeared in it. Altogether it began a new era in Marathi literary journalism.

The *Pratibhā* was succeeded by periodicals such as the *Pārijāta* (1934–35), the *Satyakathā* (1933–), the *Jyōtsnā* (1936–41), the *Samkṣak* (1940–41), the *Abhiruci* (1943–52; 65–), the *Sāhitya* (bi-monthly 1947–52), the *Chhanda* (1954–60) and the *Ālōcanā* (1962–) devoted entirely to literary criticism), the *Lalita* (1964–). In spite of limited circulation and, in some cases, short life, these magazines maintained a high literary standard.

The tradition of predominantly non-literary or general magazines also continued. The *Keraḷa-Kokiḷ* (1886–1910), the *Citramāyajagat* (1910–68), the *Lōkaśikṣaṇa* (1912–18; 1928–41) and the *Ratnākara* (1926–33; mainly, but not exclusively, literary). The *Sahyādri* (1935–) and the *Navabhārat* (1946–) are still running.

New Emphasis: The Progressive Movement

The thirties of this century were years of great ferment, both in India and in the world outside. The ideas of Marx, Freud and Russell were influencing the minds of the intelligentsia, and were reflected in the literary and non-literary periodicals of those years.

In the early forties the Progressive Writers' Movement was launched, and conferences sponsored by it were held in Maharashtra, as in other parts of the country. This was an attempt on the part of the Marxists to give a new direction to literature, to make it purposive and society-oriented. Plans for this had been drawn up as early as 1936. This movement did not have much of an impact on the mainstream of Marathi literature; but it certainly left its traces. A small group of writers continued to project the Marxist viewpoint in both creative and critical writing, and by now there has emerged a considerable body of serious creative and critical writing which is Marxist in attitude and demands.

'Little Magazines'. About 1954–55, a number of young writers and poets, either because they were dissatisfied with the complacency of the editorial policy of the 'established' magazines or because their work was rejected by them, started bringing out 'Little Magazines'. A group of five or six writers and poets would come together, bring out a magazine of eight or ten cyclostyled pages, and distribute it among their friends and sympathizers. The first of these, *Shabda*, was published in 1955. It ran for about five years. After 1960 the group disintegrated. Other groups were formed and other magazines were started. But these too came to an end sooner or later. Between 1955 and 1968 about twenty groups were formed and as many magazines brought out. Some of them are still running. Individualism, non-conformity and complete absence of any kind of inhibition were some of the characteristics of this movement. Though as a movement it is no longer active, it did give a jolt to the complacent, and brought in an unorthodox outlook and mode of expression.

The 'Dalita' Movement. Out of this, or rather along with this, there emerged the 'Dalita' literary movement which, during the last two decades, has acquired great force and size. The word 'Dalita' means the suppressed or downtrodden, and it is used to signify the scheduled castes. But in Maharashtra it has come to mean, by and large, the 'Mahars' who were converted to Buddhism, in or after 1956, under the inspiration of Dr B. R. Ambedkar. During the last twenty-five years Dalits have been going in for university education in larger and still larger numbers. They have become keenly aware of the age-old injustices inflicted upon them, and of their low and despised position in society. At the same time their self-confidence and self-respect have also been roused and they are no longer prepared to suffer inequities and humiliations. So they have taken to literature as a means of asserting their rights as citizens and voicing their grievances. Naturally, their literature is one of anger, protest and revolt. Much powerful writing and genuine poetry has come out of this movement. The socio-political counterpart of this movement is the 'Dalita Panther' movement.

Most Dalit writers naturally take their inspiration from Dr. Ambedkar's writings. But they also take it from the black writers of America and some from Marxist writings. A number of periodicals were started by the Dalit writers but most of them were short-lived. But special mention

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must be made of *Asmitādarśa* (est. 1961), which has been working steadily for promoting the cause of Dalit literature.

Literary Organizations

The first conference of Marathi writers was held in Poona in 1878, the next in 1885. In 1906, at the conference held in Poona, the Maharashtra Sahitya Parishad was founded and thereafter sessions of the Marathi Literary Conference are held annually (with some exceptions) at different places in Maharashtra and sometimes outside the State, under the auspices of the Parishad.

In course of time regional literary associations were formed, e.g. the Vidarbha Sāhitya Saṅgha, Nagpur (1923); the Mumbai Marāṭhī Sāhitya Saṅgha, Bombay (1935); the Marātwāḍā Sāhitya Pariṣad, (originally started at Hyderabad, Deccan, in 1937, and later shifted to Aurangabad in 1958). There are also Marathi literary associations doing active work outside Maharashtra in places like Baroda, Indore, Hyderabad, Panaji, etc. Besides these, Dalita writers and Marathi-speaking Christian writers too have their own literary associations.

A federation of the regional Marathi literary associations was formed in 1962 under the title 'Marāṭhī Sāhitya Mahāmaṇḍal'. Since 1965 the Annual All-India Marathi Literary Conferences have been held under the auspices of the Mahamandal.

Apart from these regional and local literary associations, the Dalit and Christian writers also hold their own annual conferences. At all these and at the All-India Marathi Literary Conferences as well, along with exhibitions of Marathi books held by publishers and booksellers, matters of importance concerning the promotion of the language and literature are discussed and resolutions passed.

Besides these periodic activities, some regional literary associations conduct regular classes and hold examinations in Marathi language and literature. The Mumbai Marathi Sahitya Sangha conducts special classes for teaching Marathi to Tamil-speaking persons, and Urdu to Marathi-speaking persons. All these regional bodies except the Mumbai Marathi Sahitya Sangha publish their journals, which carry articles on literary and allied topics, besides creative writing.

Many of the old and well-established libraries, and other organizations in Maharashtra, and some outside it too, organize annual lecture series. The first of these, the Vasant Vyākhyāna Mālā (The Spring Lecture Series) was started in Poona, in 1875, by M. G. Ranade and it has been running without interruption. Experts on a variety of subjects speak from its platform, drawing large and keen audiences.

The Marathi Theatre

Modern Marathi drama is a hundred years old and has been associated with highly educated persons from the very beginning. The first conference of theatrical companies was held in Bombay in 1905. Thereafter, conferences were held almost every year when problems relating to the theatre and the theatrical profession, were discussed. A monthly magazine called *Raṅga-bhūmi* was started in 1907 to deal with these and other relevant problems. Criticism of plays, acting and production were also entertained.

In 1956 the Annual Marathi Drama Conference constituted itself into the 'Marāthī Nāṭya Pariṣad', a permanent body. Since then the annual Drama Conferences have been held under the auspices of the Parishad.

The Directorate of Cultural Affairs of the Maharashtra State Government has been holding annual drama competitions for amateur groups for over twenty-five years now. Prizes are awarded to the best plays, the best actors, the best directors, etc. There has been, for some years, a special section for plays produced by rural groups. The number of entries for the competition has been growing steadily. It is now about two hundred. In Maharashtra there are nearly a hundred institutions, both amateur and professional, engaged in producing plays. New playwrights are coming up; and so are new plays, with a great deal of variety in them. The Marathi theatre was never as active as it has been for the last few years.

Reform Movements

Mention has been made above of the change which British rule and western education brought about in Marathi literature. New forms of literature, and a new kind of literary criticism, emerged. Another result was that acquaintance with the history of Europe, with British and European socio-political institutions, as also contact with Christian missionaries, implanted new ideas in the minds of the educated. These showed two distinct trends. One was the desire for social and religious reforms, and the other for political reforms leading ultimately to independence. The latter gave rise to a feeling of nationalism and patriotism.

The movement for social and religious reform, first started in Bengal by Raja Rammohan Roy, who founded the Brahma Samāj in Calcutta in 1828, had its counterpart in Western India. In 1867 the Prārthanā Samāj was founded in Bombay. In 1873 Mahatma Jotiba Phule founded the Satyaśodhak Samāj in Poona. Both these creeds were monotheistic and rejected idolatry and the caste system. Although these movements did not directly influence literature, a large part of the literature produced after 1850 was imbued with the spirit of social reform. A far more direct reformist influence on literature came from the writings of Gopal Ganesh Agarkar who himself, like other reformists, was influenced by the writings of J. S. Mill and Herbert Spencer.

Historical Research. The spirit of nationalism and patriotism aroused interest in history, particularly in Maratha his-

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tory. This spirit and interest are also reflected in Marathi literature. Institutions were founded for research in history, and for procuring, preserving and studying old Marathi manuscripts. Some institutions of this kind were the Satkāryōttejaka Sabha, Dhuḷē (1893), the Bhārat Itihās Samśōdhak Maṇḍaḷ, Pune (1910), the Rājawāḍē Samśōdhan Mandir, Dhuḷē, (1927), the Vidarbha Samśōdhan Maṇḍal, Nagpur (1934); the Marāthī Samśōdhan Maṇḍaḷ, Mumbai (1947), and the Itihās Samśōdhan Maṇḍaḷ, Mumbai (1958). Most of these institutions publish their journals carrying articles based on research, as also books setting out the results of research.

Dictionaries and Encyclopaedias

Mention must also be made of the dictionaries and encyclopaedias in Marathi which are of great importance as accessories to the study of any subject. During the earlier decades of the 19th century dictionaries were compiled under the direction and supervision of government offices. But, later, such works were undertaken by private individuals and institutions.

The *Marāṭhī Śabda-Ratnākar* (1922), by V. G. Apte and the *Saraswatī Kōśa* (1930) by V. V. Bhide were individual enterprises. A seven-volume dictionary *Mahārāṣtra Śabda-Kōśa* was compiled by an editorial board headed by Y. R. Datey (1932–38) and a two-volume *Dictionary of Maraṭhi Idioms and Proverbs* was also compiled by them (1942–47).

Among the encyclopaedias in Marathi the following stand out: The *Mahārāśtriya Dnyāna-Kōśa* (Encyclopaedia) edited by Dr. S. V. Ketkar in twenty-one volumes (1921–27); *Caritra-Kōśa* (Dictionary of Biographies), in three volumes covering the ancient, medieval and modern periods, edited by Siddheśwar Śāstri Citrava (1932–46); the *Bhāratīya Saṁskriti Kōśa* (Encyclopaedia of Indian Culture) in ten volumes edited by Pandit Mahadeva Śastri Jośi (1962–79) and the *Tatvadnyāna Kōśa* (Encyclopedia of Philosophy) edited by D. D. Vadekar in three volumes (1974).

G. D. Khanolkar has been editing and publishing since 1931 the *Arvācīna Marāṭhī Vāṅgmayakōśa* (A Companion to Modern Marathi Literature), of which seven volumes have so far been published.

The six universities in Maharashtra, viz. Bombay, Poona, Nagpur, Marathwada, Shivaji and the S.N.D.T. Women's University have each a Department of Marathi Language, where research work is done on different aspects of Marathi language and literature.

The Role of the State in the Promotion of Literature

The Government of Maharashtra also encourages, in many ways, the many-sided growth and development of Marathi language and literature. In 1960 it instituted 'Maharastra Rajya Sahitya va Sanskriti Mandal' (The Maharashtra State Board for Literature and Culture) under the presidentship of Tarkatirtha Lakshmanshastri Joshi. The major work the Mandal has undertaken is the compilation of a Marathi *Viśvakōśa* (Encylopaedia) in twenty volumes, of which seven have so far been published. A comprehensive dictionary of the Marathi language, based on scientific principles, and a Marathi *Vāṅgmayakōśa* (Encyclopaedia of Marathi Literature) are also being compiled under the general supervision of the Mandal.

The Mandal has a translation department which has got several important works in all branches of knowledge from other languages translated into Marathi. The Mandal publishes books on its own and also gives grants for the publication of books submitted for financial aid. It also gives financial help to cultural and literary periodicals.

The Government has instituted a Directorate of Languages which, with the help of experts, has been compiling English-Marathi glossaries of terms used in the Government departments, and in the various branches of knowledge.

The Government álso awards prizes, annually, to the best Marathi books under almost all categories of writing, including those on social and physical sciences. The books for these prizes are selected by committees of experts appointed by the Government. Recently the Government has started giving grants for 'first' publications of creative writers of promise. Besides, there are more than a dozen private trusts and institutions which also award prizes to books in Marathi.

It will thus be seen that there are a number of periodicals, institutions, movements, government and semi-government agencies, etc. which are engaged in promoting the growth and development of Marathi literature.

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Oriya

J. M. MOHANTY

If 'movement' suggests the concerted action of a group of individuals towards some set end in view, then there probably never was such a thing in ancient Oriya literature or, at least, not until we come to the 20th century. Yet one can, perhaps, discern once or twice some broad approaches towards such movements in the past. The first such indication was in the 16th century when a group of writers, named 'pañcasakhā' (Five Friends), by later critics whether by design or by accident, exhibited some common literary features and common motivations. From one point of view their literature was tough and difficult to understand immediately, because they used it as a vehicle to communicate the system of philosophy they all believed in. Initially this 'philosophy' was influenced by the contemporary Natha Cult and Buddhism; later it incorporated features of Vaishnavism. Essentially it provided an integrated view of life, and generally initiated a movement of religious integration in literature. These writers were Jagannāth Dās, Balarām Dās, Jaśobanta Dās, Acyutānanda Dās and Śiśu Ananta.

Religious Integration in Literature

The oldest and most important of the group was Balaram Das. He was born in 1470, at Puri, in an aristocratic family. His father, Somanāth Mahāpātra, was a minister of Pratāparudra Dev (1497–1534), the then king of Orissa. Somanath was rich and influential, but Balaram, who was well-versed in Sanskrit, detached himself from worldly riches at an early age and generally led the life of a recluse devoted to religious worship and writing. His greatest work (and, incidentally, one of the greatest works of ancient Oriya literature) was the Ramayana, which was known in Orissa as *Jagamohan* or *Daṇḍi Rāmāyaṇa*. It was written in colloquial language and in a spoken, conversational style. It incorporated innumerable deviations to make it conform to the local traditions and life. Balaram was also the first translator of the Gita in Oriya. His story of Goddess Lakshmi (entitled *Lakṣmi Purāṇa*), a vigorous verse account challenging caste distinctions in society, was immensely popular. He also wrote a number of other small lyrics and *bhajanas* devoted to Lord Jagannath. His aim was to reform the people's manners and ways of living by making them aware of the essential values enshrined in religious epics and traditional lore.

Next in importance, but probably the most popular among the five poets, was Jagannath Das. He was born about 1490 in the village Kapileswarpur, near Puri. His immense popularity, which has continued unabated since his day, and which has made his name a household word wherever the Oriyas live, is due to his extremely readable verse translation of the Sanskrit *Bhāgabat*. Like Balaram, Jagannath also took liberties with his original. He expanded and elaborated and completed his translation in 11 books or *Skandhās*. But the real merit of Jagannath's *Bhāgabat* lies not so much in its narration as in its continuous emphasis on good, moral and ethical living. That is why the 11th Book (the *Ekādaśa Skandha* as it is called) particularly is considered almost a Bible in most Oriya households. Its avowed purpose is to reform manners and character and to add grace and religious centrality to human life. Some of the noteworthy aphoristic statements found in it are:

(i) As travellers sit under a wayside tree
for a while, to take rest, so is this world,—

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a momentary illusion, and who belongs to whom?—neither father to son nor son to father.

(ii) Work is the only god, worship it.

(iii) Wealth is no wealth without a wife. The house has no happiness without parents, children and wife. As one sits in a chariot without wheels so is a house without a wife. (tr.)

The lead given by Balaram and Jagannath was followed by Achyutananda, Jasobanta and Sisu Ananta. All three were born in the early part of the 16th century in the districts of Cuttack (the first two) and Puri (Sisu Ananta). They wrote *bhajanas* as well as longer pieces in simple, colloquial language, close to prose conversation, in the manner of Balaram and Jagannath and with the same aim: to reform manners and elevate morals. The most prolific among the three was Achyutananda. He translated in seven parts the Sanskrit *Haribanśa* taking the same liberties as Balaram and Jagannath had done with their originals. In addition, his two other important works were *Śūnya Samhitā* (An Account of Nothingness) and *Cārikhāni* or *Śabdabrahma Samhitā* (An Account of Divine Word). These books deal with the philosophy of *Piṇḍa Brahmāṇḍa* (the Body as Universe), the system of philosophy in which the pañcasakhās generally believed and which they propagated, as well as with such accounts of the future as tend to detach men's minds from the petty, irreligious and sinful activities of life.

The pañcasakhās did not consciously constitute a group. But their approaches tallied and, as their aims were to reform public morals and suggest better ways of living, they themselves provided models by living in disciplined austerity. They invariably wrote in an easily understood, colloquial language. Their cumulative impact on society was far-reaching and substantial.

Bhakti Tradition. In a way, pañcasakhā literature had the spirit of *bhakti* literature though it was not exactly the same. In fact, *bhakti* literature was never quite a movement in Oriya literature. But it had a powerful impact on ancient Oriya literature and from the 16th century onwards, that is, particularly from the age of Balaram Das and Jagannath Das, it remained a powerful influence till the late 19th century.

It had three main directions. One related to Lord Jagannath of Puri and to that extent it was indigenous, as Jagannath-worship at Puri was central to the growth of Oriya nationality and culture. The Lord's festivals and rituals were described in detail and innumerable lyrics were composed by way of offerings to the Lord. The second direction related to the Radha-Krishna theme, mainly under the influence of the Bengal Vaishnavism of Sri Chaitanya, who was a contemporary of Balaram and Jagannath in the court of Prataparudra Dev. But the Radha-Krishna theme could not continue to have a simple, unitary structure as it got mixed up with local traditions, particularly with Jagannath-worship, and in many cases lyrical felicitations were offered to Jagannath, Krishna and Radha together. Apart from Balaram and Jagannath, the other leading poets of this trend were Sālbeg (17th century), Dinakruṣṇa (17th century), Banamāli (18th century), Bhaktacaraṇ (18th century), Baḷdeb Rath (1789–1845), and Gopālkruṣṇa (1785–1862).

The third direction of *bhakti* literature, however, went counter to the first two in the sense that it worshipped no deity. God was without shape (*nirākār*) and was personal to the poet. The *bhajanas* written by pañcasakhā poets were full of this belief, a good example being provided by Sisu Ananta as follows:

Meditate on wordless Word,
Follow pathless Path,
Measure Immeasurable,
Be still,
And beyond the rituals he is revealed—the Self. (tr.)

The greatest exponent of this trend was Bhima Bhoi (19th century) the blind Kondha poet, whose *bhajanas* are considered as belonging to the richest heritage of Oriya literature.

Rīti Sāhitya. *Rīti Sāhitya*, which spanned three centuries—from the 17th to the 19th—also provided another powerful trend. It was mainly a stylized, decorative literature which was nourished in the courts of the feudal kings, either by the members of the royal families or by persons patronized by them. It mainly dealt with love, marriage, separation, union, etc. and was invariably full of erotic elements. Its obvious source was Sanskrit *kāvya* literature. But at the same time it was influenced by the Hindi Rītī Sāhitya and by models provided by the contemporary Moghul Court. Upendra Bhanja (1670–1740), who belonged to a royal family of southern Orissa, and wrote a number of long *kāvyās*, was the chief exponent of this trend. But it may be noted once again that Rītī Sāhitya, like Bhakti Sāhitya which had greater range and depth, was never a movement having a well-defined beginning and growth.

The Nationalist Trend

In the late 19th and the early 20th century, contemporary nationalism and nationalistic tendencies provided yet another strong motivation for Oriya literature. However, they were not harnessed to any literary movement, though, beginning from Rādhānāth Rāy (1848–1908), Madhusūdan Rāu (1853–1912) and Gaṅgādhar Meher (1862–1924), one can trace the trend down to Gopabandhu Dāś (1877–1928),

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Nīlakaṇṭha Dāś (1884–1967), Godābariś Miśra (1886–1956) and Padmacaraṇ Paṭṭanāyak (1885–1956). The poetry and prose writings particularly of Gopabandhu Das, journalist, visionary, unique social worker, and a very important national leader, were full of nationalistic spirit.

All these poets did inspire young minds, but their impact was not cumulative. In fact, to trace literary movements as deliberate movements with a set end in view, we have to look specifically at two movements that were begun in Oriya literature in the twenties and thirties of this century. The first was known as Sabuja Āndoḷana (The Green Movement), the second as Pragatibādi Āndoḷana (The Progressive Movement).

Sabuja Andolana

Sabuja Āndoḷana initially began as a get-together of a few adolescents in Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, in the early twenties. Those at the first meeting included Kāḷindī Caraṇ Pāṇigrāhī (b. 1901), Annadāśaṅkar Rāy (b. 1904), Baikuṇṭhanāth Paṭṭanāyak (b. 1904), Harihar Mahāpātra and Hariścandra Badāl. They formed the 'Nonsense Club' which was subsequently reorganized as a literary body called Sabuja Sahitya Samiti. The first poetry collection of the members, *Sabuja Kabitā* (Green Poetry), came out in 1931. In 1933, the group published a journal called *Jugabiṇā* (Time's Lyre). The same year, nine authors teamed up to write a novel they called *Bāsanti*.

The movement generated a new spirit in Oriya literature and in a period of five to six years, in the late twenties and early thirties, about 25 books were published either directly by the Samiti or on behalf of it. These included 11 novels, seven dramas, two poetry collections and sundry travelogues and essays written by the five initiators as well as by a number of other writers who had been quickly drawn into this movement. The obvious source was contemporary Bengali literature and the name *Sabuja* might have been inspired by a contemporary Bengali monthly called *Sabuja Patra*. In fact, one of the group's leading members, Annadasankar Ray, completely left Oriya literature for Bengali by 1926. The group as such, and the movement in general, were never a cohesive or well-organized one. But it had a substantial impact on contemporary Oriya literature, particularly on poetry. Commenting on the movement, in 1931, Kalindi Charan referred to it as the 'most vital pointer of the future Green Age'. He made references to the 'momentous changes' that were taking place in the contemporary world and wrote rhetorically of a 'green bird' that flew 'like a storm in the sky,' 'waking up people everywhere'. Annadasankar also made references to this 'newness,' to the 'vitality' and the 'rising spirit' of youth that refused to be tied down by anything and sought to build a 'new life over the debris of the old':

I will create a new life over this debris
A paradise on earth
A pulsating, vibrating life over the dull and the dead. (tr.)

Pragatibādi Āndoḷana

The Pragatibādi Āndoḷana (Progressive Literature Movement) was initiated in 1935 when some writers combined to establish the 'Nabajuga Sāhitya Sansad' (The New Age Literary Organization). Its inspiration was in part the contemporary, left-motivated literary movements of the West. More immediately, many of these writers were associated with the Indian National Congress and were part of its socialist wing. An important organizer of the group was Bhagabati Charan Panigrahi, the founder-secretary of the Orissa Communist Party. Other members of the group included Kalindi Charan Panigrahi, Bhagabati's brother and an important member of Sabuja Āndoḷan, Baikunthanath Pattanayak, also of Sabuja Āndoḷan, Ananta Pattanayak, Gurucharan Pattanayak, Prananath Pattanayak, Ramakrushna Pati, all of whom subsequently became active members of the Orissa Communist Party, Nabakrushna Chaudhury, who subsequently became a progressive Chief Minister of Orissa, Mayadhar Mansingh and Sachidananda Rautray the poets, and Gopinath Mahanty and Ramprasad Singh, the novelists. Bhagabati edited the Sansad's journal, *Ādhunika* (The Modern). Its first issue, which was published in May 1936, carried the following editorial declaration for the new movement:

> There are indications of a great change in all parts of the world, and one can see this change being manifested in many forms. The appearance of *Ādhunika* in Orissa is one such. It is an evidence of the fact that the call for a change has already affected the soul of Orissa's youth.... Those who take a stand to challenge and obstruct the process of change are enemies of progressive society.... (tr.)

In poetry, the chief exponent of the movement was probably Ananta Pattanayak (b. 1910), who not only wrote the inaugural song of the Sansad but continued to provide a powerful voice to its attitudes—the desire to see man as man and not as a victim of social inconsistencies.

In contrast to the earlier 'Green Literature', which was mainly given to dreams, longings and imagination, the progressive literature of the late thirties was, to a greater degree, socially-motivated and was concerned with wider areas of reality. But as events moved quickly, beginning with the Second World War in 1939, through the Quit India Movement in 1942, to Independence in 1947, the Nabajuga Sāhitya Āndoḷan lost its cohesion and orderliness. The movement declined more quickly than was the case with Sabuja Āndoḷan. At the same time, since many

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writers moved freely between the two groups, the elements of 'Green Literature' got mixed with the elements of Progressive Literature—an interesting blending of dreams and imagination with the rhetorical proclamations against social injustice and misery. A particularly good example of this is Sachidananda Routray's long poem *Bāji Rāut* (Bāji Raut or the Boatman Boy) which projects the sudden death of a boy-boatman at the hands of the police in an atmosphere of political declarations and emotional diffusion. By 1950, reader response to both movements had declined. This was because there was, with the beginning of the fifties, not only a changed literary atmosphere but also a change in sensibility to which both *Sabuja Sāhitya* and *Pragatibādi Sāhitya* appeared unsatisfactory and inadequate.

New Poetry

There has been no concerted literary movement after Independence. But in poetry there has been something like a movement which came to be known as the New Poetry Movement or simply, New Poetry. This movement developed in the late fifties and early sixties and has been growing in strength ever since. New Poetry was largely a response to the dissatisfaction with the poetry of the twenties, thirties and forties, that is, the poetry of the 'Green' and the Progressive Literature movements. This was inevitable, particularly due to the increasing sophistication and changes in sensibility after Independence. The new attitudes could be seen scattered in several journals in the early fifties. But they took a definite shape only in August 1955, with the publication of a slender volume of poetry, *Nūtan Kabitā* (New Poetry). This was followed by a quarterly journal, *Prajñān* (Wisdom), in 1960–61.

The Introduction to *Nūtan Kabitā* ended by pointing out that the future of Oriya poetry did not lie in adopting 'decadent romantic poetry' as a model. A vigorous future could be ensured only by becoming aware of 'new possibilities' and 'new intelligence', and by adopting new modes of 'consciousness' and 'expression'. It hoped that *Nūtan Kabitā* would inaugurate a 'new and powerful poetic-consciousness' hitherto absent in Oriya poetry. The hope has been more than justified and, beginning from the early sixties, New Poetry has been the most powerful poetic mode in Oriya poetry.

The most significant poets of the New Poetry Movement were Guruprasad Mohanty (b. 1924), Bhanuji Rao (b. 1926), Ramakanta Rath (b. 1934), Sitakanta Mahapatra (b. 1937), Jagannath Prasad Das (b. 1936) and Saubhagya Kumar Mishra (b. 1941). They were supported by an elderly poet, Sachidananda Routray (b. 1918), who was also earlier associated with the 'Sabuja poets' and the 'Pragatibādi' writers. But the most substantial support to the movement came in the seventies from a host of powerful young writers whose total poetic achievement has been considerable.

Probably one of the best representative poems of this new mode is Guruprasad's *Kālapuruṣ* (The Hunter) which was first published in *Prajñān* in 1960. It is a long poem in five sections containing 379 lines.

New Poetry movement, however, as stated earlier, is not a movement in the strict sense of the term. But it provides the most powerful creative direction in contemporary Oriya literature. In a sense it may be compared to the 16th century literary movement, but whereas the earlier movement sought to improve manners and morals, the present movement is mainly concerned with man as a shifting, restless and alienated being.

Bhāgabat Houses

There is a very interesting literary institution in Orissa known as Bhagabat Tuṅgi or Bhagabat House, tuṅgi meaning a small room. Some time ago there used to be Bhagabat Houses in almost every village in Orissa. These took the shape of a big-sized room in the middle of each village and each was meant to be a recreation room during the day. In the evenings, when the villagers returned from their fields and the day's work was done, the *Srimad Bhāgabat* of the great Oriya writer Jagannath Das was read to the villagers who would gather in the room.

The Bhagabat Houses provided the most convenient venue in each village to discuss community matters. The Bhagabat House, however, was not strictly an institution though it almost functioned as one and had a deep impact on the organization of village-life in every village. Though industries came up slowly in Orissa and towns developed not much faster, the agricultural structure of Orissa continued for a long time and the Bhagabat Houses, with their benign institutional influences, continued to fit in with the structure of the society. But after Independence the changes have been rapid and the Bhagabat Houses have fallen into disuse. They no longer have their institutional status and newer types of institutions have grown up, mainly based in towns and mainly for the educated people. Wherever small institutions have grown up in the villages, they have been organized on the model of the larger ones in the towns. These are no longer self-contained institutions as the Bhagabat Houses used to be. They depend largely on the Government subsidies and naturally conform to Government directives issued from time to time.

Societies and Institutions

Almost every town in Orissa has at least one literary institution which maintains a library, has a small room of its own, and organizes functions of a literary nature from time to time. Among these, mention should be made of the following as being more important than the rest.

1. *Utkaḷ Sāhitya Samāj* (The Society for Oriya Litera-

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ture). This is the oldest active literary institution in Orissa (est. 1903). It is in Cuttack and is housed in a building that was built using a donation given by Sriram Chandra Bhanja, the late King of Mayurbhanja, a former Princely State in Orissa. It has a library of valuable old books and documents and has a portrait gallery of a number of ancient and modern Oriya writers, the only such gallery in the whole of the State. It organizes literary meetings, seminars and conferences and is run by an executive body elected from among its members annually.

2. *Prajātantra Pracār Samiti*. This is a trust founded by Dr. Harekrushna Mahatab, ex-Chief Minister of Orissa. He was the first president. It is housed in Cuttack in its own premises and owns a large-sized printing press. It brings out *Prajātantra*, an Oriya daily, *Eastern Times*, an English daily, and *Jhankār*, a literary monthly, which is the oldest Oriya monthly, having been continuously published for over 30 years. The Samiti organizes an annual meet of writers every April, on the first day of *Baisākh*. This is probably the largest and oldest such meet in Orissa. It continues for three days, during which writers exchange notes, participate in seminars and are given awards.

3. *Oḍiyā Juba Lekhak Sammīḷani* (The Conference of Young Oriya Writers). Like the Utkal Sahitya Samaj it has an all-Orissa membership, not always confined to the young. It is particularly concerned with the problems of the young writers. It has no fixed office of its own, but organizes regional meets as well as annual conferences. It brings out an annual journal.

4. *Oḍisa Lekhak Sahajog Samabaya Samiti* (Orissa Writers' Co-operative Society). It was started in 1979 with a membership of about 100 writers from all parts of Orissa. It has its own office at Bhubaneshwar and a Board of Directors. It has, till now, published 17 books and has a number of projects in the offing.

5. *Orissa Sahitya Akademi*. It has been registered under the Society Registration Act. It functions independently, though it is entirely financed by the Government of Orissa. The Akademi's members are nominated by the Government once in three years and they have multifarious activities directed towards the development of letters. For example, the Akademi has published about 100 books, and has undertaken projects like the translation of the Vedas and preparation of a History of Oriya Literature in 12 volumes.

6. *Phakirmohan Sahitya Pariṣad* (Phakirmohan Literary Society). This is probably the most important institution in northern Orissa. It is located at Balasore, the birthplace of Phakirmohan Senapati, a very important novelist. The Parishad occasionally publishes books and regularly sponsors meetings and seminars.

7. *Kośaḷa Sāhitya Pariṣad* (Kosala Literary Society). This is an important institution in western Orissa and has its office at Sambalpur. It has brought out books and compilations of learned papers; and it frequently holds seminars and conferences. It specifically aims at promoting the culture of western Orissa.

8. *Kaḷinga Sāhitya Pariṣad* (Kalinga Literary Society). This is the most important institution in southern Orissa. Its office is at Berhampur in its own buildings. It is particularly devoted to the promotion of the culture of southern Orissa through meetings, conferences and publications.

These eight institutions are the relatively better-known ones. But there are innumerable other literary institutions of a minor nature scattered throughout the State. For example, in Cuttack and Bhubaneshwar alone there are about 20 small institutions. Besides, there are institutions at Puri, Baripada, Keonjhar, Rourkela, Sundargarh, Balangir, Bhabanipatna, Jaypore, Parlakhemundi, Aska, Kendrapara, Jajpur, Dhenkanal, Anugul, etc., that is, in all district headquarters and other important towns. In the absence of Bhagabat Houses these institutions now foster an interest in literature throughout Orissa and are responsible for promoting a general literary atmosphere.

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Punjabi

JASBIR SINGH AHLUWALIA

The Medieval Influence

The emergence of purely literary movements is a phenomenon characteristic of the modern age. Literary activity has in this age evolved on its own, instead of being a by-product of religious, cultural, social and political movements. The medieval movements, such as the Islamic *sufism*, Hindu *bhakti* mysticism and Sikh spiritualism, despite their vigorous impact on the development of literary traditions, cannot be considered essentially 'literary' in character, for the primary concern of the *sufis*, saints and gurus was trans-literary and trans-linguistic.

However, as a background to modern literary movements, it is essential to understand the way in which these medieval movements impinged upon and affected the classical tradition of India. By their stress on the universality of human nature and the equality of all individuals before God, and through their crusade against ritualism which indirectly reinforced the cult of hierarchy, the *sufi* and *bhakti* teachings aroused a consciousness against a hierarchical society and the classical tradition that protected it. The concept of spiritual egalitarianism preached by the *sufis* and *bhaktas* paved the way for the modern forces of social equality. As against the classical vedantic tradition that deemed worldly reality as illusory, both the *sufi* and the *bhakti* currents considered it real, though the *sufis* thought it ephemeral and the *bhaktas* conceded it a status of only secondary reality. This viewpoint helped in giving a humanistic orientation to the literary tradition.

The *sufi* concept of self-annihilation in the Divine[1] (*fana*) and the *bhakti* idea of self-surrender, however, did not leave much scope for a revolutionary change on the sociological level. As pointed out by Hazari Prasad Dwivedi, the *saguṇa bhakti* tradition was not dissatisfied with the social conditions of the medieval age; the *nirguṇa* tradition expressed protest only at the surface level.[2] With the social pattern remaining intact, traditionalism re-asserted itself, though in a reformed way. The modernizing elements introduced by the *sufi* and *bhakti* movements, in turn, got neo-traditionalized. What was needed was not a reformation of tradition, as attempted by the *bhakti* movement, but the projection of a radically new tradition to leaven the dynamics of social change. This role was played by Sikhism.

Sikhism ushered in a new social organization characterized by a modern value-pattern: social egalitarianism; the sanctity and inviolability of the individual; self-realization in the corporate personality of the social whole; belief in evolutionary change and progress; distinction between the secular and the spiritual and the legitimacy of the worldly concerns of man. Inheriting this revolutionary Sikh ethos, modern Punjabi literary movements are, in a sense, a continuation of that process of transition from traditionalism to modernity which was introduced over 500 years ago by Guru Nanak who had imbibed all that was best in the *sufi* and *bhakti* movements.

The New Ethos

The spectrum of modern Punjabi literature is made up of a colourful variety of literary movements: renaissance, the reformation, romanticism, progressivism, experimentalism, radical realism, etc. These have comulatively resulted in the emergence of new aesthetic values. Modern sensibility runs through the currents and cross-currents of the epoch. The urban-industrial milieu is reflected in new themes. Transcendental realism yields place to social realism which, in turn, is succeeded by psychological realism. The abstraction of the archetypal man gives way to the class-determinateness of the social type and, later, to the existentiality of the individual. Animistic modes of perception are replaced by the empiricist-realist ones. The Absolute is relativized and seen in a social-humanist context. There comes about a radical change in the very concept of literature. The 'word' no longer remains an embodiment of the Divine Voice (*Dhur ki Bāṇi*) or a vehicle of transcendental reality. The artist breaks away from his earlier divine ancestry and finds kinship with the earthly masses. He is no more a 'possessed' or a divinely inspired being; he is now a socially committed instrument of change. Mohan Singh expresses this new literary ethos thus:

How long on the ancient vault of heaven
Idle fantasies draw and hold them dear?
Come let us caress the earth's tresses,
Come let us talk of something near.
(tr. Khushwant Singh)

The literary movements referred to above span the last hundred years of Punjabi literature, a period in which three ideologically distinct phases are discernible.

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The First Phase

The first phase originated in the last quarter of the 19th century and spilt over into the 20th century. This was the period of the reformative resurgence of Sikhism, heralded by the birth of the Singh Sabha movement in 1873. Bhai Vir Singh (1872–1957) emerged as a symbol of the renaissance movement which was 'a stir of ideas and ideals on behalf of both tradition and modernity.'[3] This phase, so well articulated by Bhai Vir Singh in his poetry, novels and prose writings, expressed the experience of the age within the framework of the feudal reformist-humanist tradition on the fringe of the growing bourgeois consciousness. His conception of reality was transcendental. He envisioned the Absolute as the sublime Beauty and Beatitude, the experience of which has the fervent sensuousness of human love. The poet, in a sense, sublimated the sense-enjoyment into a sort of transcendental ecstasy—called *khera* (blossoming ecstasy) by him—which is not devoid of a sensuous quality. In other words, unlike the typical medievalist, Bhai Vir Singh tried to arrive at a harmonious reconciliation of the sensory and the supra-sensory and altered the form of the reformation—renaissance movement of the age.

The dual character of the social ideology of the reformation-renaissance period was conditioned by two main factors. As revealed by some recent Soviet Indological studies,[4] the Indian economy during the medieval period was pregnant with some embryonic capitalist elements in the womb of the general feudal structure. These growing anti-feudal forces constitute the sociological matrix of Sikhism and explain its anti-feudal dialectic. But, unfortunately feudal reaction soon overwhelmed the growing anti-feudal forces, including Sikhism, particularly during the 18th century. The colonial-imperialist exploitation further obstructed the independent evolutionary course of the Indian bourgeoisie. Consequently the process of class-differentiation at the social and ideological levels could not come into its own and a heterogeneous middle class, sandwiched between its feudal past and bourgeois future, assumed the political and ideological leadership during the reformation-renaissance period. This made inevitable the dual character of the social ideology of the period, which Bhai Vir Singh expresses with all its complexities and contraditions. This also explains why he could not liberate himself fully from the feudal hangover at the ideological level.

The Second Phase

A full-fledged revolt against the feudal order marks the beginning of the second phase of the modern period. This phase saw the flowering of the romantic movement, which was a projection of emergent middle class individualism freeing itself from the bonds of a feudal past. It is a characteristic of middle-class individualism that it romanticizes its social liberation as a freedom of the self. Accordingly this also leads to a romanticizing of the contradictions of the middle-class experience.

Mohan Singh (1905–75), Amrita Pritam (b. 1917) and Haribhajan Singh (b. 1920) are the three major poets of the modern romantic tradition. This is a tradition distinct and different from the romantic tradition of the medieval period, the basic difference being that the former is essentially an expression of middle class individualism striving to transcend the old feudal frame of values, whereas the latter, though reacting against the then value-pattern, still partook of feudalist attitudes. It was only in the modern period that romantic reaction could, and did, acquire a this-worldly humanistic orientation.

Humanism is essentially a philosophy which proceeds from the premise that the individual (as distinct from the abstract man *qua* spirit or soul) is the basic, inviolable unit of society. He has a reality and dignity of his own; he is not a cog in the vast machine of nature or society. He is not a means for the furtherance of alien aims and ends. But the Indian tradition, led by its preoccupations with the Absolute and the Abstract, paid little attention or regard to the individuality or particularity of man at any level.[5] The social group (the caste, the class) overshadowed the individual completely. Man was accorded no reality or essence apart from that of the caste of which he was an insignificant part. The predominant Indian-tradition remained obsessed with other-worldliness and in worldliness as against the humanistic stress on this-worldliness in the context of which alone the individuality and reality of man has meaning and substance.

Guru Nanak revolutionized Indian philosophical thought by stressing that the Absolute, though indeterminate in itself, is determinately related to the world of time and space. This concept was unknown to the systematic Indian philosophy before Guru Nanak, who paved the way for the emergence of a really humanistic tradition that transcended the bounds of the feudal value-pattern. Seen in this context, the modern tradition of romanticism is a humanist revolt against the feudal frame of values that negated the individuality of man and a free, uninhibited self-expression and self-assertion thereof.

Modern romantic tradition is not, in fact, an expression of a romantic sensibility escaping from the real into a subjective world of illusion and fantasy; it is not even a quest for the transcendental or the hidden reality; rather, in this case, the poetic reality is congruous with the phenomenal reality. In one of the poems of Mohan Singh—*Tere Ghund Te Chitre Phul Sohne* (Enchanting Flowers Embroidered on the Veil)—the lover is so fascinated by the flowers embroidered on the veil his beloved wears that he forgets his quest for the hidden face.

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Progressivism

On the basis of phenomenal reality, modern romanticism could, and did, form an alliance with progressivism in the early thirties. The thematic and expressional values of this alliance were the basis for all literary genres down to the end of the fifties.

This alliance corresponded to and expressed the historic alliance of the growing bourgeois middle class with the revolutionary working class forces of the period. But the progressive movement came to have a dual, ambivalent character owing to its affinity with midle-class individualism. Despite a compromise with the revolutionary forces of the day, this individualism produced only a variety of bourgeois humanism (under the garb of progressivism) that, in its fight against the absolutist values of feudalism, needed a historic Marxist concept of values. That is why romanticism is one side of this humanism, while the other side is progressivism.

By virtue of the role played by it, the progressive movement possesses historical significance in the annals of Punjabi literature. It provided for the analysis and evaluation of literature, an intellectual apparatus in the form of objective categories of criticism set in a traditional Marxian frame of reference. It brought in a radical reorientation in the *leitmotif* and *raison d'etre* of literature. The social milieu now became the matrix of art. The reflective character of art and literature became the supreme normative principle of the artistic act. Form, losing its autonomy, as such, came to be conceived of only as a means to an end. The credit for this change of outlook goes mainly to Sant Singh Sekhon (b. 1908), the chief ideologue of the progressive movement in Punjabi, whose scholarly *Sahitārth* (The Meaning of Literature, 1959) provides a frame of reference for the theory and practice of progressivist literary criticism.

Under the impact of the progressive movement the humanist-romantic tradition was transformed into revolutionary romanticism in the later poetry of Mohan Singh and Amrita Pritam. The peace movement added a new dimension to progressivism, and a number of its poets, such as Santokh Singh Dhir (b. 1920), Gurcharan Rampuri (b. 1929), Tera Singh Chan (b. 1921), Sukhbir, etc., blended their lyrical quality with revolutionary tonality. Haribhajan Singh, however, being essentially an aesthete, did not allow the credo of progressivism to overshadow his artistic sensibility. Retaining the autonomy of his vision, he moved on to the threshold of modernity as conceived by the post-progressive generation.

The most significant achievement of progressivism was its fight against the feudal value-pattern. The challenge was led by Gurbakhsh Singh (1895–1977) and Kartar Singh Duggal (b. 1917) in their distinctive ways. Nanak Singh (b. 1897) had made the novel the medium for his socio-moral reformism; his target was, in a sense, feudal morality. Gurbakhsh Singh, the pioneer of modern Punjabi prose, attacked the feudal mentality. His idealization of love (*sahaj prīt*) was, in essence, a liberation of love from the time-worn taboos.[6] The Freudian undertones in Kartar Singh Duggal's treatment of love are also, in a sense, an attempt to present sex as a factor in human motivation; this was his mode of reaction to the feudal value-pattern.

The progressive movement shifted the stress from the socio-moral reformation, as expressed by Nanak Singh, to exposing the exploitative system. Jaswant Singh Kanwal (b. 1923), the most representative figure of this school of fiction, demonstrates its conceptual strength as much as its perceptual weakness. The tension between the perceptual immediacy of experience and the conceptual *a priorism* derived from the Marxian premises of progressivism remains unresolved in this fiction introduced by the progressive movement. This tension is seen inherent in the conception of the hero of the 'progressive' novel. Bhai Vir Singh's characters were conceived as moral archetypes recapturing 'the heroism and chivalry of the Sikhs and the ethical excellence of their religion.'[7] In the progressive novel, these heroic-moral *archetypes* give way to social *types* who soon degenerate into *stereotypes* when the stress on the pre-conceived class-character overshadows the reality of their experience.

This tension between perception and conception reveals an inherent self-contradiction in the historicl alliance of the romantic and progressive movements, with the former extolling the sensory and the latter swearing by the rational. This self-contradiction, accentuated with the growing change in the pattern of social reality, ultimately led to the disintegration of the progressive movement. With the earlier revolutionary middle class individualism turning into a reactionary middle class socialism, its historical alliance with the working class consciousness broke down. On the other hand, the new historical processes entailing the growth of an urban-industrial civilization generated a new kind of 'reality' that necessitated new modes of perception and techniques of expression. This gave birth to the third phase of modern Punjabi literature with the flowering of qualitatively new literary movements.

The Third Phase

Experimentalism, radical realism and the Naxalite surge, subsisting as a sub-current in the literary domain, are the literary movements of the third phase. These movements crystallized in the sixties after the exhaustion of the romantic-progressive tradition known as the Amrita-Mohan Singh *dhāra*. There has been in this period unprecedented experimentation to realize the new expressional and linguistic potentialities of the creative medium. This experimentation

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has led to the emergence of a new literary idiom which is non-romantic, urbanized and symbolistic in nature.

It was during this phase that psychological realism and the urban social milieu made their appearance for the first time in Punjabi literature. Further, the use of myth as an objective correlative to express psychic realities was introduced for the first time by the experimentalist-modernists of this period. Some of the poets of the younger generation are Ravinder Ravi, Sukhpalvir Singh, Ajaib Kamal, Pritam Singh Meesha, Harinam, Sati Kumar, Mohanjit and Ahluwalia.

The younger generation, which now dominates the literary scene, has traversed from experimentalism to modernity. It is well equipped with new techniques, new forms, new themes and a new sensibility. The inner logic of evolution of the experimentalist-modernist *dhāra* of contemporary Punjabi poetry is now propelling it towards radicalism. To understand this, the nature of the contemporary experience must be taken into account.

This experience, as first articulated by the outdated progressive movement, stemmed from the historic alliance of middle class individualism and the working class. It was forged by the historical processes of the period that were pitted against feudalism on the one hand and colonialism on the other. The growing urban industrial civilization also influenced this experience, introducing not only new themes and problems but also new images and symbols. These constitute the new means of expression in contemporary Punjabi literature.

The problem of alienation, brought to the fore by the growing urban-industrial civilization, is the main thematic obsession of contemporary Punjabi literature. This civilization is leading to the severance of man from nature, the individual from the society, and the subjective from the objective. This process (unless reversed) will inevitably result in the breakdown of traditional beliefs, values and faith.

The romantic tradition solved the contradictions of life by abstracting them from their class-context and romanticizing the same through the symbolism of love. On the other hand, in contemporary (modernistic) literature—and particularly in poetry—there is 'psychologization' of these contradictions in place of romanticization. For this reason, the first undulation of the New Wave was somewhat subjective in approach, but it soon took an objective turn. At this point the younger generation evolved a new critical-satirical mode of exposing the contradictions in the exploitative system and the establishment. This new mode, being symbolistic, was free of that rhetorical attitudinization which turned the cult of progressivism into propaganda. Now, growing out of the subjective and objective phases, the New Wave of Punjabi literature (initiated by the experimentalist movement) is heading towards a new synthesis in a form that may be termed 'radical modernity'.

This trend towards radicalization of the literary mode needs to be distinguished from the tendency to politicize it, as encouraged by the Naxalite sub-current. It is a sort of *regressive* impressionistic-romantic revolutionism which stands in sharp contrast to the forward-looking revolutionary romanticism of the romantic-progressive tradition. At its climax, the now exhausted progressivism had succeeded in investing such words as 'sickle', 'hammer', etc. with symbolic meanings. But words like 'sword', 'bullet', etc., repetitively used by the Naxalite writers—Pash, Lal Singh Dil, etc.,—have failed to rise above their prosaic verbal level despite the fact that these writers try to relate their credo of violence to the symbol of *Chaṇḍī* (Goddess Durga) as used by Guru Gobind Singh (who used it as a symbol of the righteous fight against evil and tyranny). That is why the Naxalite writings are nothing more than a momentary sub-current in the third phase of modern Punjabi literature.

Institutions and Societies

The credit for influencing the trend-setting course of literary activity goes to non-official literary organizations, though official and semi-official institutions (the State Languages Department, Punjabi University, Guru Nanak Dev University, etc.) have contributed a lot to Punjabi scholarship in general.

The renaissance, of which Bhai Vir Singh became the chief symbolic figure, was ideologically shaped to a very large extent by the Singh Sabha movement, whose first institutional unit was set up at Amritsar in 1873. The Amritsar Singh Sabha became the central body and came to be known as the Khalsa Diwan. The Singh Sabha Lahore was formed in 1877, followed by similar associations in almost all the major towns of the Punjab. The trend towards radicalization of the movement led to the formation in 1886 of the Lahore Khalsa Diwan, whose organized efforts succeeded in founding the Khalsa College, Amritsar, which developed into a prestigious centre of religious and literary activity. Not long afterwards, there came into existence the Chief Khalsa Diwan (1902), which sought the affiliation of all the Singh Sabhas. This central body, in contrast to the Lahore Khalsa Diwan, was somewhat conservative and continues to be pro-Establishment. It gradually began to confine its activities to the religio-educational field, leaving the Central Sikh League and the Shiromani Akali Dal to channelize the political aspects of the Sikh awakening.

One of the objectives of the Singh Sabha movement was the propagation of the Punjabi language. Owing to the communalization of politics in India, this led to the identification of Punjabi with the Sikh community to such an extent that non-Sikhs disowned their mothertongue—

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Punjabi—on an organized mass scale. This trend was countered to some extent by the progressive movement.

The institutionalization of literary activity starts with the progressive movement, which came to have an organizational form when the manifesto of the Progressive Writers' Association was signed by, among others, Munshi Prem Chand, Abdul Haq, Daya Narain Nigam and Abid Hussain and issued in February, 1936. Soon after the first All-India Progressive Writers' Conference was held at Lucknow on April 10, 1936, branches of the Progressive Writers' Association were set up in the Punjab at Lahore, Amritsar and Jullundur.

Though the Punjab branches of the PWA had a composite linguistic character before 1947, they were dominated by Urdu writers. It was only in the post-Partition period that the Association developed a Punjabi complexion, with the intellectual leadership devolving on Sant Singh Sekhon, who guided the progressive movement right down to the early sixties when it lost its *elan vital* as well as its *raison d'être*. In the fifties, some local literary organizations, such as the Rampura Likhari Sabha, the Barnala Likhari Sabha, etc. threw up a few poets who versified the credo of the international peace movement through folk-art motifs and symbols. These local associations and the remnants of the PWA were knit together by the Kendri Punjabi Lekhak Sabha (Central Association of Punjabi Writers) that came into existence in 1956. The new organization has since then been more concerned with the problems of the writers than with the problems of writing.

Among the academic institutions not concerned with trendy literature, the Punjabi Sahit Akademi, founded by Bhai Jodh Singh in 1954, stands out. Having made a substantial contribution to Punjabi studies, this organization now finds itself directionless—symbolizing the present-day situation in literary activity.

NOTES

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Sanskrit

E. R. SREEKRISHNA SARMA

In the case of Sanskrit literature, the term literary movement has to be understood in a special way as compared to the modern Indian languages. This is not to say that there have been no changes or innovations in the literary forms of composition or no interaction between the political and social happenings and the creative literature; but such changes and innovations cannot precisely be called 'movements'. Although the famous Renaissance theory of Max Mueller stands repudiated, it points to the birth of a new movement in Sanskrit literature, which caused the transfusion of the contents of the Puranic Epics into the so-called Court Epics or *Mahākāvyas* and the development of that form of literature with some distinctive features like having a single sentiment permeating the entire poem and description of nature in exhaustive details. This development may be termed, very loosely, a movement of *Mahākāvya* literature.

Early Literary Assemblies

From the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, *Kāmaśāstra* of Vātsyāyana and the early works like the *Kuṭṭanīmata* of Damodara Gupta we gather the information that literary associations were prevalent in the country, especially in great cities like Ujjaini and Pataliputra and meetings of these associations were regularly held in different venues according to prearrangements. At such meetings the elderly poets mingled with the younger ones and the participants presented their compositions for discussion among the members assembled. *Gaṇikās*, the highly educated and cultured ladies of the upper strata of society, also took part in these assemblies. They also sometimes entertained the members with music and dance. Light drinks and snacks were also served to the participants at these meetings. These assemblies were called 'Kavigoṣṭhis' and we have a number of references to them in the earlier *Alaṅkāra* works too. Some of the views on the theory and method of appreciation of poetry, not recorded in any independent work, are found referred to in the early *Alaṅkāra* works; and it is to be believed that those views were formulated in the 'Kavigoṣṭhis' mentioned above. It is also very well known that kings and zamindars used to have their own assemblies of poets and literary men who at regular intervals discussed the merits and demerits of a particular class or pattern of literary compositions and arrived at some consensus. All these activities can be viewed as literary movements in Sanskrit literature.

Social Implications of Campūs and Dūta Kāvyās

The exact source of the *Campū-Kāvyās* has not yet been determined, although we have definite mention of this type in the 6th century by Dandin. The *Campū* form of composition has been very popular through the centuries and it has its own charm and dignity due to the admixture of prose and poetry in good proportion, the prose in the *Campū* itself exhibiting some features of poetry. Not only the mythological stories but even the eulogies of kings and rulers and the centres of pilgrimage have formed the content of the *Campūs*. The form has been extensively used by the Cākyārs, the professional actors of Kerala, and the famous Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa has written many *Campūs* called *Prabandhas* for the purpose of being used by the Chakyars. The attraction of the most popular type *Harikathā* is due to its proportionate usage of prose for narration of the story mixed with verses and songs.

The *Meghasandeśa* from the gifted pen of Kalidasa became the leader of the literary movement known as *Sandeśakāvyās* or *Dūtakāvyās*. There are hundreds of *Sandeśakāvyās* in Sanskrit and almost all of them follow a certain kind of form as a rule. The theme is invariably love-in-separation. The lover sends a message to his beloved through an animate or inanimate object of his choice. The description of the journey of the messenger from the place of the lover to that of the beloved is used for displaying the geographical and topographical knowledge of the poet of the region concerned. The message is always short, but full of sentiments and tender feelings. The metre used for this type of poem is *Mandākrāntā*, which has four lines, each consisting of 17 syllables. The appropriateness of the meter for conveying the sentiment has been discussed by many critics, sometimes advancing very fanciful explanations. Although we have many examples for this type, none of them has captured the real spirit of their source, the immortal *Meghasandeśa* of Kalidasa.

Regional Influences

Introducing the words and idioms of the vernaculars into the Sanskrit language was started not only by the religious Buddhists and Jains to propagate their *dharma* but also by the literary men of Sanskrit. From the linguistic point of view this innovation may add to the force in the expression of a particular situation by giving a sudden jerk to the monotonous flow of a chaste, grammatical Sanskrit and give rise

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to a piquant situation. This practice was known to Kalhana, who in his famous work *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, introduced a number of words from Kashmiri language and certain idioms from the native expressions. Kshemendra has often used native words and expressions in his Sanskrit works and this act has added a quality to his satirical writings bringing in some sort of pungency which cannot be conveyed by using pure Sanskrit. Anandavardhana, the great poet of Kashmir of the 9th century, exemplified this by using words which could be interpreted differently in Sanskrit and in the vernacular or in two vernaculars in order to give rise to an agreeable suggested meaning to heighten the beauty of poetry. In a particular instance he has taken the expression *maha maha* which can be interpreted as *mama mama* as well as *madhumathana*. By this device the piece of poetry in question suggests the figure of speech called *virodha* (apparent inconsistency) which renders the poem more charming. This practice has been adopted and continued by many poets and there are specimens of poems which would yield six different meanings by assuming at each time that it is written in a particular Prakrit language.

Religious and Social Influences

Religious and social movements certainly had their impact on Sanskrit literature and the literature produced due to that impact has, in its turn, contributed to the propagation of those movements. Thus one could see that there was an interaction between the extra-literary movements and the literary works produced in Sanskrit.

We know that Saivism and Vaishnavism are the two faiths that have existed since the beginnings of our civilization and there have been adherents to these faiths till today. It is only natural that literary creativity was directed towards the production of necessary literature to propagate these faiths and to hold either of them as superior to the other. The puranas in Sanskrit are broadly classified as Saiva and Vaishnava although each of these categories has got its satellite puranas eulogizing the activities and greatness of the chosen individual deities. A careful study of these puranas, with the limited information about their relative chronology in mind, will show how they were vying with each other in propagating their own tenets and doctrines. We can therefore definitely say that many of the puranas are the products of religious movements holding different faiths.

When we come to Buddhism we see that the movement of Buddha's new religion has created exquisite literary works. The works of the great Ashvaghosha and Buddhaghosha are aimed at propagating Buddhism although they are pieces of refined poetry endowed with grace and charm. The later Sanskrit literary works written with the aim of propagating Buddhism have introduced not only all the techniques of literary forms available, but also new expressions from the popular vernaculars.

With regard to Jainism also the above observation holds good. The Jains have done much to enrich Sanskrit literature. Their aim has been propagation of the tenets of the Jaina faith. *Mahākāvyas*, *Khaṇḍakāvyas*, stage-plays, *Sandeśas*, *Campūs*, and in fact, all the existing forms of literature have been made use of by the Jain writers to propagate and uphold the greatness of their faith. Somesvara, Udayaprabhasuri, Narachandrasuri and Jayasimhasuri have enriched Sanskrit literature with their political compositions aimed at propagating the Jaina *dharma*.

The Philosophical Impact

When Sankaracharya rose to fame and his interpretation of the Upanishadic passages pointing to Advaita gathered followers, many literary works based directly on his life and teachings were produced. The many *Śaṅkaravijayas* which give the biography of the Advaita teacher are nice pieces of literary works although their historical authenticity may be doubted. The famous allegorical drama *Prabodhacandrodaya* by Krishnamisra aims at upholding the greatness of the Advaita tenets. Subsequent religious movements in Vedanta are also responsible for enriching Sanskrit literature with exquisite literary compositions. The *Yādavābhyudaya*, a *Mahākāvya*, and numerous other devotional poems of Veṅkaṭanātha Vedānta Deśika can be cited as examples. Vedanta Desika's *Saṅkalpasūryodaya*, an allegorical drama cast in the mould of *Prabodhacandrodaya*, propagates Viśiṣṭādvaita tenets as superior to the advaitic doctrines propagated in Krishnamisra's work. The *Hamsasandeśa* of Venkatanatha deviates from the original pattern of the *Sandeśakāvyas* and aims at suggesting spiritual meanings, while his *Subhāṣitanīvī* (A Collection of Wise Sayings) is intended to inculcate good religious and social conduct acceptable to Vaishnavism. Saumyajāmātṛmuni alias Maṇavāla Mahāmuni, Śaṭhagopācārya and Kūranārāyaṇa have enriched Sanskrit literature by writing poems and dramas with the main aim of eulogizing the teachers of the Vishishtadvaita and propagating the tenets of their faith.

The Dvaita movement with its leader Ānanda Tīrtha has made its impact on subsequent literary works. Although the followers of Madhva are generally considered the greatest Naiyāyikas, the quality and quantity of their literary output are in no way inferior to those of others. They are all either in the form of biographies of Madhvacharya and his followers like the saint Raghavendra or in the form of literary compositions based on puranic themes but aiming at the propagation of Madhva tenets. Raghavendratirtha's *Rāmakṛṣṇacaritamañjarī*, Raghunatha's *Vādirājavṛttaratnasamgraha* (A Collection of the Shining Deeds of Vadiraja), Sankarasana's *Satyanāthābhyudaya* and Setumādhava's

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Viśvapriyaguṇalīlāvilāsa (The Charm of the Sports and Qualities of Visvapriya) are worth mentioning in this context.

Devotional Songs

The movement of Vaishnavism in the North with prominence being given to songs, *bhajans* and dances gave birth to a form of literature consisting of songs and verses, with the theme of love and devotion to God blended together, which could be sung and enacted on a stage. Jayadeva of the 12th century was the pioneer in introducing such a literary form. His *Gītagovinda* or *Aṣṭapadī* has been popular all over the country till this day and he had a number of followers and imitators. Bhanudatta composed his *Gītagaurīpati* making Siva and Parvati the hero and heroine of his composition, whereas Kalyāṇa, Rājasekhara and Chandrasekharasarasvati have each written separate works which go under the name *Gītagaṅgādhara*. The God Ganapati was also put into this type of composition by Krishnadatha (18th century) in his *Gītagaṇapati*. Rama has been made the hero of *Gītarāghava* written separately by Hariśaṅkara, Prabhākara and Rāmakavi. Anantanarayana's *Gītaśaṅkara* and Sadāśivadīkṣita's *Gītasundara* may also be mentioned here. King Purushothama of the 15th century wrote an *Abhinavagītagovinda*. The *Gītadigambara* of Vamśamaṇi (17th century) composed on the occasion of the *Tulāpuruṣadāna* in Khatmandu for entertaining the scholars and princes makes interesting reading.

The Chaitanya Cult

The Chaitanya movement in Bengal had many followers and the neo-Vaishnavism of this cult was responsible for several literary works in Sanskrit. Gauranga (15th century), the founder of this cult, himself has written poems propagating devotion to Srikrishna. They include the *Gopālacaritam*, *Premāmṛtam*, *Saṅkṣepabhāgavatāmṛtam*, *Harināmacaritam* and *Dānakelicintāmaṇi*. Rupagosvamin was an ardent follower of the Chaitanya cult and his poetic instinct, saturated with *bhakti*, manifested itself in several forms of literary composition. The *Vidagdhamādhava* and *Lalitamādhava* are his two dramas, each in seven acts, where *madhurabhakti* forms the main sentiment. He has written even a Bhana type of drama where Krishna is the hero. His *Hamsadūta* and *Uddhavasandeśa* are modelled on the *Meghasandeśa*, but for the purpose of propagating *Krishnabhakti*. Rupagosvami's brother Jivagosvami has, in his zeal to propagate the Chaitanya cult, enriched Sanskrit literature with several works like the *Gopālacampū* (unpublished), *Mādhavamahotsava* (unpublished), *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* (composed in 1542), *Govindabirudāvalī* (Rayamata Series 84) etc. The *Caitanyacandrodaya* (1917), a drama depicting the life of Gaurāṅga written by Kavikarṇapūra, is a piece of literature of good taste. When Vallabha started his new theological interpretation of Vedanta giving prominence to *Krishnabhakti*, his life and teachings were dealt with by poets of a high order. The *Vallabhākhyānaka* by Gopaladasa and *Vallabhadigvijaya* by Babu Sitarama Sastri together make a biography of the great religious teacher. Vitthala, Giridhar, Raghunatha and Ramachandra wrote works like the *Kṛṣṇapremāmṛta*, *Yamunāṣṭapadī*, *Kṛṣṇakutūhala* and *Rasikarañjana* propagating the Vallabha cult.

Anyāpadeśa or *anyokti* consists in making a statement which is apparently irrelevant but becomes quite relevant when connected to the intended meaning referring to the context on hand. This has been there in common parlance and can be found also in the most ancient Vedic literature. Poets have named this *aprastutapraśamśa* (mention of the non-contextual to suggest the contextual) and included it in the class of figures of speech. This form has been introduced into literature by many poets writing sometimes 100 verses and sometimes less, to suggest a didactic point which is quite relevant, by mentioning a similar point which is apparently irrelevant. Poets belonging to all fields have attempted this class of literature. The *Anyokti mālā* of Accān Dīkṣita and also of Lakshminarasimha, *Anyoktiśataka* by (1) Somanātha, (2) Bhaṭṭavīra, and (3) Darśanavijayagaṇi, and *Anyāpadeśaśataka* by Ghanaśyāma, Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, etc. belong to this class.

The name *laharī* was introduced to signify a certain variety of *stotrās*. The name most probably suggests the *tantric* influence as the literal meaning of the word is 'intoxication'. The famous *Śivānandalaharī* and *Saundaryalaharī* ascribed to Sankaracharya are followed by the *Karuṇālaharī*, *Gaṅgālaharī*, etc., by well known poets like Jagannāthapaṇḍita. Similarly naming the *stotras* with the appellation *karṇāmṛta* (nectar to the ear) has gained some popularity. The famous *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* of Līlāśuka was followed by *Rāmakarṇāmṛta* of Prathapasimha as well as Ramabhadradiksitha, *Śivakarṇāmṛta* by Appaya Diksita, recently *Rāmakṛṣṇakarṇāmṛtam* by Ottur Unni Nambudiripad, and so on.

The National Movement

The National Movement which started even before the advent of the present century has had its impact on writing in Sanskrit, as can only be expected. We have already discussed in detail the poems and other literary forms employed to help the National Movement achieve momentum. Many writers poured their hearts out in the form of *kāvyās* and dramas with a view to enkindling the necessary patriotism and nationalism in the minds of the people. The popular national song 'Vande Mātaram' is itself a product of the National Movement. The *Bhāratīmanoratha* is a reflective poem in 90 verses, where the author M. K.

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Tatacharya (Madras) falls into a reverie on the beach and calls up visions of the India torn by false ideologies and the India of integrated cultural harmony. Chittigudur Varadacharya from Andhra draws the contrast between the past glory and present gloom of India and relieves it by a dream in which the reassuring future of India is vouched for by Gandhi. Some very eminent scholars have written poems condemning the British rule, not openly for fear of being prosecuted, but by cashing in on the flexibility and forcefulness of the Sanskrit language to yield a concealed meaning. One of the best specimens of this is the *Sāttvikasvapnam* by Shambhu Sharma who was a scholar of eminence in Nyāya, but unfortunately passed away at the age of 32 when he was holding the post of the Principal of the Sanskrit College at Pattambi, Kerala with dignity and appreciation from all around. This short poem was published around 1930 and the well-known Sanskrit scholar Panditaraja Punnasseri Nampi Nilakantha Sarma wrote a commentary on it apparently to gloss over the concealed meaning which was repugnant to the Government and administrative authorities. The life and activities of the brave and great national leader Subhash Chandra Bose, who believed in obtaining independence by using force with the help of foreign governments, were the subject of poems written in Sanskrit.

We have already noted in the previous articles on 'Modern Poetry' and on 'Biographical Writings', the biographical works on the social and religious reformers like Raja Rammohan Roy, the founder of the Brahma Samaj, Dayananda Sarasvati, the founder of Arya Samaj, Ramakrishna Paramahamsa and Vivekananda, the fountainhead of Ramakrishna Mission and the institutions attached to it. Literary works dealing with their teachings and the principles of their reforms also have appeared in Sanskrit. We have also noticed that the life and teachings of Ramana Maharshi and Aurobindo have also inspired the production of literary works in Sanskrit. All this clearly shows how the social and religious movements fostered literature.

The Periodicals

As a category of literary movement, we may also lastly add a paragraph on the periodicals and journals that have appeared in Sanskrit from the beginning of this century and which have been the vehicle for communicating the new literary activities in Sanskrit from one end to the other of our country. The *Samskṛtacandrikā* and *Sūnṛtavādin*, with which Appa Sastri was connected, were famous in their times. The *Mitragoṣṭhī* and *Sūryodaya* of Benares and *Sahṛdaya* of Madras were some important journals, wherein many creative writings in prose and poetry have appeared. The Arya Samajists had their journals *Āryasiddhānta*, which was bilingual containing articles in Sanskrit and Hindi. The *Śrutaprakāśikā* established in 1886, and edited by Gaura Govindaraja, published articles in Sanskrit and Bengali. Anglo-Sanskrit journals also came into being and the *Lokānandadīpikā* from Madras (1887) and *Samskṛtabhāratī* from Burdwan (1918) may be cited as examples. The *Samskṛtasāhityapariṣatpatrikā* commenced in 1918 and *Mañjūṣā* edited by Kshitish Chandra Chatterji have had an unbroken history. The *Udyāna-patrikā*, a monthly edited by D. T. Tatacharya from Tiruvaiyaru, was an important forum for creative writers in Sanskrit. The Sarasvati Bhavan, Benares, has been recently bringing out the journal called *Sarasvatīsuṣamā* and V. V. R. Institute at Hoshiarpur the half-yearly *Viśvasamskṛtam*. The *Amṛtavāṇī* of Bangalore, the *Vallarī* of Benares, *Samskṛtasamjīvana* of the Bihar Sanskrit Academy, *Samskṛtasāketa* and *Samskṛtam* of Ayodhya are publishing not only literary pieces but also political comments. The *Samskṛtabhavitavyam* started by Warnekar in 1951 as the mouthpiece of Samskṛtabhāṣāpracāriṇīsabhā of Nagpur is continuing as a weekly. The *Samskṛtapratibhā* (est. 1960) started under the auspices of the Sahitya Akademi and edited by V. Raghavan, for nearly two decades has been an effective forum for the literary activities in Sanskrit after Independence.

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Sindhi

M. K. JETLEY

Early Period (1050–1520)

After the decline of Arab rule in Sind in A.D. 1050, the local language grew rapidly owing to the patronage of native Sumra (Sūmrā) rulers and by the end of the century, it clearly identified itself as Sindhi, one of the new Indo-Aryan languages. This period terminates in 1520, the year when the rule of indigenous Samma (Sammā) rulers came to an end.

Legends of Valour and Romance. Sindhi literature during the rule of indigenous Sumra (1050–1350) and Samma (1350–1520) kings mainly consisted of legends narrating the valour and romance of these kings. The famous legend of *Dodō-Canesar* delineates a quarrel between two brothers over the throne after the death of their father, King Bhungar of the Sumra dynasty. It depicts beautifully the valour of Dodo and his companions in battle against their enemies. When Abro, a brave Sardar of Dodo, fought—

> The sun's light was obscured, darkness fell around. Abro fought so hard as if the sea was engulfing the shallows. (tr.) (Ajwani, L. H., *History of Sindhi Literature*, p. 28)

The tale of Moriṛo portrays the wisdom and prowess of a lame fisher Moriṛo in killing a crocodile which had swallowed his six brothers. The legend of King D'yāc depicts the bravery and generosity of the king who kept his word by cutting off his own head at the instance of bard B'ijal. There are a good number of legends which delineate the prowess and liberality of Samma kings like J'ām Lākho, J'ām Jakhiro, Vikyo D'ātāru, J'ām Abiro and Baḍāmāṇī Punaro.

Tales of Sasuī-Punhū, Umaru-Māruī, Mūmala-Rāṇo, Līlā-Canesar, Nūrī-J'ām Tamācī and Suhiṇī-Mehār are famous tales of immortal love which have appealed alike to the minds of the educated people and the illiterate masses. These tales have always remained the main source of inspiration for medieval Sufi saint-poets of Sind and Sindhi writers of modern period.

Other Minor Trends. Though the themes of valour and romance form the main trend of early Sindhi literature, there are also some devotional and didactic minor thought-currents in this period. In the 14th and 15th centuries, Pir Sadar-al-din (Sadr-al-dīn, 1300–1416) and Pir Hasan Kabir-al-din (Hasan Kabīr-al-dīn, 1341–1449), the preceptors of Ismaili faith of Muslims, propagated the principles of their sect in the form of verses called *Gināna* by their followers. These verses often show flashes of poetic beauty.

There are also some religious legends which became popular during this period. The legend of Uḍ'erolāl is a solitary example pertaining to Hindu religion. Uḍ'erolāl or Amarlāl, also called Lāl Sāīn or Jhūle Lāl was born at Nasarpur (Sind) in A.D. 950. He saved the o ppressed Hindus from the tyranny of a petty Muslim chief Mirkh Shah of Thatta. Uderolal is worshipped by Hindus as an incarnation of Varuṇa, the God of Waters. Verses composed in praise of Uderolal are called *Pañjirā*, i.e. five-lined verses.

Middle Period (1520–1843)
(The Period of Devotional Poetry)

The middle period of Sindhi literature begins with the rule of Arghuns who defeated the last king of the Samma dynasty in 1520 and terminates with the conquest of Sindh by the British in 1843. During this period five dynasties ruled Sindh, namely, Arghun (1520–54), Tarkhan (1554–92), Mughal (1592–1700), Kalhora (1700–83) and Talpur or Mir (1783–1843). From the literary point of view, the beginning of this period is clearly demarcated by the poetry of Qazi Qadan (Qazī Qādan, ? –1551), the first great Sufi poet of Sindh, who initiated new trends in Sindhi poetry. The middle period comes to an end when, after the advent of British rule in Sindh, the Sindhi literature shows development in different directions especially under the influence of the West.

Sufi Mysticism. The medieval Sindhi literature mainly consists of devotional Sindhi poetry influenced by Sufism and Vedanta philosophy. Some saint-poets like Rohal (Roḫal, 1734–1804), Murād (1743–96) and Daryākhan (? –1891) have occasionally sung in devotion to Lord Krishna, perhaps under the influence of devout poets like Surdas and Mira Bai. No doubt, the main trend in Sindhi poetry of this period is Sufi mysticism. The Saguṇa Bhakti movement based on Rama or Krishna which was predominant in most of the North Indian literatures during the 14th and 15th centuries did not develop in Sindhi literature at that time, probably due to the isolated physical position of Sind and the greater influence of Islamic 'mysticism of Sufi saints in that region.

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Sufism as developed in medieval Sindhi poetry is not an esoteric interpretation of Islamic doctrines in the Holy Quran. It is a synthesis of Islamic mysticism on one hand and Indian philosophy of *Advaita Vedanta*, *Bhakti* and *Yoga* on the other. The regions of Sind and Multan are the fountainheads of Indian Sufism, from where it spread to other parts of India.

The first Sufi poet whose poetry has been obtained in written records belonging to the earlier part of the 17th century and who greatly influenced later Sindhi poets is Qazi Qadan. The main characteristic of the poetry of Qazi Qadan is a synthesis of Islamic mysticism and Indian philosophy. Qazi Qadan's poetry became the ideal for many later saint poets of Sindhi in this period.

After Qazi Qadan, a good number of Sufi saints enriched Sindhi poetry among whom Shah Abdul Karim (Shāh Abdul Karim, 1537–1622), Shah Inat (Shāh 'Ināt, 1625–1713), Shah Abdul Latif (Shāh 'Abdul Latīf, 1689–1752), Sachal Sarmast (Sacal Sarmast, 1739–1829) and Rohal were major Sufi poets of the medieval period.

Among the saint-poets of the *Nirguṇa Bhakti* school, only three poets have come to light during this period, namely, Swami Prananath (Svāmī Prāṇanāth, 1618–94), Chainrai 'Sami' (Cainrāi Sāmī, 1743–1850) and Dalpat (1769–1841). Among them, Sami is more popular in Sindhi. He has about four thousand slokas to his credit. These are well-known as *Sāmīa jā S'loka* (ślokas of Sami). The aim of these stanzas, as expressed by the poet himself, is to explain again the *Vedanta* philosophy in simple Sindhi. The verses of Sami, produced in a mood of ecstasy, often show poetic beauty and grandeur.

There are certain other devout Muslim poets during this period who have sung songs called *Maulūda* (poems celebrating Prophet Muhammad's birth), *Munājātū* (poems on supplication of God), *Madāhū* (poems in praise of the Prophet), *Mu'ajzā* (poems referring to the Prophet's miracles), *Manāqibā* (poems in praise of the Prophets and saints based upon some incidents from their life), and *Marsiyā* (Elegy on the martyrdom of Husain, son of Ali). In these songs, the poet mainly expresses his devotion to Hazrat Muhammad and others related to him. The poet also expresses here his utter helplessness and weakness as a human being in order to have the mercy of Allah. Makhdum Abdulrauf Bhaṭi (1682–1752) is very popular for his *Maulūda* and *Madāhū*, and Sayyed Sabit Ali Shah (Sayyed Sābit 'Ali Shāh, 1740–1810) is famous for his *Marsiyā*.

On the one hand we find the wind of Islamic mysticism or Sufistic thought blowing in the land and on the other hand we hear echoes of Vedantic philosophy in the poetry of the day. Muslim poets freely referred to Hindu yogis with whom they must have actually come into contact. In fact the word *Jogi* (Jogī or Yogi) in Sindhi poetry refers to the spiritual guide or guru. During this period Sufistic and Vedantic thought flourished side by side. The poets brought about a synthesis of the two different cultures which had immense impact on the life of Sindhis.

The Modern Period (1843–)

The literary movements in Sindhi during the present period can conveniently be delineated in three stages.

The First Stage (1843–1914). After the standardization of Perso-Arabic script for Sindhi in 1853, besides producing the academic literature in Sindhi, the government as well as private publishers began to collect and print Sindhi legends, folk-tales and ballads preserved mostly through oral tradition. Private publishers like Pokardas and Harisingh started the publication of books in the field of drama and fiction, most of which were translations from English, Sanskrit, Persian, Hindi, Urdu, Gujarati and Bengali.

The socio-cultural and national awakening in the country after the failure of the struggle for Independence in 1857 had a great impact on the population of Sind also. As a result, a good number of Sindhi periodicals and magazines came into existence. They became a powerful vehicle for writers and thinkers to give vent to their emotions and ideas. *Sindh Sudhar* (1866), *Saraswati* (1890), *Prabhat* (1891) and *Joti* (1896) are some of the popular literary magazines in Sindhi belonging to this period.

Nationalism (1914–47). The second stage of the modern Sindhi literature coincides roughly with the period between the two world wars. This period was of great unrest in the country with clashes and agitations throughout India against the British Government, the movements of Swadeshi, Swaraj and Quit India, Hindu-Muslim riots and the partition of India. These incidents and the Gandhian philosophy of non-violence, truth and fight against injustice generally influenced all modern Indian literatures including Sindhi. Sindhi prose as well as poetry echoed with notes of nationalism, Hindu-Muslim unity, removal of untouchability and other social evils, sympathy with the poor and the downtrodden, and love for Indian traditions. The depth in psychological treatment of characters, inclination towards realism, greater command over language and style are notable features of Sindhi literature in this period. Many publishers started monthlies of novels and short stories in which, besides original writings, works from other Indian literatures as well as from European literatures were translated and published in Sindhi.

Around 1942, the influence of Marxist philosophy became evident in Sindhi literature. A team of younger progressive writers came into the field. They began to propagate the socialist ideology through their writings in prose as well as poetry.

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Post-Independence Period. The Independence of the country in 1947 brought the tragedy of Partition also with it, in which the Sindhi community suffered more than others.

The progressive movement in Sindhi literature which had started around 1942 drew momentum from the new situation of Sindhis in India. Pangs of Partition, recollections of Sind, miserable conditions of displaced Sindhis in settlement camps, socio-economic disparities, struggle for existence in new environments, corruption and nepotism of bureaucracy, and several other stark realities of life supplied raw material to progressive Sindhi writers both in prose as well as in poetry. The progressive movement remained very forceful for about a decade after Partition. Gobind Malhi, Uttam and Kirat Babani led this movement in literature. They were followed by a good number of younger writers.

Some Sindhi writers, considering the progressive movement in literature as merely propagandist, have turned to what may be called Neo-realism. The protagonists of this movement have portrayed the miseries and the stark realities of human life, sex-hunger and man's revolt against various traditional values by often probing into the psychological and emotional intricacies of the human mind. This movement has been followed by another literary trend known as 'Modernity', in the field of Sindhi Poetry, fiction and drama. It is represented by a few Sindhi writers and shows the clear impact of western literature.

Literary Societies and Publishing Houses

Sindhi Sāhit Society, established in 1914, played a significant role in publication of Sindhi literature for 15 years or so. Similarly Naīn Sindhi Library and Sasto Umdo Sāhit Mālā, which were started in 1922, published about one hundred books, original and in translation. Soon publishing concerns like Sunder Sāhit (1924 onwards), Muslim Adabi Society (started in 1931), Ratan Sāhit Mandal (1934 onwards), Kahāṇī (1939), Bhārat Jīvan (1940), Asha Sāhit Mandal (1941), Naīn Duniya (from 1942), Baghi Zindagi (1947) and Ag'te Qadam brought out collections of short stories or a novel every month. Through these publishing houses, translations from Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Marathi and Urdu writers were published, enriching Sindhi literature in the field of novel writing as well as in short story. After the Partition of India these traditions have been carried on mainly by Koonj Publications, Bhārat Jīvan and Naīn Duniya by bringing out original novels as well as collections of short stories.

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Tamil

S. V. SUBRAMANIAN

Tamil language, with a hoary tradition, has had movements both internal and external, fostering literature even before the beginning of the Christian era. What is relevant here is to survey the external movements and institutions which have contributed to the growth of Tamil language and its literature, particularly in the social, religious and political areas.

Sangham: Association of Poets

The absence of social and political histories of the Tamil people in the early centuries has made it difficult for us to learn of any early movements. The Kalabhra interregnum in Madurai, between A.D. 250 and 550, completely obliterated all evidence of earlier academies as well as well-

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developed cultural and literary Tamil institutions and traditions, as pointed out by M. Arunachalam (see his *Introduction to the History of Tamil Literature*, p. 18). The available records, like the commentary of *Iṟaiyanār Akapporuḷ*, have many fictional elements in them, which make us hesitate to accept their sentiments fully. But from Sangham anthologies and the connected information in these records, it can be seen that Sangham literature itself was the outcome of a strong literary movement. 'Sangham' means an assembly (of men of letters). This assembly encouraged the creation of literary works and collected poems which are broadly divided into two categories, *Akam* and *Puṟam* (meaning 'romantic poetry' and 'heroic poetry' respectively). *Eṭṭuthokai* and *Pattuppāṭṭu* are anthologies of poems collected under these categories. Though we have no clear idea about the inception and growth of this movement, the compilation of the poems may be considered as marking the close of this period.

Just like the Tamils of this early age, the Jain monks also formed academies. But their aim seems to have been only to propagate religion and religious education.

Ethical treatises, necessitated by crucial changes in society, were written by the end of this period. Here too, the want of historical material obstructs an insight into the causes. It is said that the rule of the Tamil kings was overthrown by the invading Kalabhras and this disturbed the peaceful life of the people. There was confusion and chaos in all areas of human activity. At such a time it was impossible to sing of love and idealism and so the poets became more practical and wrote of the needs of the people. Vajranandi's Dramila Sangham, referred to by S. Vaiyapurippillai as an academy for the propagation of Tamil in A.D. 470, came into being against this background.

A. Velu Pillai considers the Jain and the Buddha movements the causes for the composing of didactic works in Sanskrit and at a parallel period, in Tamil also. Many of the Tamil didactic works in the later anthology *Kīḻkkaṇakku* (Short Poems, A.D. 2 to 7) like *Nālaḍi* (Quatrains, 7th century), *Paḷamoḷi* (Proverbs, 7th century), *Ciṟu Pañcamūlam* (Five Herbs, 6th century) and *Ēlāḍi* (Cardamom etc., 6th century), were written by Jains. The same trend was followed by others and they composed *Nānmaṇikkaṭigai* (Necklace of Four Beads, 4th century), *Mudumoḷik Kāñci* (Wise Instructions, 4th century), *Tirikaḍukam* (Three Medicinal Items, 4th century), *Iniya Nāṟpatu* (Pleasant Forty, 5th century) and *Innā Nāṟpatu* (Painful Forty, 5th century) in the same pattern.

Bhakti Movement

The Bhakti Movement is the most important one in the literary history of the Tamils. It originated among the native religions of the South in protest against the dominance of Jainism and Buddhism. It was a parallel movement on the part of both Saivites and Vaishnavites. Thus there was an unprecedented revival of these two religions as a result of which Tamil literature also enjoyed a luxurious growth. *Tēvāram* (Songs on Deity, 5th-8th century) and *Divviyap-Pirabandham* (Divine Composition, 6th-9th century) are the achievements of this movement. It was also a social movement in that the saints did not give importance to class and caste. Among the devotees of Saivism and Vaishnavism were Brahmins as well as people of other communities, including the lowest. Not only the common folk but also kings and monarchs were attracted by the movement and took an active part in it by patronizing it.

The saints, Appar, Sambandhar and Sundarar went to different places and temples and popularized the Saivite religion. The compilation of the sacred songs (*Tirumuṟai*) by Nambiyandar Nambi during the reign of King Rajaraja Chola was the fruitful culmination of the movement, which was the longest, lasting for over six centuries (7th to 12th) and spanning three dynasties, the Pallavas, the Pandyas and the Cholas.

The Bhakti Movement, attracting people of every type, became a popular movement. Construction of temples promoted architecture, organizing festivals and rituals encouraged art and culture. Music, dance and other fine arts which had receded to the background in the previous period now revived spontaneously and flourished.

The epic *Periyapurāṇam* by Sekkilar was written, according to legends, with the avowed purpose of diverting the interest of the king from the Jain epic *Jīvakacintāmaṇi* and attracting him to the Saiva *Purāṇam*. The Bhakti Movement is, thus, revealed as having also indulged in anti-Jain propaganda.

The Siddhar

Another important movement to be noted is the Siddha movement. The Siddhar were enlightened sages who worked to reform society. M. Arunachalam observes (op. cit., p. 264). 'The Siddhar are a group of mystics who revolt against caste and rituals and the established order of religion. They are no doubt *bhaktas* but this *bhakti* is of a different type. They are very critical of the practice of religion but always hold fast to the one supreme God and pray for His Grace. Their revolt is only in the manner of their criticism and the challenge they throw to orthodoxy. They are generally against idol worship and they emphasize the worship of God in the heart.'

The Siddha movement may be considered an offshoot of the bhakti age working against pure ritualism. The revival of Saivism etc. could have later deteriorated into a cult of mere ritualism to which people would have been more attracted by superstition, ritual and custom. The Siddhar rose to speak of godliness without rituals and religion without superstition. They revolutionized the beliefs

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in the salvation of the soul and the redemption of the body. Yoga, physical strength and spiritual attainments were emphasized in their songs. Medicine and alchemy were also experimented with and studied by the Siddhars. Their aim to achieve eternal deathless life sent them hunting for the *Kāyakalpam* (the elixir of life) which was necessary to conquer death. Siddhi, or the acquisition of knowledge, gave them the name 'Siddhar'.

Siddha literature comes in a folk-song structure, but in many places the content is too cumbersome for easy understanding. They have enriched Tamil literature by their genuine poetry and also the field of medicine by their books on medicine and medical treatment. We see the influence of the Siddhar in later poets like Ṭayumanavar, Ramalinga Swami and Bharati.

Ramalinga Swami, who lived in the middle of the 19th century, was a poet with a social commitment. He was a revolutionary thinker and reformer. Universal love, compassion, equality of man and immortality of life were the aims and subjects of his poems. He called his path 'the pure spiritual path of universal harmony (*Suddha Samarasa Sanmārgam*)'. In 1865, he started a society to spread his message of 'Jīva Kāruṇyam' (compassion to all life). The objectives of the Suddha Sanmarga Sangham were to abstain from killing animals and eating meat; to abolish religious sacrifices and superstitious beliefs; and to eradicate caste, communal and other artificial social differences with a view to developing universal compassion and love for all life, thereby bringing about unity of mankind. The sacred utterances of Ramalingar are a worthy addition to Tamil poetic literature.

Mutts

The religious movements resulted in the founding of many monasteries in the land of the Tamils. These *mutts*, intended for the propagation of religion and religious teachings, also encouraged the publication of philosophical treatises and commentaries on religious literature as well as secular literature, including treatises on grammar.

The monasteries of the Pallava period promoted religious education and taught a virtuous way of life. In the period of the Cholas there was a prodigious growth of *mutts* of which many were patronized by kings. Various sects of Saivites established their own *mutts*. Thus, by the beginning of the 13th century, many Tamil Saiva *mutts* came into being. We learn of Thiru Jnanasambandhar, Tirumatham of Sattimurram, Malikaimatham of Tiruvidai Marudur, Andar Embiranar Tirumatham of Tiruvanaikka and Acharamalakiyan Tirumatham of Tiruvarur through epigraphic records. From the Saiva Siddhanta works also we learn of monasteries in Tirutturaiyur and other places. The followers of saints like Meykandar, Umpathi Sivachariyar and others established *mutts* in many places.

Enlightened disciples and seers founded monasteries which were centres of religious study and practice in places like Tiruvavaduturai, Dharmapuram, Kanchipuram and Suryanarkoil. These were responsible for the production of a large volume of sectarian literature between the 16th and 19th centuries. Different types of writings, namely, philosophical and religious treatises, commentaries, purāṇas and devotional hymns besides secular writing and grammatical treatises were produced by these *mutts*.

Thiruvavaduturai *mutt* is considered to be the oldest one that cultivated Tamil learning, particularly Tamil philosophy and religion. Such disciples of this mutt as Swaminatha Desikar (Svāminātha Dēśikar) and Sivajnana Swami (Sivajñāna Svāmi) have done much to foster both religion and language. Swaminatha Desikar wrote the grammatical treatise *Ilakkaṇak Kottu* (17th century) and religious works like *Daśakāriyam* (Ten Points, 17th century) and *Tiruccentil Kalambakam* (Garland on Chentil, 17th century). Sivajnana Munivar wrote masterly treatises on grammar, logic, religion and philosophy. His two commentaries on *Sivajñāna Bōdham* (Knowledge of Divine Wisdom, 1238), elevate him as the greatest religious commentator.

Ambalavana Desikar (19th century), one of the head *purohits* of this *mutt*, wrote a number of poetic tracts. Fourteen selected works of the heads of this monastery were collected and published as the *Paṇḍāra Śāstras* (Treasury of Religious Thoughts). Minakshi Sundaram Pillai, the guru of Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Aiyar, was patronized by this *mutt*. A large volume of his writings was published by Dr. Aiyar.

The Dharmapuram *mutt* was founded by Gurujnanasambandhar. Kumaraguruparar (Kumaraguruparar, 17th century) of this *mutt* was a fine lyric poet with many works to his credit, like *Mīnākṣi Ammai Piḷḷait Tamiḻ* (a literary genre), *Nīti Neṛi Viḷakkam* (A Light on Ethical Path) and *Maduraikkalambakam* (Garland on Madurai). Vaidhyanatha Desikar (17th century) an inmate of this *mutt*, wrote the grammatical treatise *Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam* (Light on Grammar, 17th century). The *mutt* at Suryanar Koil was founded by Sivagra Yogi (16th century), the author of *Sivaneṛi-Prakāsam* (Light on Divine Path) and a rare *Maṇipravāḷa* commentary on the *Siddhiyār* of Arulnandi (13th century) besides many large works in Sanskrit.

The Vīraśaiva monk, Sivaprakasar (17th century), was a great literary figure. Along with his two brothers he wrote *Kāḷatti Purāṇam* (17th century). Thirty-two different works are attributed to him.

Freedom Struggle

The Independence Movement is most important in the 20th century. As in other fields, it influenced the literary field and helped its growth. The 150 years from the period of Katta-

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bomman to the Gandhian era may be considered the span of the Freedom Movement. In this long period, language, religion, arts, economics and the social fields witnessed a great revival.

The first phase of the Freedom Struggle witnessed a great revival in Tirunelveli in Tamilnadu. Khan Sahib, Kattabomman, Umaitturai and the Marutu brothers were the leaders of this movement which lasted from 1792 to 1801. Many ballads like *Kaliyugap Peruṅkāviyam* (Epic of the Kali Epoch), *Kaṭṭabomman Candaik-kummi* (War ballad on Kattabomman), *Pāñcaik-kōvai* (a literary genre), *Vīrapāṇḍiyam*, *Vīrapāṇḍiyan Anurāga Mālai* (literary genres), *Kaṭṭabomman Kataip-pāḍal* (Ballad on Kattabomman), *Rāmanāthapuram Pēṭṭi Viruttam* (a literary genre) and *Kummi* (a folk song) were the outcome of the protest movement.

In 1906, a century later, Tamilnadu again rose against the rule of the British, under the leadership of V. O. Chidambaram in Tūttukkuḍi (Tuticorin). The court poet of Ettayapuram, Subramaniya Bharati (Subramaṇya Bhārati, 1882–1921) also had a large part in the Freedom Movement. He acknowledges that the Freedom Movement made him a national poet. The period from 1905 to 1920 can be considered to be the 'Bharati Age' in Tamilnadu. In the poetic collection of Bharati, a large section is devoted to patriotic songs, under the titles *Vandē-Mātaram* (Hai Motherland, 1908), *Sutantira Dāham* (Thirst for Freedom, 1908), *Sutantirap Paḷḷu* (Pallu Song on Freedom, 1908) and many others. In his epic fragment *Pāñcālī Śapatam* (The Vow of Panchali, 1912) he pictures women's liberation along with the freedom of the motherland. In his other poems and essays he champions national integration, a healthy outcome of the freedom struggle. Popularizing the mother tongue, Tamil, and asserting its greatness, while condemning the influence of the English language and education was also an offshoot of this movement. In this, Bharati was followed by Subramaniya Siva. Through his journal *Jñāna Bhānu* he made a plea for pure Tamil also.

V. O. Chidambaram (Cidambaram, 1872–1936) wrote ethical works like *Meyyaṟivu* and *Meyyaṟam* (True Knowledge, True Virtue). His autobiography helps us learn more of the Freedom Movement in the land. V. V. S. Iyer also took an active part in this movement through the journal *Dēśabhaktan*, when he was its editor, and through his journal *Bālabhārati*. It is notable that these patriots, Rajaji and some others used their periods of imprisonment to work for the growth of Tamil, by writing critical studies of different Tamil classics.

In the Gandhi era, Namakkal Ramalingam Pillai (1888–1971) wrote many patriotic poems, following the footsteps of Bharati. Mahatma Gandhi was featured in many of them. Panditai Asalambikai Ammai (b. 1875) wrote *Gāndhi Purāṇam* (The Gandhi Story). Tamil literature flourished through the writings of many poets after Bharati. The metrical structure became more musical. Lyricism caused a simplification of the verse structure, and the new style attracted the masses as well as the learned.

Tamil Movement

Not only in the field of language and literature but also in spheres such as music and drama do we see a revival brought about by the Independence Movement. Prominence was given to Tamil music in concerts which, till then, were monopolized by Sanskrit and Telugu. Bharati also aimed at this in his essays. The formation of the Tamil Isai Sangham in Madras in 1943 institutionalized the movement for Tamil music.

Abraham Pandithar (1859–1919) is considered the forerunner of this movement. His valuable research treatise *Karuṇāmirtasāgaram* (Sea of Music, 1917) was an attempt to show the relationship between ancient Tamil music and modern Carnatic music. He founded the Tanjore Sangīta Vidyā Mahājana Sangam (1912) and promoted his theories by holding conferences.

The *paṇ* (musical tune) system first revived by the Nayanmar in the post-Sangham age was again revived in this century, by the Raja Annamalai Music College. The Tamil songs of Muthuthandavar, Arunachalak-kavirayar, Gopala Krishna Bharati and many others became popular because of this movement.

The stage till then did not patronize nationalistic themes, but favoured imaginary and *purāṇic* stories. The Freedom Movement changed all this. Patriots became actors and writers for the stage. Sivaji, Desingu Rajan and Kattabomman became the heroes. The stage, which was till then considered to be only for the lower levels of society, now won recognition among the higher strata also. Freedom and social reforms became themes for the dramas.

Ārya Sabhā of Gopalachar seems to be the first drama of this nature, but Krishnaswami Pavalar was the pioneer in writing and staging such dramas. *Dēśiyakkoḍi* (1930), *Khaddarin Veṟṟi*, *Patibhakti*, *Bombay Mail* and *Governor's Cup* (1924) are a few such dramas. These infused a patriotic spirit in the audience.

The novels *Tiyāgabhūmi* (Land of Sacrifice, 1939), *Makuṭapati* (Crowned King, 1942), *Alai Osai* (Sound of Waves, 1949), etc. of Kalki were built around this theme. Along with the Freedom Movement many social reforms were taken up. Removal of untouchability, introduction of prohibition, abolition of child marriage, promotion of widow remarriage and intercaste marriages, became the themes of literature. As a continuation of this trend, short stories, novels and poetic pieces are still being written on these subjects. We may consider this an after-effect of the revolution. Suddhananda Bharati (b. 1897) has written a large volume of patriotic poems. His *Bhārata Śakti*

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Mahākāviyam (An Epic on India's Greatness, 1948) is a long epic poem of this era, on this theme.

The movements of the North, organized by the Arya Samajam, the Brahma Samajam and the Ramakrishna Mission, had their influence on poets like Bharati. These movements, in one way or other, were related to the freedom struggle. But the Self-Respect Movement of Tamilnadu did not cooperate with the Independence Movement. Supporting the British overlords, but existing independently, E. V Ramaswamy Naicker isolated himself from the freedom struggle and started this movement. It also propagated pure Tamil, free of Sanskrit. It opposed Tamil writing which had a Sanskrit bias and worked for the promotion of Tamil classics and the projection of Tamil culture. Condemning the old puranic stories and epics, the followers of this movement wrote new works opposing the old theories. *Rāvaṇa Kāviyam* (Epic of Ravana, 1946) of Pulavar Kulandai (b. 1906) and *Kindanār* (a satire) of N. S. Krishnan (1908–57) are worth mentioning. Poet Bharati Dasan (1891–1964) came into limelight because of this movement. He fought against caste differences, suppression of women, religious superstitions, idol worship and many other social evils in his poems. He looked forward to unity, women's liberation and the formation of a casteless society.

The October Revolution of Russia and the political philosophy of Lenin also had their influence on Tamil poets like Bharati and Bharati Dasan and writers like Thiru Vi. Ka. (Thiruvarur Vi. Kalyanasundaram) and Jivanandam.

Language

In Tamil literary history we come across three language movements. The first is the Sanskrit movement of the Middle Ages, of which not much is known. The second is the pure Tamil movement mentioned above, and the third the anti-Hindi movement, both of which flourished in this century and had a political edge.

From the period of *Tolkāppiyam* we see the influence of Sanskrit on Tamil. It was not much in the classical period, but it gradually grew, because of the adoption of the Vedic religion and the impact of Jainism and Buddhism. The inflow of Sanskrit words grew to a considerable degree during the Middle Ages. The devotional hymns, the epics and the later puranas used these borrowed Sanskrit words widely. This reached its peak in the evolution of the *Maṇipravāḷa* style, a bold admixture of Sanskrit and Tamil words. The commentaries on *Divviyap Pirabandham* of the Vaishnava Alvars, written in this style, use the *grantha* script for the Sanskrit words. However, this condition did not last long, though the use of Sanskrit words was still prevalent in the language and literature.

The pure Tamil movement was wrongly considered to be anti-Sanskritic and anti-Brahminic, but, it only sought to establish the purity of Tamil language. Its forerunner, Suryanarayana Sastri, even changed his name to 'Paritimal Kalaiñan' while his follower Vedachalam became 'Maraimalai'. It was he who raised this movement to an agitational level and used pure Tamil in all his writings. This movement was patronized by many Tamil Brahmin scholars and even by those who had high reverence for the Sanskrit language.

Pure Tamil was deliberately used not only in poetic literature but also in prose works and on platforms and in conversation. Thiru Vi. Ka. (1883–1953) who made literature out of Tamil political writing mainly wrote chaste Tamil.

V. Sp. Manickam traces the root of this movement to the two schools of thought prevalent in the 18th century. Subramaniya Dikshitar and Swaminatha Desikar in their grammatical treatises of the 18th century expressed the opinion that there could be no language as independent of Sanskrit as Tamil. Sivagnana Munivar proved the independent status of Tamil through his *Sūttira Virutti*. When Dr Caldwell established that the Dravidian linguistic family was independent of Sanskrit, the earlier argument paled into insignificance. This strengthened the Tamil language movement. And, as a result, many words borrowed from Sanskrit were Tamilized, new words and terms were coined and many old words were revived. Changing the medium of instruction from English to Tamil and the production of many technical books through the Tamilnadu Textbook Society strengthened this movement further.

Literature

Literary movements in neighbouring and foreign countries have influenced Tamil also, giving rise to new trends in the literary scene. Many 'isms' have affected and influenced the minds of the writers. The *vers libre*, or free verse, developed into a movement, won the hearts of the younger generation and found expression in their writings. Freudism, Surrealism and Existentialism influenced the writings of Ezra Pound, James Joyce, Franz Kafka, T. S. Eliot, etc. in the West. Their writings, in turn, influenced the poets of Tamilnadu.

C. S. Chellappa (b. 1912), through his journal *Eḷuttu*, organized and propagated the *vers libre* movement in Tamilnadu. Life and death, sexual frustration, individualism, stream of consciousness, obscurity and symbolism are present in these new Tamil verses. Mehta, Mi. Ra. (M. Rajendran), and Parinaman are a few poets in this tradition.

Like free verse, the short story and the novel also show the influence of the pioneers in other countries. While the periodical *Eḷuttu* nurtured free verse, another periodical *Maṇikkoḍi* (1939) promoted short story writing and organized a movement. Putumaippittan, Ku. Pa. Rajagopalan,

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Ku. Alagirisami, Mauni, Ka. Na. Subramanian and many others flourished in this field.

Academies and Organizations

Academies and societies, similar to the old Sangham, have been set up in the 20th century for the promotion of Tamil language and its literature. Among these, the Madurai Tamil Sangham (1901) and the Karantai Tamil Sangham (1911) should be specially mentioned. These Sanghams conducted Tamil examinations in the traditional style, established Tamil schools and colleges, published old Tamil manuscripts and research journals and thus served the cause of literature.

The Tamilnadu Textbook Society and the Tamiḻ Vaḷarccik Kaḻakam sponsored by the Tamil Nadu Government also deserve mention. In the former, translation of selected books in the fields of Science and Humanities is arranged. The Tamil Encyclopaedia and the Children's Encyclopaedia are the valuable outcome of the latter, thanks to the initiative of educationist T. S. Avinasilingam. The Tamil Development and Research Department has published a few volumes of the catalogue of Tamil books in print (*Tamiḻ Nūl Vivara Aṭṭavaṇai*).

Saiva Siddhanta Maha Samajam (1906), Tamilian Antiquary Society and South India Saiva Siddhanta Publishing Society are similar associations established for the cause of Tamil. Publication of journals, preservation of old records and perpetuation of classics by printing them, conducting seminars and bringing out their proceedings, etc. are undertaken by these organizations. The Christian Literature Society (CLS) also has a share in this effort. Tiruvalluvar Kaḻakam and Kamban Kaḻakam are found all over Tamilnadu, their aim being the propagation of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and *Kambarāmāyaṇam*.

The International Association of Tamil Research (IATR), formed for the promotion of the language, held World Tamil Conferences and projected Tamil on the international scene. The International Institute of Tamil Studies established (1970) after the Second World Tamil Conference in Madras aims at the propagation of Tamil throughout the world.

The Sahitya Akademi helps the popularization of Tamil literature along with those of other Indian languages by publishing translated works and books on great authors and literary histories. The awards given by All-India organizations and by the Tamil Development Department of the Tamilnadu Government have also contributed to the furtherance of the literature in Tamilnadu.

Planned Publication of Classics

This survey will not be complete without reference to two movements in the field of book publication. They are: first, the printing of the correct text without any mistakes, and, second, the publication of inexpensive, cost-price editions. The Saiva Siddhanta Maha Samajam, mentioned above, has done monumental work in both these spheres. They published between 1934 and 1940 cost-price editions of all the twelve books of the Saiva canon (several editions), the Siddhānta śāstras (with several commentaries), the complete works of Arunagiri Natha, a one-volume edition of all the Sangham poems, *Eṭṭuttohai* and *Pattuppāṭṭu*, and even the Jain epic, *Jīvakacintāmaṇi*. These books were edited by learned and dedicated scholars of the period like Anavarata-Vinayakam Pillai, Vaiyapuri Pillai and M. Arunachalam, besides the Samajam Secretary, the learned Balasubramanya Mudaliyar.

This work inspired another publisher, Śakti Vai. Govindan, to publish well-printed paperbacks dirt-cheap. His *Tirukkuṟaḷ* with the commentary by Parimēlaḻahar, Bharati's songs and *Kamba Rāmāyaṇam* were pioneering ventures in Tamil paperbacks.

This type of work was later taken up, in the fifties, by S. Rajam who spent his whole fortune on producing the most important major Tamil classics with the help of the best scholars available in Tamilnadu. The books were printed neatly and uniformly priced at one rupee each. About forty volumes were released by him in this manner.

But the laurels in the field should go to C. R. Namasivaya Mudaliyar, who started his own press for the purpose and released about half a dozen volumes, in 1930–31, collating many manuscripts and printing on feather-weight paper. Each volume of about 256 pages was priced at only half a rupee. But he had to give up the venture for lack of public support.

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Telugu

C. N. SASTRY

During its long history Telugu literature was influenced by several religious, social, economic and political theories though some did not assume the dimensions of a vigorous movement. In the 19th and 20th centuries many significant movements exerted their influence on the tone and tenor, on the structure and texture of Telugu literature. The impact of western education and culture was especially responsible for the emergence of prose as well as literary forms like the novel, drama, essay, and short story.

The Bhakti Movement

As far back as in the 12th century the Vīra Śaiva movement influenced the form and content of Telugu literature. Outstanding poets like Palkuriki Somanatha of the 12th century described the glory of Lord Siva and his devoted saints. His *Basava Purāṇam* and *Paṇḍitārādhya Caritra* set the tone for a new type of literary expression which derived its vigour from the popular *Dēśi* style as distinct from the classical *Mārga* style. Poets of this school perfected the *Dvīpada* or the couplet employed in the folk ballads. They exploited its full potentialities for narrative and didactic themes attaining memorable clarity and force.

The Bhakti Movement was vigorous in all parts of India from the 14th century onwards. Its echo was heard in Telugu literature during the 14th and 15th centuries. Tallapaka Annamacharya (1408–1503) wrote simple and moving songs called *Padās*, glorifying Lord Venkateswara of Tirumala. The *padās* express intense devotional feelings covering the entire range of life, taking in their stride the rapture of sensuous love and the exaltation of spiritual vision. Though the compositions of his brothers displayed the same spirit of devotion, Vaishnavism did not assume the magnitude of a literary movement. It did not inspire poets who could stand comparison with Palkuriki Somanatha whose work touched the high water-mark of excellence under the strong inspiration provided by Basaveswara's noble life. Still Vaishnavism continued to be a literary trend, proving to be a fountain of inspiration to poets separated from one another by centuries.

Western Influence

As a consequence of western education and its impact on the minds of the intellectuals, an ardent desire to reform the social life and combat several evils found expression in literature towards the close of the 19th century. It assumed the dimension of a vigorous movement under the leadership of Kandukuri Viresalingam Pantulu (Kandukūri Vīrēśaliṅgam Pantulu, 1847–1919). He became the spearhead of the Reformist movement and fought against corruption, shams, hypocrisy, bigotry and irrational orthodoxy, employing his gifted pen as a mighty weapon. He is gratefully remembered by the people of Andhra Pradesh as a literary giant who was the harbinger of the renaissance in Telugu literature. His pioneering work in the fields of novel, essay, literary criticism and autobiography is commendable. Inspired by his reformist zeal, writers like Chilakamarti Lakshminarasimham (1867–1946) and Kallakuri Narayana Rao (Kāḷḷakūri Nārāyaṇa Rāvu) made use of literature as a powerful medium for social reform, pleading for widow-remarriage, education for women and eliminating the evils of drink, dowry and prostitution. The dramas of Kallakuri Narayana Rao and novels of Chilakamarti exposed the evils that had taken root in the country and impeded its progress. Dramas like *Varavikrayamu* (1952), *Madhusēva* (1938)

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and *Cintāmaṇi* (1953), and novels like *Rājaśēkhara Caritra* (1880) and *Rāmacandra Vijayam* (1912) were prompted by the ardent desire to set things right and make life worth living. While the farces of Viresalingam have a stinging bitterness, Gurazada Apparao's (1861–1915) *Kanyāśulkam* (1897) exposes the evils with the delicate touch of a delightful comedy. Reformist zeal is transmuted into literary art by Gurazada Apparao whose sense of humour and deep insight into human nature are rare and remarkable. It is difficult to fix the chronological limit of this movement as its influence continues even to this day. As a result of this movement writers have developed social awareness and feel a sense of responsibility which does not permit them to sit in an ivory tower.

Nationalism

Andhras have always stood in the vanguard of the national movement playing an active part in the struggle for liberation from the foreign yoke. Apart from many political writings and spirited biographies of leading national figures, we have one literary masterpiece which reflects the aspirations, the spirit of sacrifice, the idealism and the agony of suffering and the noble doctrine of service which pulsated in the hearts of the people during the non-violent struggle for freedom under the leadership of Gandhi. One of the veteran novelists of Andhra, Unnava Lakshmi Narayana (1877–1953), wrote *Mālapalle* (The Colony of Harijans, 1921) while serving a term of imprisonment. The fervour of patriotism, love for the motherland, admiration for her culture and a crusading zeal to eradicate evils like untouchability throb behind every line in the novel and it occupies an honoured place among the masterpieces of this century. Along with this must be mentioned another novel *Kollāyi Gattitē Nēmi* (What if He Wore a Loincloth?) by Mahidhara Rammohan Rao (b. 1909). It depicts the gradual change that has taken place in village life as a result of the growing influence of Gandhian leadership in the political and social spheres of life. Among the poets, Garimella Satyanarayana has composed an inspiring song *Mākoddu Tella Doratanamu* (We Do Not Tolerate the White man's Rule, 1921–22), which was on the lips of generations of freedom fighters. Basavaraju Apparao (1894–1933) and Adivi Bapiraju (1895–1952) wrote memorable lyrics which paid glowing tributes to Gandhi's life and work. The nation's immediate response to Gandhi's march to Dandi during the Salt Satyagraha is recorded by Basavaraju in his popular lyric 'Gandhi Mahātmuni Caraṇa Dhvani' which says that the whole earth trembled when Gandhi marched. The poems and songs of Rayaprolu Subba Rao (b. 1892) preach a fervent love for the history and culture of Andhra without any prejudice to the broad vision which looks at India as an integrated and harmonious unit. Viswanatha Satyanarayana's (1895–1976) *Āndhra Praśasti* belongs to the same type because agitation for a separate linguistic state formed part of the struggle for national liberation. Kaviraju Tripuraneni wrote spirited songs during the Salt Satyagraha movement. Translation of Gandhi's autobiography into prose by Veluri Sivarama Sastry and into verse by Tummala Sitarama Murty strengthened the feeling of veneration for Gandhi as a political leader and a spiritual seeker. Damaraju Pundarikaksudu (Dāmarāju Puṇḍarīkākṣuḍu, b. 1898) wrote the play *Gāndhi Vijayam* (Victory of Gandhi) which was banned by the foreign rulers as it kindled the flame of patriotism. Gurram Joshua's (Jōṣua, 1895–1971) *Bāpūjī* and *Nētājī*, (1945) and Karuna Sri's (b. 1912) *Vijayaśrī* (1944) were inspired by national fervour which animated many a gifted pen during the first half of this century. It is unfortunate that intense love for the land and its people has been on the wane after the attainment of Independence. A spirit of cynicism, destructive criticism and repudiation of national values have become rampant.

Rationalist Movement

The Rationalist movement was initiated by Tripuraneni Ramaswami Chowdhary (1898–1944) who boldly questioned some of the traditional values which degenerated into blind acceptance and superstitious veneration. It was he who introduced the spirit of enquiry which sometimes assumes the form of defiance of many traditional beliefs. His *Sūtā Purāṇam* (1934) is a monumental work full of erudition which explodes many of the irrational myths that clouded the minds of the people. It has set a new trend in modern Telugu literature. His parody on the *Gītā*, his dramas *Khūnī* (Murder, 1935) and *Śambūka Vadha* (1922) display a fearless spirit that challenges many time-honoured ideals which contributed to the domination of the higher castes in Hindu society. He had many followers but few could give literary expression to the rationalist spirit which enquires, examines and revalues many of the customary ideas and ideals. His illustrious son Gopichand (1915–63) started his literary career as a rationalist but gradually went beyond its barriers on account of his creative vigour which recognized the validity of intuition. Among the literary figures who swear by rationalism mention may be made of Kondaviti Venkata Kavi and V. R. Narla who wrote quatrains in the manner of the renowned poet-philosopher Vemana and tears to pieces many shams and delusions with the rapier thrusts of satire, upholding the need for sanity and reason in life.

Romantic Movement

Inspired by the lofty ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity, the Romantic movement permeated all spheres of life in Europe during the 19th century. To a nation chafing

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under the yoke of British rule, Romanticism appealed because of its emphasis on liberty and freedom in all walks of human life. 'A Robin Red-breast in a cage/Puts all Heaven in a rage' declared an English poet. The highpriest of Indian Romanticism, Rabindranath Tagore, expressed his fervent prayer for freedom 'from the burden of ages bending our heads, breaking our backs and blinding our eyes to the beckoning call of the future.' This yearning for freedom was echoed by Devulapalli Krishna Sastry (1897–1980) in his famous line 'Can there be music when the spirit is shackled?' The Romantic poets of Andhra sought to shake off the fetters of convention which curbed the creative spirit of invention and innovation. When convention-ridden poetry turned out to be a lifeless 'doll of wood' the Romanticist set out to breathe life into it, making it natural and spontaneous. An emancipated spirit manifested itself in manners, dress and outlook on life without confining itself to literature. Recognition of the spirit of equality and innate human dignity prompted the Romanticist to accept the joys and sorrows of the common man as a theme for his works and he employed a style that was close to the easy, graceful and natural rhythms of the folk songs. Our self-expression found its freedom in many literary forms which dispensed with the strangle-hold of pedantry and rhetoric, 'the security of the tombstones and the cold perfection which can belong only to the lifeless.' Romanticism lifted the dead weight of ponderous forms and with a magic touch awakened the creative spirit from its prolonged slumber helping it reveal the full splendour of grace and vigour. It was more than a literary movement because it brought about a resurgence of spirit and a renaissance of wonder.

The Romantic movement in Telugu which exerted a profound and widespread influence upon the poets and writers of Andhra Pradesh for over three decades derived its inspiration from Rabindranath Tagore and English poets like Shelley, Keats, Wordsworth, Blake and Burns. It marked the beginning of a new school of poetry which attached importance to feeling and emotion rather than to reason and logic. Glorification of love as a cosmic principle, appreciation of nature's simple but startling beauties, concern for the lot of the common man, a burning zeal for individual freedom and subjectivity of approach gave a distinctive quality to poetry written during the period. Simplicity and naturalness of Romantic writing stood in sharp contrast with the pedantic and artificial writing of the preceding times. It was believed that poetry should gush forth like a fountain from the impassioned heart in order to stir the feeling and imagination of the reader. Not only novelty of theme but also innovation in form characterized Romantic poetry. Avoiding the stilted verbal exercises of the earlier poets, the Romanticists chose simple measures which retained the spontaneous charm of folksongs. *Bhāva Gītam* (lyric) and *Gēyam* (song) were employed by the poets for the expression of their emotions and ecstasies as well as agonies, looking at life from an intensely personal view-point. The most outstanding poets of the century, Rayaprolu Subba Rao, Devulapalli Krishna Sastry, Basavaraju Appa Rao, Adivi Bapiraju, Abburi Ramakrishna Rao (b. 1896). Pingali Laksmikantam (b. 1894), Katuri Venkateswara Rao (1895–1962) and Karuna Sri have enriched modern Telugu literature with their literary contributions which bear the stamp of the Romantic spirit. Sivasankara Sastry (1892–1974) was the presiding spirit who gave a shape and direction to Romantic literature in Telugu. His *Hṛdayēśvari* (1925) along with Vedula Satyanarayana Sastri's (b. 1900) *Dīpāvali* (1940) treats love as an exalting emotion. It is one of the triumphs of Romantic literature that, for the first time, love is treated as a sanctifying element shorn of erotic and obscene vulgarization. Duvvuri Rami Reddi (1895–1949) stands as a pioneer who delineated the simple joys and sorrows of the poor peasants of Andhra. Gurazada Appa Rao extended the range of Telugu poetry by choosing the daughter of a pujari, the daughter of a vysya and a Harijan girl as the heroines of his moving tales, *Pūrnamma Kathā*, *Kanyaka* and *Lavana Rāju Kalā*. Kavikondala Venkatarao (1893–1964) wrote lyrics and poems on the beauty of natural objects scattered on the dusty wayside of daily life. Though he did not style himself a Romanticist, Joshua's poems display all the strength of impassioned subjectivity eschewing the besetting blemish of excessive vagueness which made many Romantic poems obscure. Many of his poems deal with common themes from an uncommon angle. He achieves remarkable clarity even when his imagination soars to great heights. His *Khaṇḍa Kāvyamulu* (Poetic fragments, 1952), in four successive volumes, represents Romantic poetry at its best. *Yeṅki Pāṭalu* (1926) by Nanduri Subba Rao (b. 1895) created a furore at the time of its first publication in the thirties. But these lyrics depicting the sublimity of love in a style which is full of the freshness and vigour of folk-songs slowly but steadily gained popular acclaim as well as acceptance from the learned. *Kṛṣṇa Pakṣam* (1925) by Devulappalli Krishna Shastry, which glorifies the sanctity of love, the purifying quality of sorrow and the burning zeal for liberty stands out as the most representative volume of the Romantic spirit in Telugu literature.

Abhyudaya Movement

As Romanticists tended to become escapists turning their back upon the grim realities of life a strong reaction set in. 'Sri Sri' (Śrīraṅgam Śrīnivāsa Rāvu; 1910–83) unfurled the banner of revolt against Romanticism though he commenced his literary career under its far-spreading wings. His *Mahāprasthānam* (1950) shows deep social awareness and strong sympathy for the dismal plight of the underdog in society. Strongly influenced by Marxist ideology, Sri Sri sounded the clarion call, urging the exploited people to

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rise up and march towards a new order, a better and a happier world. Sri Sri became the founder of the progressive school which was described as the *Abhyudaya* Movement. Ārudra (pseud. of Bhāgavatula Śaṅkaraśāstri, b. 1925) carried on the poetic revolution that was initiated by Sri Sri. His *Tvamēvāham* (I am Thine, 1949) added a new dimension to the progressive movement by flourishes of poetic technique. The names of Ramdas, Anisetty Subbarao and Somasundar at once come to mind when we think of progressive literature. Kundurti Anjaneyulu (1923–82), carved out a niche for himself by carrying on significant experiments with free verse to communicate his progressive ideas and ideals. The progressive movement gained wide support and momentum during the second World War. Later its influence began to decline as the writers neglected the art of expression and laid undue emphasis on content thereby reducing poetry to a dry political philosophy which could be better expressed in prose.

Digaṁbara Kavitā

The last of the movements is the extremist one named *Digaṁbara Kavitā* (Naked Poetry). The supporters of this movement totally repudiated Indian culture and indulged in obscenity which shocked the sensibility of readers. Their literature was more political than poetical, as it was animated by anarchy and negation, and as the writers had nothing positive to offer, the movement had only a brief life i. e., in the sixties. Like all literary aberrations it began with a bang and ended in a whimper. The writers flaunted their hatred for traditional Indian culture and revelled in vulgarity by debunking and denigrating all accepted values. Such a campaign of hate obviously could not last.

Literary Societies and Organizations

Literary societies and organizations that contributed to the development of Telugu literature may be surveyed briefly. The Andhra Sahitya Parishad was started in 1911 under the patronage of the Maharaja of Pithapuram (1885–1964), a great scholar and patron of letters. The moving spirit behind the organization was Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu (1860–1941), a champion of classical Telugu. The Parishad continued for several years to be a citadel of tradition scoffing at all literary innovations. Its significant achievement is the publication of a comprehensive lexicon entitled *Sūryarāya Āndhra Nighanṭuvu*. It brought out a journal *Andhra Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrika* for many years. Several scholars and pedants who opposed modern trends contributed learned articles to it.

Vijñānacandrikā Granthamaṇḍali established at Madras by Komarraju Lakshmanarao (1877–1927) gave fillip to research in several directions. An encyclopaedia entitled *Āndhra Vijñāna Sarvasvam*, the first of its kind in the language, was planned and two volumes were published. It served as a model for subsequent researchers in the history and culture of Andhra Pradesh.

Andhra Pracārini Granthamālā, set up in 1910, encouraged the development of fiction in Telugu. Attractive translations of Bengali and Marathi novels were published in quick succession creating a large circle of readers for light literature. It acted as an incentive for writing original novels. The twin poets, Venkata Parvatesvara Kavulu (Ōlēṭi Pārvatīśam, 1882–1955) and Bālāntrapu Vēṅkaṭarāvu 1880–1975) published under this banner many of their novels which carried literature from the parlour to the kitchen.

The Sāhit Samiti was started in 1918 at Tenali by a group of writers headed by Sivasankara Sastri, the high priest of modernity. The Samiti provided a forum for the writers who were seeking 'fresh woods and pastures new' and were anxious to break new ground. Many of the leading writers of the century were members of this organization. They received encouragement from its president whose versatile erudition was comparable to that of Dr Johnson who presided over the club in the 18th century. The Samiti published a journal named *Sāhiti* whose pages were adorned by contributions from the leading literary figures who made their mark in short story, playlet, essay and lyric. The Samiti became the spearhead of the literary revolution which swept the Andhra region during the later twenties of the century.

Navyā Sāhitya Pariṣat, established at Guntur in 1933, carried on the good work started by Sahiti Samiti. Under its banner volumes of poems of the celebrated lyric poets of the century were published. A journal named *Pratibhā* was published under the editorship of Telikacherla Venkataratnam (1896–1970) who served as secretary of the Parishad with a crusading zeal for the popularization of *navyā sāhitya* (modern literature).

Kavitā Samiti was established at Visakhapatnam in 1933 and the spirit that animated it was Marepalli Ramachandra Sastry (1873–1948). It served as a focal point for the writers of that region who displayed gifts of originality in observation and expression.

Āndhra Sarasvata Pariṣat was established in 1949 by Devulapalli Ramanujarao and his associates and has been carrying on good work for many decades in the Telangana districts of Andhra Pradesh. It has been working for the spread of liberal education and popularization of Telugu literature. It has 180 branches all over Andhra Pradesh and has set up a good record of constructive activity through its publications and conferences.

Abhyudaya Sāhitya Saṅgham (The Progressive Writers' Association) was started in 1943 at Vijayawada and brought about a change in the approach to and assessment of literature. Social awareness and purposiveness were emphasized

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by the writers of the progressive school who reacted sharply against the escapist tendencies of the Romantic writers.

Honourable mention should be made of the Durbar in the office of *Kṛṣṇa Patrikā* at Machilipatnam. It was presided over by the profound thinker, critic and journalist Mutnuri Krishnarao (1880–1945). Around him gathered poets, novelists, dramatists, essayists and politicians whom he stimulated with his sparkling ideals and ideas. From its inception in 1957, Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi under the able chairmanship of B. Gopala Reddi has been rendering significant service to Telugu literature through its various publications and useful projects. Mention should be made also of the valuable services of Devulapalli Ramanujarao, the General Secretary. All literary forms are receiving encouragement and recognition through annual awards. Classical as well as modern trends, creative as well as critical modes are being encouraged in a spirit of catholicity without inhibitions.

Akashvani has contributed to the development of short plays and musical operas which are particularly suited to the medium of broadcast. The Radio has helped the evolution of a decent and simple spoken style which appeals to people of the different regions of Andhra and which embodies the literary and cultural heritage of the people.

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Urdu

MOHAMMAD HASAN

The term 'Literary Movements' is usually applied to those common patterns of literary creations which come into existence owing to common socio-cultural motivations or shared ideals. In Urdu, the term came into vogue quite late but was used for such a literary communion found in the middle of the 18th century when a new style of writing emerged and was given recognition as *eiham-goi* (Iham-goi), i.e. the style of poetry based on a word with double meaning, suggesting the obvious and actually using the oblique. This semantic exercise, born of poetic artifice, created a sense of wonder and soon developed into a craze.

Schools and Movements

Delhi School. Delhi, in those days of stress and strain, was passing through a period which can well be described in the words of Dickens 'as the best of times and the worst of times'. The fag end of the 18th century was full of political turmoil and cultural richness. While the Mughals were fast losing their grip over power and administration, new forces and new classes were fast emerging to fill up the vacuum. Hence the replacement of Persian by Urdu, which had found its niche in the middle classes, and hence the flowering of Urdu literature in the period of Mughal decay.

The picture of this turmoil and the resultant uncertainty found expression in the lengthening impact of mysticism, growing shadows of deep subjectivity and the mellow touch of melancholy in both poetry and prose, and these qualities along with the lyricism and simplicity of expression and closeness to the spoken language soon became the hallmark of the new movement known as the Delhi School. It is this close promixity to real experience and its spontaneous and lyrical expression which gave Delhi School its real strength and made 'artlessness' a cornerstone of true art.

It is also true that literary excellence was attained through a cathartic effect provided by the pathos of political instability and economic uncertainty. These finally led to a large scale migration of poets, writers, and intellectuals from Delhi to Faizabad and Lucknow—the capitals of the fast developing Kingdom of Awadh, particularly because the first three Nawabs were associated as Prime Ministers with the Delhi Court and the last of these three married the adopted daughter of the then Emperor Muhammad Shah of Delhi who was deeply interested in the cultural values evolved there.

Lucknow School. The real flowering of the Lucknow School began with the transfer of the capital from Faizabad to Lucknow and a little later with the declaration of independent kingship by the erstwhile Nawab at the instigation of the East India Company. Lucknow was declared the centre of an independent culture and an equally indepen-

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dent literary taste in contradistinction with Delhi. Separate rules were codified. Certain words and phrases were banished from the language to make it purer and more elegant. Emphasis was laid on the correct usage of words borrowed from other languages in accordance with their original form. Jugglery of words and juxta-positioning of phrases played an important part in poetry. Poets moved out of the periphery of their own subjective self, thus giving an impetus to the development of poetic forms like masnavī (*mathnavi*) and *marthiya*—both compact poems describing respectively a tale or narrating the tragedy of Kerbela, where prophet Mohammad's grandson Imām Husain and his family were martyred by a heretic king, Yazid.

Aligarh Movement. In between the Delhi and Lucknow Schools, the entire political scene of the country kept changing. The British East India Company captured power first in Bengal and then throughout the length and breadth of the country. The domination was not merely political in nature but ideological and cultural. To commemorate the conquest of Mysore, the British East India Company established Fort William College at Calcutta (1800) and employed *munshis* to compile books in lucid Urdu prose for the British employees of the Company, thus incidentally initiating a new style of simple, unornamented prose in Urdu.

Another landmark was the experiment launched by the various educational institutions started by the British, the most prominent among these being the celebrated Delhi College which imparted education in Urdu and whose curiculla included mathematics and natural sciences. Consequently, books were compiled and written in Urdu on these subjects, which in its own way brought about stylistic changes in the language and extended its thematic richness.

The Aligarh Movement was, in fact, a continuation of the process. The British East India Company had overrun the country and the first major attempt to drive it out of India had failed in 1857. Deeply conscious of this calamity, the country tried to adjust itself to the new climate of change. This could only be accomplished by bringing about a renaissance and the main aim of all literary activity of the period was restricted to this great task of bringing about the liberating touch of the western sensibility enshrined in liberal education and the age of industry.

Nevertheless, the main contribution of the Aligarh movement was in the realm of Urdu prose, which achieved credibility and maturity during this period. Firstly, since social awakening was the main objective of the Movement, it persisted in discussing matters of social import with its adversaries through newspaper columns, booklets and independent prose writings aimed at explaining its viewpoint to the common man.

Then, important writings on history, religion, civilization came into vogue. Biographies of eminent personalities were written. The essay became a new literary genre; literary criticism developed as an important intellectual activity. The novel, as a powerful medium of social reform, was introduced, attacking social evils and ridiculing lethargic and outdated characters to propagate the acceptance of new ideals, which could be synthesized with the best of old oriental values.

Romantic Interlude. Though Romanticism may not be described as an organized movement in the sense the Aligarh Movement was, yet for a brief period after the Aligarh Movement, it acquired widespread currency. Leading literary journals like the *Naqqad*, the *Nigar* and the *Adib* succeeded in emphasizing the aesthetic aspect of literature and made it a way of life. Romantic short stories invented an imaginary world of their own and the tenderness of love and mellowness of aesthetic sensibility pervaded it, elbowing out practically every other consideration.

Progressive Movement

In 1936, the first conference of the Progressive Writers Association was held in Lucknow. Even before that, rumblings of literary change were audible. At a time of heightened political consciousness, the problem of social commitment of literature soon assumed importance. Not only did foreign imperialism and its machinery of oppression and exploitation come under fire but also the entire paraphernalia of feudal and obscurantist values clad under the garb of religion or custom was ruthlessly attacked. The banning of a short-story collection *Angarey* (Burning Coals) added fuel to fire and soon a powerful section of writers found itself attracted towards the cause of championing the peasant, the workers, the helpless and the have-nots, the exploited and the oppressed. These included women and the backward Harijan, the outcast and the downtrodden. The movement was largely the result of the efforts of Syed Sajjad Zahir, who was influenced by similar trends during his stay in London and attempted to bring a new consciousness to the realm of Indian literature. At first the movement was a broad-based forum of writers who believed in social commitment as well as of those who were attracted to the movement as an iconoclastic activity. It included writers like Josh Malihabad, Sardar Jafri, Makhdum Mohiuddin, Krishna Chandra, Rajendra Singh Bedi, Faiz Ahmad Faiz, Majaz, Jan Nisar Akhtar, Kaizi Azmi, Sahir Ludhianvi, Ahmad Nadim Qasmi on the one hand, and N. M. Rashid, Miraji and Sa'dat Hasan Manto on the other but soon the social commitment became the official creed of the movement.

The main contribution of the movement was the broadening of the literary sensibility by giving it an ideal of total social responsibility. The movement linked up literature to the broader context of social development and insisted

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on the responsibility of literature not only of reflecting society but also of giving it some impetus for change.

Modernity

Discussion about the new wave of modernity and its characterization as a movement is still continuing. Certainly no formal conference was convened to launch it, no office-bearers were elected and no manifestoes were issued, yet there was an identity of values and literary ideals found in the modernists who were almost unanimous in their adherence to the primacy of experience in supersession of all other considerations and their rejection of the idea of social commitment. Still the wave of modernity is a complex phenomenon consisting of various shades—some believing that art is mere exploration of semantic and aesthetic possibilities of words, others believing in the existentialist philosophy of alienation and the adherence to the moment of experience and the freedom of fulfilment it may provide and yet others believing in social commitment in their own way asserting their right to use oblique and symbolic techniques and rejecting topicality in favour of a deeper insight into problems of human freedom and social justice.

Literary movements have, by and large, been instrumental in lending new ideological and aesthetic perspectives to the literary expression of the cultural ethos of the period and have inspired the writers of the different periods to link up their artistic sensibility with the spirit of the age thus bringing about richness of experience and awareness to creative activity. Movements provided a bridge between literature and life and combined the vision and the reality to form a new pattern of human sensibility as expressed in Urdu prose and poetry.

Other Parallel Movements

Sufi and Mystic Movements. Mystic thought provided a cultural and ideological synthesis of Hindu, Buddhist and Islamic concepts. The mystic impact on Urdu has been three-fold in character.

Firstly, mystics used Urdu language as a medium of communication for their ideology to reach the masses. In their endeavour, they composed prose and poetry and used folk forms set in popular parlance and conventional imagery. Early Sufi poets and prose-writers used allegorical and symbolic expression and gave it aesthetic and philosophical credibility.

Secondly, mystic ideas and concepts pervaded the literary, particularly poetic, parlance. The *ghazal* accepted mystic thought, imagery and symbols as its mainstay. Wine, saqi, orchard, rose and the *bulbul* (nightingale) all were used in a metaphorical and allegorical sense and the mystic ideals permeated the corpus of the *ghazal* immensely. Though the number of actual Sufi poets has been woefully small (only three), yet the impact of Sufi doctrine was so strong that practically every poet adopted it to adorn his poetry.

Thirdly, the mystic ideals of catholicity, anti-ritualism, humanism and rejection of worldly glory and material comfort were so deep-seated as to become an integral part of Urdu literature and served as a liberating influence.

Wahabi Movement. The Wahabi Movement, which started in the 18th century as a movement for purification of Indian Muslim society in accordance with the original tenets of Islam opposing superstitions, and certain un-Islamic social practices and evils, soon developed into a political movement against the British, who diverted it shrewdly against the Sikhs. Though vanquished in the Battle of Bālāghat against the Sikh Government of the Punjab, the Wahabis continued as an anti-British force elsewhere and played a significant role in the 1857 War of Independence and, later on, as a part of the Deoband movement which formed an integral part of the National Movement, and provided leadership to the nationalist ulemas under Jamiat-rul-Ulema (Hind).

Apart from its political overtones, the Movement used Urdu prose as a vehicle for social reform and as a means of popularizing their ideology. The prose writings of Wahabi missionaries received adequate currency among the people thus popularizing the simple, lucid and idiomatic prose which focussed attention on problems of social import, and discarded the ornate style of writing.

Role of Urdu in the National Movement. Patriotism and love for different regions have been present in Urdu literature consistently from the earliest phase in Deccan to the present day.

In the struggle against the British rule, Sadat Yar Khan Rangin wrote Qasida (Compact poem) in praise of Tippu Sultan. Poets wrote couplets criticising the British oppression and the last Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar, himself a poet, bore the brunt of the British oppression as is amply reflected in his poetry.

In the 1857 War of Independence, several Urdu poets wrote long and short poems describing the British oppression and mourning the sad plight of the nation. This gave birth to the popularization of a new poetic genre, *Shahr Ashob*, which mourned the plight of the artisan and the destruction of the town and trade centres.

An important role was played by the Urdu press. Leading Urdu newspapers of Delhi—among them *Delhi Urdu Akhbar*—supported the 1857 struggle against the British and its editor was executed by the British rulers. Similarly, a number of Urdu writers paid the highest price for their anti-British activities. Some were humiliated, their estates were confiscated and several were sentenced to life imprisonment and sent to Andaman. Yet the Urdu press continued its patriotic and nationalistic activities. *Awadh Punch* of Lucknow ridiculed the British onslaught and was inspired

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by nationalist ideals. Several other humorous papers were started with similar nationalist aspirations. As serious papers, Lajpat Rai's *Bande Matram*, Mohammad Ali's *Hamdard*, (Sympathizer), Abdul Kalam Azad's *Al-Hilal* (Crescent) and Zafar Ali Khan's *Zamindar* (Peasant) continued this tradition.

Societies and Institutions

Fort William College. Founded in 1800 to commemorate the victory of the East India Company forces over Tippu Sultan of Mysore, the College was instituted at Calcutta to educate new British entrants to the Company's service in Indian languages and essential traditions. The College was instrumental in getting various books on folklore, industry, geography and literature written in simple colloquial Urdu thus initiating the tradition of writing simple and lucid prose in Urdu—the most celebrated and epoch-making being 'Bagh-o-Bahar' (The Orchard and the Spring) written by Mir Amman. Fort William books have been termed precursors of the Aligarh School prose writings.

Delhi College. The Delhi College (founded in 1837)—a continuation of the *madrasah* Oriental School of Ghazi-uddin Hyder—served as a pioneering institution in introducing science education in North India. The medium of instruction even in subjects like Mathematics, Physics and Geography was Urdu and Urdu textbooks on these subjects were compiled and published.

Under this impact were published several journals—among them being *Fawaidun Nazirin* (The Viewers' Benefits) and *Mohib-i-Hind* (Lover of India) which were written with a facile pen on topics related to natural history and physical sciences.

Significant writers like Zakaullah and Nazir Ahmad were products of the College. The Delhi College played a significant role in shaping Urdu prose style.

Anjuman-i-Punjab (Lahore). The Anjuman was founded in Lahore in 1906 to promote the cause of education and for this purpose a campaign was launched for publishing textbooks for various classes to suit their own requirements. Along with this, the Anjuman also held *mushairas*. The first *mushaira* (poetic symposium), where compact poems on a given theme were read, was held in 1874 under the auspices of the Anjuman. This *mushaira* proved to be a turning point in launching a new genre—nazm (a compact theme-oriented poem) in Urdu. The Anjuman also served as a vehicle for enriching Urdu prose with writings on social and cultural problems.

Aligarh Scientific Society. Founded by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (? –1898) in 1862 to popularize modern ideas, particularly scientific thinking among Urdu speaking Indians, the society brought out a journal devoted to such subjects, held seminars and symposia with the object of encouraging scientific thinking on various cultural and educational problems. In its early phase, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan pleaded for science education through the Urdu medium, and the society and its journal wholeheartedly championed the cause but, later on, the medium of instruction ceased to figure as an issue and liberal education was stressed.

The society was also associated, though indirectly, with the propagation of the ideals of the Aligarh Movement, discussed earlier.

Darul Musamafin (Writers' Home). Founded in 1913 by Shibli Nomani (1857–1914) the Society aimed at fostering a synthesis of the best in the oriental and occidental cultures and with this aim, Shibli started an oriental college—Nadwatul Ulema—in Lucknow (founded in 1894 where English was taught as a compulsory subject to the trainees for Muslim clergy and another research centre in Azamgarh, U. P.) where scholars could permanently reside and dedicate themselves to writing treatises mainly on history, literature and scholasticism. The Darul Musam-afin (founded in 1913) has produced distinguished scholars like Sulaiman Nadvi, Abdul Salam Nadvi, Sabahuddin Abdur Rahman and others and still continues as a significant literary force. Its monthly journal *Mu'arif* (knowledge) is still being published.

Darut Tarjuma (Translation Bureau). The Osmania University was instituted by the then ruler of the Hyderabad State, H. E. the Nizam to impart graduate and postgraduate education in all disciplines through Urdu, this being the first experiment in India in making an Indian language medium of education and examination at the higher education level. The Darut Tarjuma was set up to translate and compile textbooks in Urdu on all subjects for graduate and postgraduate classes. Scholars of eminence like Nazm Taba Tabai, Mirza Mohammad Hadi Ruswa and Josh Malihabadi served the institutions and translated valuable treatises dealing with various subjects such as law, medicine, psychology, history, geography and other branches of physical and social sciences. Valuable glossaries were also published.

A similar Darut Tarjuma, mainly for translation of law and social science books, was instituted by Maharaja Pratap Singh of the Kashmir State.

Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu (Hindi). Founded in 1906 with Shibli Nomani as its first Secretary, the Anjuman was dedicated to the cause of Urdu language and literature. Under the dynamic secretaryship of Dr Abdul Haq, Anjuman with its headquarters in Aurangabad (then in Hyderabad State) and later shifted to Delhi, launched a massive programme of publishing edited texts of rare Urdu manuscripts, which threw new light on the early period of Urdu literary history. A number of valuable dis-

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coveries were made particularly those belonging to the Deccani period. Moreover, the Anjuman also published the quarterly *Urdu Adab* devoted to scholarly research the fortnightly *Qaumi Zaban* (title later changed to *Hamari Zaban*—Our Own Language) devoted to news regarding Urdu movement and for some time the quarterly *Science* and *Mu'ashiyat* devoted to articles on sciences and economics in Urdu respectively.

After Partition, the headquarters of the Anjuman were shifted first to Aligarh and then to Delhi where it continues its activities for achieving the constitutional rights of Urdu in India and also its publication work.

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Appendix 1

OTHER INDIAN LITERATURES

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Dogri

NILAMBER DEV SHARMA

Dogri, one of the older 'modern' Indian languages, has in it traces of old Sanskrit dialects as well as of languages spoken by the Khasas, Yavanas, Takkas, Gurjars and Mughals. Evidence of the use of Dogri in the Dogra Hill States is to be found in the stone inscriptions of the 12th century in copper plate deeds, sanads and agreements and in official and private correspondence. Duggar Bhasha was mentioned first by Amir Khusro in 1317. Rev. Carey made mention of Dogri in 1816 and John Beames in 1867. The 'Dogra' Bhasha has a script of its own, called Takari, but this has now been discarded in favour of the Devnagari script.

Folk Literature

Dogri has a rich tradition of folk literature. There are innumerable folk-songs, folk-tales, riddles, idioms and proverbs in Dogri. These deal with every aspect of life and experience from the cradle to the grave and provide entertainment as well as instruction. They reflect the hopes and beliefs, values and ideals of the Dogra community. They also cover subjects of universal appeal. There are several varieties of folk-songs and folk-tales.

Ceremonial songs sung at the birth of a male child are called *Bihāī*. Other ceremonial songs are *Mundan* (shaving of child's head) and *Yajñopvīt* (wearing of sacred thread ceremony). Marriage songs relating to the bridegroom are called *Ghoḍī* and to the bride, *Suhāgs*. *Thāls* and *Naṛātes* are seasonal songs akin to such Hindi songs as *Bārāhmāsø*, *Chiñjāṅ*, *Dholaḍū* and *Rittāḍīs*. Among songs sung at different fairs and festivals are *Jhiḍī* (Songs sung in memory of Bawa Jitto at Jhidi), *Lohḍī* (Songs sung during the festival of Lohḍi) and *Holī*. Songs such as *Sohāḍī* and *Bāhḍī* are sung on the occasion of sowing, reaping and harvesting. *Lādī* and *Garloḍhī* are sung while carrying timber and laying a roof.

There are in Dogri several long narrative poems in praise of the gods and goddesses. These are known as *Bhetās*. Similar poems in praise of saints and martyrs are called *Kāraks* and those in praise of warriors are known as *Bārs*. The numerous devotional songs, *Ārtīs* and *Bhajans* are called *Biśanpatās*. There are also countless love songs but the majority of them are songs of separation rather than of union. The reason for this is that, the men had to leave their families in search of jobs or employment outside the Dogra homeland. There are also war songs, exhorting soldiers to acts of bravery as well as depicting the horrors of war. Several folk-songs deal with history and important events in the life of the Dogras.

Dogri folk-tales, too, have a rich variety of themes and subjects. Most of these tales have a moral to tell or describe the manners and morals of the high- and low-born. Though the characters in these tales are Dogras, the stories and morals have a universal appeal.

Early Literature

Among the early Dogri poets were Manak Chand (16th century) of Kangra, Gambhir Rai (17th century) of Nurpur, and Devi Ditta, commonly known as Dattu, of Bhaddu (18th century), whose only poem in Dogri *Killiyā Battnā Chōḍī Dittā* (I Have Stopped Going to the Well to Bring Water All Alone), is a gem of lyricism. Its language has a conversational ease and it describes domestic circumstances in a familiar tone. Ganga Ram's (19th century) *Kaṅdiyā Dā Bassnā* (Life in the Arid Land) vividly depicts the hard life in the kandi areas of Jammu. Lakhhu is another 19th century Dogri poet.

Among the earliest Dogri prose works is *Rājaulī* (The Genealogy of Kings), a translation of a Persian work of history written by Balram for Dara Shikoh (1614–59). It was rendered into Dogri by Tehaldas at the instance of Raja Dhyan Singh of Kotla between 1766 and 1811. The translation is in idiomatic language and is written in an effective style. The first book printed in Dogri is a translation of the New Testament brought out in 1818 by the Christian missionaries at Serampore. During the reign of Maharaja

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Ranbir Singh (1856–85), some books on astrology, ayurveda, a drill manual and *Līlāvatī* were written or translated into Dogri. A newspaper called *Dogrā Mittar* was also published in Dogri in 1890. Translations of the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and John, Sermon on the Mount and the Ten Commandments were done around 1900.

The Period 1901–40

Only seven poets wrote in Dogri during the first 40 years of this century. Ram Dhan, who also wrote in Punjabi, is acclaimed for his only poem that is available in Dogri—*Channā Dī Chananī Channā Kanne* (There Can be no Moonlight without the Moon). It depicts the domestic scene and social circumstances in an inimitable manner. Mool Raj Mehta shot into prominence with his solitary lyric *Jīna Pahāṛen Dā Jīnā* (Sweet Are the Pleasures of Living in the Hills). Hardutt Shastri (1890–1956) was the first real Dogri poet. He wrote on social, religious and patriotic themes in a forceful style, using a conversational language. His approach, however, is rather didactic. 'Dogrā Deś, ' Bekāri ', 'Laṅkā Terī Naiyūṅ Bachnī', 'Fashion' and 'Adāltī Dā Dhānda' are some of his well known poems. The other three poets, whose poems came to light some time back, are Sant Ram, Sohnu Baba Kanshi Ram and Mathura Dass Mehta.

Dinoo Bhai Pant (b. 1917) however is considered the first Dogri poet of modern consciousness. He is aware of the inner contradictions of a society based on caste and class considerations. He added a new dimension to Dogri poetry by putting things in their proper perspective. Love for Duggar and its people in ' Mere Deśai Dā Ṣalaipā Merī Akhīṅ Kanne Dikh' (See the Beauty of My Dogra Land with My Eyes), fight against tyranny and oppression as in 'Uṭh Majūrā, Jāg Kasānā, Terā Bellā Āya Hō' (Rise O Worker, Awake O Farmer, Your Day Has Arrived) and 'Baiḍā' (The Unyoked Bull); dislike of middle class vacillation in 'Jāṅ Iddhar Ho, Jāṅ Udhar Ho' (Either Move to the Right or Move to the Left), appreciation of the free, uninhibited and independent life of the Gujjars in 'Gujjarī', are the keynotes of his poetry. He had earlier written 'Gutlūn' (Titillations, 1944) in a humorous style and revealed in its tongue-in-cheek approach a capacity to laugh at himself. ' Ṣehar pehlo pehal Gaye' (First Visit to the City) and 'Dūnī Chaṅdā Dā Bihāh' (Duni Chand's Marriage) are hilarious poems. 'Mangū Dī Chabīl' (Mangu's pyaoo, 1946) depicts Dinoo in anger and revolt. In 'Vīr Gulāb' (The Brave Gulab, 1944) he describes the bravery and the exploits of Gulab Singh, the founder of the present State of Jammu and Kashmir. This poem is in the style of a heroic ballad.

The two most important years in the history of Dogri Renaissance were 1944 and 1947. In 1944 was formed the first literary and cultural organization of the Dogras, the ' Dogri Sanstha '. It became the focal point of the movement for Dogri and Dogra art and culture. Under its banner, poets, writers, artists and scholars started writing in Dogri and worked for the propagation of Dogra art, music and drama. In later years, Dogra Mandal, Jammu, Dogra Mandal Delhi, Dogri Research Institute, Jammu, Bandralta Sahitya Mandal, Ramnagar and Dogra-Himachal Sanskriti Sangam, Delhi were formed and they made their contribution towards the enrichment of the Dogri language and the culture of the Dogras.

In 1947, Pakistan invaded Jammu and Kashmir. This aroused the Dogras to a greater consciousness of their land and language. The poets now penned stirring poems as the soldiers fought on the battlefields. Kavi Sammelans were organized to inspire the common man and these encouraged new writers and poets.

The first radio station in Jammu and Kashmir was set up in Jammu towards the end of 1947 and among other things, it made a distinct contribution towards the development of Dogri literature, particularly its prose literature, by broadcasting useful talks, radio plays, poems, short stories, folk-songs and folk-tales.

Patriotism was the dominant theme of Dogri poetry for some years after the Pakistani invasion. But gradually this poetry gave way to the poetry of the new social realism. Yash Sharma (b. 1927), Ved Pal Deep (b. 1929), Ram Nath Shastri (b. 1915), K. S. Madhukar (b. 1928), Kishan Smailpuri (1900–80), Parmanand Almast (1901–79) and Shambu Nath Sharma (1905–77) gave Dogri poetry new horizons. It became more versatile. New imagery, verbal melody, love for Duggar and its people and repudiation of orthodox values became the recurring themes. The 1950s were the years that saw the expansion of Dogri literature. Among the leading poets of the period were Raghunath Singh Samyal (1885–1963) who wrote on conventional themes; Swami Bharmanand (1891–1962), who wrote on spiritual and mystical subjects in a simple and assimilable style; and Mohan Lal Sapolia, Padma Sachdeva (b. 1940) and Charan Singh (1941–70).

In the sixties and after, they were joined by the early writers of the New Poetry. Dr Karan Singh, the former ruler of Jammu and Kashmir, made his contribution by writing some good *bhajans* in Dogri and by publishing some Dogri folk songs in a collection called *Shadow and Sunlight*. Peeyush Guleri and Gautam Vyathit, two poets from Himachal Pradesh, wrote 'Merā Deṣ Mhācal' (Himachal, My Land, 1969) and 'Chete' (Memories, 1969), respectively. Ram Lal Sharma's ' Sargam' (1975), Sapolia's 'Sajre Phull' (Fresh Flowers, 1969), Narsinghdev's ' Namī Kavitā, Name Raste ' (New Poetry, New Trends, 1965), Shiv Ram Deep's 'Ik Līkar Kai Parchāme' (Single Line, Several Shadows, 1969), Pradhuman Singh Jindrahiya's 'Phuārāṅ' (Drizzles, 1969), O. P. Sharma's 'Partāṅ' (Layers, 1974), Jitendra

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Udhampuri's 'Chetan De Sūrajmukhī' (Sunflowers of Memories, 1976) and 'Ik Ṣehar Yāden Dā' (A City of Memories, 1980), Ashwini Magotra's 'Khubṭiān' (Cocoons, 1972), Duni Chand Tripathi's 'Dhārāṅ Te Phuārāṅ' (Hills and Drizzles, 1974), Shakuntala Sharma's 'Trichaulī' (Admixture of Rice and Flowers, 1974), Munshi Ram's 'Suche Motī' (Real Pearls, 1971), Kuldip Singh Jundrayya's 'Ik Dabarī Dī' Maut (A Death in Deep Waters, 1972) and Goga Ram Sathi's 'Dikhne Ālī Akh Nayīn' (Vision Without Judgement, 1972) are significant additions to Dogri poetry. Ramayana by Shambhu Nath, 'Dolā Kun Tapeyā' (Farewell of a Palanquin, 1963) and 'Meiṅ Mele Rā Jāṇū (I am the knower of the Fairs, 1975) by Madhukar, 'Dhartī Dā Riṇ' (Debt of the Soil, 1971) by Ram Nath Shastri, 'Merī Kavitā, Mere Gīt' (My Poems, My Songs, 1969) and 'Tawī Te Cauhāṅ' (Two Rivers of Duggur, 1976) by Padma, 'Meriāṅ Dogrī Ghazalāṅ' (My Dogri Ghazals, 1973) by Kishan Smailpuri, and 'Ik Būndai Gī Tarsai Paiṅchī" (Thirsty Bird, 1967) and 'Jhunak' (A Jolt, 1963) by Almast are also important contributions to Dogri literature.

The emergence of Randhir Singh, better known as Kunwar Viyogi, has been significant for Dogri literature. He has written hundreds of poems, *ghazals* and sonnets. His poems may be flights of fancy but they are also rich in thought content. This admixture of emotion, thought and imagination is a distinct quality of Viyogi's poetry. His *Ghar* (The House, 1979), a long poem of 239 stanzas of four lines each, has a tremendous sweep. Its ideas range from the mundane to the spiritual, from the physical to the metaphysical, from the trivial to the significant, from the terrestrial to the spatial, and from the amoral to the ethical.

Puran Chand Puran, Virender Kesar, Sudarshan Rattan Puri and Champa Sharma have also published collections of poems.

Ghazals. Not many experiments in metre or form have been made in Dogri, but it does appear as though the *ghazal* is specially suited to the genius of Dogri. Among the important poets of the *ghazal* are Ved Pal Deep, Kishan Smailpuri, Shambhu Nath, Ram Nath Shastri, Narsingh Dev, Ashwini Magotra and Shiv Ram Deep. Ved Pal Deep's *Us Te Āṅ Bañjāṛe Lok* (We Are Gypsies, 1968), Kishan Smailpuri's *Meriāṅ Dogrī Ghazlāṅ* (My Dogri Ghazals) and Narsingh Dev's *Samā Jalai Kī Dhaḍkī Dhaḍkī* (The Flame that Flickers, 1968) contain some beautiful *ghazals*. *Talkhiyāṅ* (Bitter Feelings, 1980) by Ram Nath Shastri is a collection of his Dogri *ghazals*, some of which are powerful both in imagery and in thought-content, and are a distinct contribution to the genre in Dogri.

Among the newer poets, Kunwar Viyogi has surprised readers with *ghazals* which show maturity of thought and form, but it is Ved Pal Deep who is known as the 'King of Dogri Ghazals.'

Short Stories

Pehlā Phull (First Flower, 1946), the first collection of short stories by B. P. Sathe (1910–73), contains nine stories of which 'Kuḍmeṅ Dā Lāmā' (In-laws' Reproach) based on folk belief is by far the best. All the stories are written in fine prose, using the minimum words to produce maximum effect. During the fifties, Narendra Khajuria (1933–70) published *Kōle Diyāṅ Līkrāṅ* (Coal Lines, 1958); Ram Kumar Abrol (b. 1930) wrote *Paireṅ De Niṣān* (Footprints, 1959); Madan Mohan (b. 1934), *Khīrlā Mānū* (The Last Man, 1959); Ved Rahi (b. 1933), *Kāle Hath* (The Black Hands, 1958) and Lalita Mehta (b. 1938), *Suī Dhāgā* (Needle and Thread, 1958). D. C. Prashant, Nilamber Dev Sharma and Kavi Rattan were some of the others who wrote good short stories.

Narender Khajuria wrote in powerful prose. His stories, full of irony and humour, deal with social problems. 'Din Bār' (Death Anniversary) and 'Phull Bane Aṅgāre' (Flowers Turned into Flames) are powerful stories by him. Ved Rahi shows maturity as a craftsman. His themes and style are urban. Madan Mohan's *Khīrlā Mānū* reveals a good narrator, but sentimental in approach. Abrol's themes and style are dramatic, but he has no firm grip over details. Lalita Mehta's language is powerful and conversational and her stories have a feminine sensitivity and sentimentality about them. Other important short story writers are Narsingh Dev Jamwal, Sudesh Kesar, Usha Vyas, Bandhu Sharma, Om Goswami, Chhatterpal, Ashwini Magotra, Lalit Magotra, Manoj Sharma and Chaman Arora. *Nīla Amber Kāle Bādal* (Blue Sky and Dark Clouds, 1967) by Narender Khajuria, *Chānanī Rāt* (Moonlit Night, 1960), *Tāreṅ Dī Lo* (Twinkle of Stars, 1965) and *Dūd, Lahu, Jehar* (Milk, Blood and Poison, 1972) by Madan Mohan Sharma, *Khālī God* (Sterile, 1970) by B. P. Sathe, *Nehre Dā Samuṅder* (Ocean of Darkness, 1974), *Hāṣiye De Notes* (Marginal Notes, 1972) and *Naihṅ Te Poṭe* (Fingertips and Nails, 1971) by Om Goswami, *Parṣāme* (Shadows, 1972) by Bandhu Sharma, *Tāpū Dā Ādmī* (The Island Man, 1974) by Chhatterpal, *Dhukde Goṭe* (Smouldering Dung-cakes, 1966) and *Chānanī Dā Sek* (Heat of Moonlight, 1979) by *Narsingh* Dev are important collections of short stories. *Lok Gai Lok* (People and People, 1971) and *Sukkā Barūd* (Dry Powder, 1971) by O. P. Sharma, *Ūchiyāṅ Dhārāṅ* (Lofty Hills, 1961) by Prashant, *Badnāmī Dī Chāṅ* (Infamy, 1973) by Ram Nath Shastri, *Nīyen De Pather* (Foundation Stones, 1970) by Chanchal Sharma and *Lohe Diyāṅ Fiṅgrāṅ* (The Iron Filings, 1978) by Chaman Arora are some of the other significant collections of short stories. *Surtāl* (Melody and Rhythm, 1977) by Krishan Prem, *Khīrlī Būnd* (The Last Drop, 1978) by Ashwini Magotra, *Paṇchāṇ* (Recognition, 1980) by Satya Pal are the pick of the new collections of Dogri short stories.

There are a number of good short story writers from

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Himachal Pradesh, such as Des Raj Dogra, Shiv Kumar Sagar Palam puri, Pratyush Guleri, B. R. Bhardwaj, Gautam Vyathit, Sudarshan Dogra, Onkar Lal Bhardwaj, Shuhil Kumar Phull and Dharampal Sharma. They have all published their short stories. The collection *Rīṅgdī Pīḍ* (The Creeping Pain, 1972) by Kulbhushan Chander Kayasth is a valuable addition to the large number of Dogri short stories.

Drama

Bāwā Jitto (A Martyr Saint of Duggar) was written in haste by Ram Nath Shastri and staged in 1948, but *Achūt* (The Untouchable) was the first Dogri play to be written. Vishwa Nath Khajuria wrote it in 1935. *Namā Grāṅ* (A New Village, 1957), jointly authored by Dinu Bhai Pant, Ram Nath Shastri and Ram Kumar Abrol, however, was the first play published in Dogri. It has been staged a number of times. It is good in parts but lacks compactness and proper delineation of characters. *Dhāreṅ De Athrū* (Wailing Hills, 1959) by Ved Rahi followed *Namā Grāṅ*. It has a good theme and, in places, brisk dialogues, but lacks dramatic impact.

Sarpañc (1966) by Dinoo Bhai Pant remains one of the best Dogri plays. It has characters who come alive, powerful dialogue, a gripping theme and much irony and satire Its last scene, however, is rather tame. *Ān Maryādā* (Honour and Dignity, 1974) by Narsingh Dev Jamwal has some interesting characters, several dramatic situations and effective dialogue, but the playwright's approach is outdated. His *Maṅdlik* (a legendary warrior) is based on a Dogri ballad. In spite of good dialogues and some live characters, it is a weak play because there is little scope for dramatic conflict or tension in the story. *Pañc Parmesar* (Head of the Village Panchayat, 1968) by Puran Singh Puran is an adaptation of Prem Chand's short story of the same name. Narender Khajuria's *Dhauṅdiyāṅ Kāṅdhāṅ* (Crumbling Walls, 1975), in spite of the dramatic possibilities held out by its subject, turns out to be a farce. Of course, it has some clever twists of humour and satire but the situations are contrived and the characters appear to be more acted upon than acting on their own.

Narsing Dev Jamwal's *Allahaḍ Gollī Vīr Sipāhī* (The Damsel and the Soldier, 1975), the only verse play in Dogri, is based on a Dogri folk song. It has some flights of fancy and impressive dialogue. The play is very stage-worthy and has been successfully staged, but its whole atmosphere seems shadowy and unreal. Madan Mohan's *Janaur* (The Beast, 1970) is the first Dogri play in which the leading character is an anti-hero. The theme is bold, but the author lapses into timidity. The characters and situations are all 'stage-managed' and, therefore, do not contribute to making the play dramatic or effective as a piece of literature. *Ik Parṣāmā Badlī Dā* (The Shadow of a Cloud, 1979) by Madan Mohan Sharma has touches of sentimentality and some contrived situations. But some of the characters are well drawn and that of the leading lady, Makhu, is the best drawn, being the most powerful female character in Dogri drama.

Jīne Dī Qaid (The Chained Existence, 1979) by Lalit Magotra and Chaman Arora is the first 'modern' play in Dogri. Though shorter than a full-length play, it has all the ingredients of a full-length play in a condensed and concentrated form. The dialouge is powerful and the characters have a vitality all their own. The situations are realistic and form an integral part of the theme. The language used in the play suits every kind of speaker, big and small. The social scene and the domestic scene, with all the jealousies and intrigues, the insinuations and innuendoes, and the economic crises are all cleverly depicted. The characters are drawn well. In many ways *Jīne Dī Qaid* is the most powerful full-length play in Dogri.

One-Act and Radio Plays. There are a number of good one-act and radio plays in Dogri. Madan Mohan, Vishwa Nath Khajuria, Jitendra Sharma, Ram Nath Shastri, D. C. Preshant, Narsingh Dev Jamwal, Narendra Khajuria, K. S. Madhukar, Kavi Rattan, O. P. Sharma, Dinoo Bhai Pant, Dev Rattan Shastri, Yash Sharma and Vishnu Bharadwaj have contributed most to this genre.

Sāt Dogrī Nāṭak (Seven Dogri Plays, 1968) and *Dogrī Ekāṅki* vols. I and II (1971–73), published by the Cultural Academy, and *Pāñjraṅg* (Five Shadows, 1969), published by Dogri Sanstha, are important collections of one-act and radio plays. Atma Ram, Kulbhushan Kayasth, Rishi Bharadwaj, Shami Sharma and Dalip Verma have written one-act plays in Kangri.

Essays

Vishwa Nath Khajuria's *Duggar Dā Jīwan Darśan* (Life-Philosophy of Duggar, 1967) and *Saptak* (Seven Essays), Shayam Lal and Shakti Sharma's *Triveni* (1961) and Shakti Sharma's *Sehāḍān* (The Furrows, 1968) mainly contain eassys on the cultural and social aspects of Dogra life. *Kaṇḍyārī De Phull* (Kandyari Flowers) and *Nikkiyāṅ Nikkiyāṅ Gallāṅ* (The Trifles, 1973) by Lakshmi Narain, *Hāse Te Chubbāṅ* (Humour and Satire, 1974) published by the Cultural Academy, and *Būre De Laḍḍū* (The Grapes are Sour, 1974) by Sansar Chand contain essays on humour and satire. *Nibandhāvalī* (A Collection of Essays, 1969) by Kidar Nath Shastri, *Kaṣmīr Darpaṇ* (Mirror of Kashmir, 1973) by Ved Kumari and *Sammāhal Us Kalle Dī* (Preservation of the Past, 1978) by Vidya Rattan Khajuria mainly consist of essays dealing with the art, culture and literature of Duggar and Kashmir. *Nazar Apnī Apnī* (Viewpoint, 1972), by Chanchal Sharma, *Dogrī Kāvya Carcā* (A Study of Dogri Poetry, 1969) and *Ik Jhāṅk* (A Glimpse, 1976)

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by Champa Sharma and *Dogrī Sāhitya Carcā* (A Study of Dogri Literature, 1969) by Lakshmi Narain contain essays in criticism, and deal with the principles of literary criticism. *Jagdiāṅ Jotāṅ* (The Burning Lights, 1957) by Ved Rahi is a collection of short critical essays on some Dogri writers. The *Rajat Jayantī Graṅth* (1970) of Dogri Sanstha contains essays on the art and culture of the Dogras, on Dogri literature, on the movement for Dogri and the organization of the Dogri Sanstha. *Bāwā Jitto* (1973), a collection of essays on the legendary peasant-saint of Duggar, is the work of Ram Nath Shastri. There are, besides, dozens of essays on a variety of subjects by authors writing 'occasional pieces'.

Novel

Dhārāṅ Te Dhūḍāṅ (Mists and Mountains, 1960) by Madan Mohan Sharma, *Shāno* (name of the heroine, 1960) by Narendra Khajuria and *Haḍ, Beḍi Te Pattan* (Flood, Boat and the River Bank, 1960) by Ved Rahi, were the first three Dogri novels. Each of them describes the strife, values and beliefs, and the socio-domestic scene against the background of change in rural areas. *Dhārān Te Dhūḍān* deals with the gradually disintegrating feudal set-up; and the others with the struggle of the down-trodden against the oppressive Sahukars and Zamindars. The approach of the novelists is mainly sentimental, but Ved Rahi shows greater restraint. Ved Rahi's technique is more satisfying, but Narendra describes life in the hills more forcefully and exploits the resources of Dogri in a masterly style. Madan Mohan describes the role of politics in an age of transition from feudalism to popular rule. A more mature novel than these three is Shir Vats Vikal's *Phull Binā Dalī* (Flower Without a Stem, 1970). It has a maturity of technique, fine characterization, succinct prose and social awareness. The author has a firm grip of detail and his characters are well drawn. The theme is bold and Soma's marriage to Sudesh after the death of her first husband does not cause raised eyebrows.

Pishori Lal Gupta's *Jis Lai Nehrā Paī Gaiyā* (When it Became Dark, 1972) and Shakuntala Sharma's *Badsīs* (Curse, 1972) are novels less satisfying than the earlier four. But *Dreḍ* (Chasm, 1972) by Ved Rahi has a theme that has been handled deftly and in a sensitive manner. It is a very short psychological novel and is based on his short story 'Drār' which was in Hindi. In this novel the rift or chasm is caused when a pregnant woman is deserted by her husband while fleeing from the Pakistani invasion of their village. When peace returns to the land, the couple meet once more, but the woman is unable to forget the traumatic experience of her husband's treachery and the '*drār*' cannot be bridged.

Narsingh Dev Jamwal's *Sāñjī Dhartī, Bakhle Mānū* (Strangers on Common Soil, 1976) is a fat book and with the exception of *Qaidī* is the longest novel in Dogri. It spans the period from World War II to the end of the 1965 Indo-Pak War. Written from the soldier's angle, it shows deep understanding and compassion while realistically depicting human emotions and poignant situations. The subtle change in the attitudes of the people who have lived side by side for centuries, leading to the partition of the country on communal lines, is brought out convincingly. Even the soldiers, erstwhile comrades- in-arms, are not immune to this change and begin thinking of themselves as Indians and Pakistanis, Hindus and Muslims. On common soil, comrades become strangers.

Jamwal's prose has a strong local flavour and an earthy quality. He projects personality through dialogue. Characterization is his strong point. Even the minor characters seem to have an identity of their own. The scenes in the messes, barracks and drawing rooms are alive with the speech and feelings of soldiers and civilians. Jamwal also reveals a lively sense of humour; several situations convey irony in a sensitive manner.

O. P. Sharma 'Sarathi' has written the largest number of novels in Dogri. His *Naṅgā Rukh* (The Bald Tree, 1978) depicts the crisis of man searching for his identity in a society where human beings have all become nameless and faceless and are manipulated by the all-oppressive system. The situations, characters and even language are highly symbolic and relate to the present-day social malaise.

In *Makān* (The House, 1979), Sarathi says that a home is not something which has only four walls and a roof; such a home is like a prison. A real home is one where the soul feels free and where there is direct communion between man and nature. The language here, too, is symbolic and some descriptions have a painter's touch. But this at times results in a lack of clarity and precision in the situations and characterization.

Treh Samundar Dī (Thirst of an Ocean, 1977), a novel that idealizes teachers and education, was followed by *Reṣam De Keḍe* (Silkworms, 1979), Sarathi's best novel to date. *Reṣam De Keḍe* depicts honestly the social milieu and captures all the cynicism and exploitation prevalent in the social, political and economic spheres today. Sarathi tears away the masks of those expert in disguising their real selves. He exposes those who create shells around themselves like the silkworms and, thus, sow the seeds of self-destruction. The township and the characters of the double-tongued and the double-faced persons are convincingly drawn. Sarathi's fifth novel *Pather Te Raṅg* (The Stone and Colours), was published only in 1980.

Ved Rahi has written another short novel *Truṭī Dī Dor* (Broken Cord, 1980), which has Bombay as its backdrop. The characters and situations are quite real and the dialogue, which has a fair sprinkling of English, Hindi and even Bhojpuri words, helps to give the language a conversational touch. *Qaidī* (The Prisoner, 1980) by Desh Bandhu Dogra (' Nutan ') is truly a major novel in Dogri. It compares favourably with some of the major novels in other

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modern Indian languages. Its language is colloquial, situations dramatic and characters clearly sketched. The novel is of almost epic proportions and portrays the social milieu in Jammu and Kashmir between 1930 and 1949. The valiant struggle of its leading character, Bhagan, and lesser characters such as Bijju Saraira, Raghu Chamair, Shami Megh, Kumlu, Doomani and Masu Rajaida against tyranny and oppression is described forcefully. The novelist is deeply involved with his characters, but he tries hard to be detached. 'Nutan' is a Marxist-Leninist, but his characters are ordinary men and women, who love and hate, who are greedy and passionate, who sometimes fight for equality and justice and at other times break or bend. These people, mostly from the weaker sections of society, have an innate sense of dignity and justice. To maintain it they struggle unrelentingly.

Translations

Dogri literature has been considerably enriched by translations from foreign and other Indian literatures. Among the important translations are: Bhartrihari's Sanskrit *Śatakas* by Ram Nath Shastri; Dewan Kirpa Ram's Persian work *Gulābnāma* by Rao Rattan Singh and Kishanu Pant; Tagore's works by Madhukar, Ram Nath Shastri and Hans Raj Pandotra; Kalidasa's *Meghdūta* by Ram Nath Shastri; the *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*, Prem Chand's *Godān* and Vrindaban Lal Verma's *Mrignaini* by B. P. Sathe. Gandhi's autobiography, Nehru's *Letters from a Father to His Daughter*, Gorky's *Memoirs* and *Lower Depths* and Shakespeare's *Macbeth* have also been translated. Several important plays as well as many major Bengali novels of Sharat Chander have been translated, such as *Srikānt* by Nilamber Dev Sharma, *Grah Dāh* by Madan Mohan and *Pāther Dābī* by Vishwanath Khajuria.

There are five translations of the Bhagvat Gita and four of the Upanishads. Quite a few of the translations are major contributions to Dogri literature.

Dogri journals such as *Ṣīrāzā* of the Jammu and Kashmir Cultural Academy, *Namī Chetnā* of the Dogri Sanstha and *Phulwāri* and *Rekha* (both now out of publication) have made significant contributions to Dogri literature by bringing to the public important creative writings, criticism and translations in Dogri.

Children's Literature

There is a dearth of children's literature in Dogri. Though *Bhāgvat Diyāṅ Kathāṅ* (Stories from the Bhagvat) and *Betāl Pachīsī* (Tales of the Phantom) were translated by Shyam Lal Sharma quite early, not many writers have written original works for children in Dogri. Narendra Khajuria was the first to write a number of one-act plays for children. These were published as a collection titled *Us Bhāg Jagāne Ale Āṅ* (We, the Fortune-makers). He also published a collection of short stories for children *Rocak Kahāniyān* (Interesting Stories, 1962). Om Goswami also published his one-act plays as a collection titled *Dogrī Bāl Ekāṅkī* (One-Act Plays for Children, 1974). A special issue of *Dogrī Ṣīrāzā* (1979) contained folk songs, poems, one-act plays, short stories and humorous skits for children. In 1979, the Dogri Sanstha also published in *Namī Chetnā* Dogri renderings of the classics: *Ṣāh Nāmā* (Persian) by Firdausi, *The Iliad* (Greek) by Homer and *Hīr* (Punjabi) by Waris Shah. These renderings for children were made by Ram Nath Shastri.

Biography

Biography is still a neglected branch of literature in Dogri. Except Lala Hans Raj Dogra's biography by L. Mulk Raj Saraf, there is, strictly speaking, no other biographical work in Dogri. There are, however, three books which are partly biographical and partly critical evaluations of three Dogri writers, namely, *Kalamkār Charan Singh* by Ram Nath Shastri, *Kalamkār Shri Vats Vikal* by Paras Ram Poorba and *Kavī Hardatt*, collection of poems edited by Om Goswami. So far no writer has made even a feeble attempt to write an autobiography in Dogri.

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English

C. D. NARASIMHAIAH

At no time in Indian history did the masses of India have one common language throughout the sub-continent. But for centuries, the language of creativity and intellectual intercourse was mainly Sanskrit, whatever language they may have used for other purposes. The Vedas and Upanishads, the Sutras, the epics, the great drama of the classical age, the learned treatises in astronomy, medicine, surgery, architecture, sculpture, poetics were all written in Sanskrit. In this sense Indians have almost always been bilingual. The recent linguistic regions are no exception, for many of our writers in each of these regions speak in one language and write in another.

Sanskrit, our *devabhāṣa*, was the language of the Aryan invader, like Persian and English, which were, respectively, the languages of the invading Mughals and the British. Sanskrit subsequently came to nourish and live in the dozen or so major languages of India; while Persian was invariably the language of the top few, the language of 'court' culture and in course of time became so refined that it tended to be anaemic, though Urdu, its offspring, exists today as a virile language, spoken mainly by the Muslim community. English escaped this fate if only because it had to be used simultaneously by the British rulers, the Indian elite and the lower officials who served both—the clerks, the cooks, the messengers, the shopkeepers and innumerable others whom the rulers needed in a country so far away from their home. English education, English literature particularly, came to be the main source of their linguistic strength.

How did this linguistic strength, such as it was, express itself? To start with, primarily, in petitioning the officials of the East India Company, the most historic among them being the one submitted by Raja Rammohan Roy (1774–1833) to Lord Amhurst to impart European—modern scientific—education to Indian youth through the medium of English. As might be expected there was opposition to it, as much from the Indians as from the British rulers, each for their own reasons. It was at this time that young Macaulay came to India as President of the Board of Education. He clinched the debate between 'Orientalists' and 'Occidentalists' who were equally divided on the Board by his epoch-making Minute of Dissent. He argued in his high-mindedness that the Empire would go and so what he sought to establish in its place was the 'imperishable empire' of ideas, of laws, literature, religion and so forth. This lent strong support to Raja Rammohan Roy's campaign on behalf of English education. He himself learnt English when he was past 16 years of age and yet his English 'astonished' Bentham.

Vivekananda

Raja Rammohan Roy's English was one of petitioning, unlike the English of Vivekananda who thundered across the American continent expounding the greatness of Hinduism. It was Vivekananda's avowed mission to bring out the 'most wonderful truths' from the Upanishads and Puranas and broadcast them to the world, so that the truths may run like fire all over the country. This provides a clue to his spiritual concerns, his sense of urgency and the transmuting artistic cast of his mind. His expression was strewn with analogies, anecdotes and parables which formed the very medium of his thinking; it was almost always eloquent —an eloquence that issued forth from a 'tongue of flame' as Romain Rolland was to describe it later.

The advertising prospectus in American cities announced Vivekananda as 'one of the giants of the platform' and his portrait bore the inscriptions: 'An orator by Divine Right', 'perfect master of the English language', etc. But his was not the vicious rhetoric of a political agitator or social reformer—it was alive with truth, reason and imagination. Sister Christine observed, 'Every thought was passion, every word was faith, every lecture was a torrential improvisation.'

Vivekananda's chief distinction is in making spiritual apprehensions comprehensible by rational, demonstrable means. But his was not the method of scientific statement though informed with the temper of science. As we can see from the volumes of his speeches he had an omnivorous appetite for amalgamating disparate experiences. And with what clarity all that experience found expression! Vivekananda argued that if the chemist and the physicist do not require demons and ghosts to explain their phenomena, why should a man of religion depend on them? No man of religion in this country in modern times has set out to demonstrate religious experience in scientific terms with the knowledge and courage which he displayed. The concepts of cause and effect which in the language of metaphysics sound like casuistry is put across in the language of science which in his hands becomes art:

> The mountain comes from the sand and goes back to the sand; the river comes out of vapour and goes back to vapour; plant life comes from the seed and goes back

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> to the seed; human life comes out of human germs and goes back... The universe with its stars and planets has come out of a nebulous state and must go back to it. What do we learn from this? That the manifested or the grosser state is the effect, and the finer state is the cause.

Consider the intellectually baffling concept of Advaita. Vivekananda will say:

> A straight line infinitely projected becomes a circle. The force sent out will complete the circle and return to its starting place. We are all projected from a common centre, which is God and will come back. Each soul is a circle.... God is a circle with circumference nowhere and centre everywhere.... Death is but a change of centre.

Vivekananda exemplifies in himself the meaning of true freedom, freedom carried to its farthest limits in religious matters and sounds downright iconoclastic. Consider the following, uttered in moods of indignation and disgust:

> Our religion is in the kitchen. Our god is the cooking pot, and our religion is 'Don't touch me, I am holy'. If this goes on for another century, every one of us will be in a lunatic asylum.

> You will be nearer to Heaven through football than through the study of the Gita.

> You will understand the Gita with your biceps, your muscles a little stronger.

When the orthodox Brahmins of South India ridicule him as a 'meat-eating Kshatriya' Vivekananda is not embarrassed nor does he make personal attacks but blows up the Brahmin's precarious prestige as the repository of all learning and spirituality:

> Meat or no meat, it is they (Kshatriyas) who are the fathers of all that is noble and beautiful in Hinduism. Who wrote the Upanishads? Who was Rama? Who was Krishna? Who was Buddha? Who were the Tirthankaras of the Jains?... Is God a nervous fool like you that the flow of His river of mercy would be dammed by a piece of meat? If such be He, His value is not a pie.

How far Vivekananda has travelled from Raja Rammohan Roy, that pioneer in English education! And yet only 50 years had passed. Vivekananda could appreciate and assess the value of the English language for Indians. He wrote in a letter in 1896:

> The British Empire with all its drawbacks is the greatest machine that ever existed for the dissemination of ideas. I mean to put my ideas in the centre of this machine and they will spread all over the world.

He was convinced 'the Anglo-Saxons have created a future for India'.

A New Style of Prose

From the language of petitioning, persuasion and reasoning to the language of polemic, argumentation, reportage in journalism is but a natural development. And that is what it became in the hands of Tilak, Gokhale, Gandhi and other patriots. Gandhi tells us that he took good care of his consonants, resisted smart expression, cultivated English carefully and prayerfully. That is how his writing came to acquire remarkable simplicity, precision, economy and clarity. Examples of his English are seen in expressions like 'India is a house on fire.' ' Let everyone bring his bucket of water, the poet (Tagore) his.' 'Non-violence is the weapon of the brave.' 'The cow is a sermon on Pity.' 'I must be free to build a staircase to Sirius, if I want to.' This ascetic had an extraordinary sense of humour. To a question on what he thought of King George's dress when he attended the Round Table Conference, Gandhi said, ' The King was dressed for both of us: he plus three, I minus three.'

Jawaharlal Nehru. By the time we come to Gandhi's associate, Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964), the English language had acquired almost all the resources which its best practitioners ever achieved in England. While Nehru admired Vivekananda's English ('Every word of this monk dripped with energy'), his own English has a lyrical intensity, a hesitancy bordering on equivocation in the best sense of the term and a rare capacity to concretize the rumblings inside. While he was author of several works he is today remembered for his *Glimpses of World History* (1939), *Discovery of India* (1946) and *An Autobiography* (1936), probably the best of its kind in the English language. It is often thought that because of his involvement in politics a great writer was lost to literature. Actually his eminence in public life did great damage to his literary reputation but it is beyond dispute that Nehru the artist is politics' gift to literature, because his writing has been shaped in the 'rag-and-bone-shop of the heart'. Speaking of his *Glimpses*, John Wintringham exhorted Indian children to learn their English from Nehru rather than from Macaulay and Gibbon, because this was 'better history and better English'.

If it is said every age must write its own history Nehru would say every man must write his own history of the country and the world in the context of his own times. He imagined he was 'heir to all that man has thought and felt, suffered and taken pleasure in, to its cries of triumph and bitter agony of defeat and to that astonishing adventure of

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man which began so long ago and yet continues and beckons to us'. Look at the insistent self-questioning despite his known credentials to write on India: 'Do I know her? Is there something vital in her? If so, what is it? How did she lose it? And has she lost it completely?' Here is a method which makes for a high degree of objectivity. Note the opposites which create images by means of keywords (italicized by me):

> Where *triumphant* and *rebellious* thought had tried to pierce the mysteries of nature and the universe, the *wordy commentator* comes with glosses and explanations. *Magnificent art* and sculpture give way to *meticulous carving* of intricate detail without nobility of conception or design. The *vigour* and *richness* of language powerful, yet simple, are followed by highly *ornate* and complex literary forms. The *urge* to *adventure* and the overflowing life which led to vast schemes of distant colonization and the transplantation of Indian culture in far lands, all these fade away and a *narrow orthodoxy taboos* even the crossing of the high seas. A rational *spirit* or *enquiry* so evident in earlier times, which might well have led to further growth of science, is replaced by *irrationalism* and a blind idolatry of the past. Indian life becomes a *sluggish* stream, living in the past, moving slowly through the *accumulation* of *dead* centuries. The heavy burden of the past crushes it and a kind of coma seizes it. It is not surprising that in this condition of mental *stupor* and physical *weariness*, India should have *deteriorated* and remained *rigid* and *immobile* while other parts of the world *marched ahead.*

It is the manner in which he juxtaposes India's strength and weakness that illumines our present predicament and suggests sources of rehabilitation. If in *The Discovery of India* he functions on a mature plane, in his earlier book—*Glimpses of World History*—it is a fond father who writes to his daughter in her early teens. The mode is almost that of a story-teller; he does think that 'this story of the earth is more interesting than any other story or novel that you may have read'. The technique he employs in his letters is that of a novelist who wrestles with intractable material. While he does not take liberties with facts or chronology he manages to tell the essential truth with a sense of art.

'You know, of course that our earth is very, very old'—and after a moment's pause adds 'millions and millions of years old.' More details follow and the story moves on: 'And for a long, long time there were no men or women living in it. Before the men came, there were only animals and before the animals there was a time when no kind of life existed on the earth!' And then comes the enactment of the Book of Nature.

He takes the child from the fairy-tale-like story of the Earth to the happenings in history. Compare Nehru with, say H. G. Wells, author of *An Outline of History* who writes in third person singular or first person plural; if the first is archaic, the second is pompous, and in either case it misses the human touch of Nehru. Consider a couple of examples from European history. To Wells it is 'the Career of Alexander the Great', while to Nehru he is 'a great conqueror but a conceited young man'. Nehru seizes the essential details and makes revaluations which even a young girl must appreciate, because they rouse her curiosity. 'Alexander has a glamour attached to his name.' 'In fits of anger or whims of the moment he killed some of his best friends and destroyed great cities together with their inhabitants.' The final valuation clinches everything about Alexander: 'Like a meteor in the sky he came and went and left little of himself behind him except a memory.' Come to the section on Napoleon. Wells traces the different phases of Napoleon's life in abstract terms, while Nehru's first paragraph opens with: 'What manner of man was Napoleon? Was he a man of destiny or a wrecker?' He thinks both views are 'exaggerated'. In Nehru's hands hope, fear, anxiety and relief engage our emotions in natural succession; Napoleon's immense popularity among his soldiers, his strength on land, his weakness on sea, his scholarly disposition in taking with him learned men and books to Egypt and his joining with them in discussions as an equal, etc., etc. He becomes a tragic figure in Nehru's hands, more than in Hardy's *Dynasts*, because more incisive: his ambition for founding a dynasty, his simple life, his vast energy, desertion by his wife in the hour of trouble and the opposition of his own Generals and his family except his mother and son. Now the inevitable end: 'The star that shone must now have its setting.' As the statue of Napoleon was restored to the Vandome Column the unhappy mother of Napoleon, blind through age, stands at the door and, looking in the direction of the statue, says: 'Once again the Emperor is in Paris.' Nehru has realized all the tragic possibilities of Napoleon's complex character.

Nehru's Autobiography. Now let us consider Nehru's *Autobiography* in some detail. A young woman from far-off America wrote to Nehru on reading 'this moving biography', 'I want very badly to be able to hold my head and to call myself honest. I have the incentive at last. It seems to me that the most important thing in life is the preservation of ideals.' Miss Ellen Wilkinson, older, maturer and better known in British public life, thought it was an 'important' book and that Nehru was 'magnificently objective' where he could 'have foamed with wrath'. Within the country Amrita Sher Gil reacted sharply and precisely when she observed to Nehru: 'I think I like your autobiography because where others would have said "The sea saw me", you say "I saw the sea".' The book is a tribute to what W. B. Yeats wished for: 'perfection of the life or perfections of the work'. In Nehru's case each proclaims the other—'the

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life' and 'the work'—and both become one integral whole. It is a very Indian autobiography although Nehru's English is closer to British English than the English of our novelists. Consider the opening sentence:

> An only son of prosperous parents is apt to be spoilt, especially so in India.

The anxiety expressed in the sentence, fraught with ominous foreboding, is clearly in moral and spiritual terms. The fine self-awareness is a corrective to the customary projection of the ego in a work of this genre. His aristocratic birth and upbringing, his education at the hands of British tutors at home completed by Harrow and Cambridge and the pre-eminent role he came to play along with Gandhi in shaping Indian public life sufficed to spoil a saint. What saves him and the *Autobiography*, then, is his remarkable self-awareness or introspection. He writes that the all-round 'hero-worship' went to his 'head a little', for he was 'no saint or inhuman monster', he became 'a shade dictatorial' but soon his 'constant habit of introspection saved' him. He knows it is not his 'sacrifice', for there were others who suffered 'to the point of the last sacrifice'; it is not his intellectual gifts: they were 'not abundant' and in any case did not make for popularity. He asks if the people did not admire 'some image' of him which circumstances helped to project. But he does not deliberately suppress whatever embellishes his personality as, for example, when he felt 'attracted' to the idea of the Government confiscating his ancestral house as that would put him on a par with the millions of India, for it was better to be 'accursed' with them than be 'saved' alone.

On Gandhi he wrote: 'Consciously and deliberately meek and humble, yet he was full of the power and authority and he knew it, and at times he was imperious enough, issuing commands which had to be obeyed. His calm deep eyes would hold one and gently probe into the depths; his voice, clear and limpid, would purr its way into the heart and evoke an emotional response. ... This feeling had little to do with the mind, though the appeal to the mind was not wholly ignored. But mind and reason definitely had second place.' Here is an admirably dispassionate picture of Gandhi by one of his closest associates, hard to believe in the Indian context when Gandhi was a veritable god to the Indian people. But the same Nehru could write on another occasion: 'If Bapu died! what would India be like then and how would her politics run? There seemed to be a dreary and dismal future ahead and despair seized my heart when I thought of it.'

True to the immemorial tradition of India Nehru looked upon the whole of creation, man, beast, vegetation, as one family. His autobiography devotes whole chapters to 'animals in prison' and the varying moods of nature. He could inscape a squirrel by the choice word 'venturesomeness' and in illustration talk about the squirrel which, while he sat reading without moving for considerable periods, would 'climb up my leg and sit on my knee and have a look round. And then it would look into my eyes and realize that I was not a tree or whatever it had taken me for. Fear would disable it for a moment and then it would scamper away.' He could wake up a dozen times one night to nurse a puppy which fell ill with violent distemper; and could talk of parrots with fascination because he was amused at the lot of the poor male even in the animal world. He watched the fierce quarrels between two male parrots over a lady parrot who sat calmly by waiting for the result of the encounter and ready to grant her favours to the winner. The animals whose behaviour he watched with fascination at times induced serious intellectual reflection —on how different countries have adopted different animals as symbols of their ambition or character—the eagle of the United States of America and of Germany, the lion and bulldog of England, the fighting cock of France, the bear of Old Russia. He asks: 'How far do these patron animals mould national character? Nor is it surprising that the Hindu should be mild and non-violent, for his patron animal is the cow.'

But it is in the registration of his emotion and feeling for nature that he can rise to heights of poetic prose—his academic training in botany left the aesthetic component untouched. Nature pulsates with life in the pages of his *Autobiography* and enlivens and relieves the monotony of political and social upheavals. This is how the Himalayas affect him:

> Calm and inscrutable they seemed with all the wisdom of past ages, mighty sentinels over the vast Indian plain. The very sight of them cooled the fever in the brain and the petty conflicts and intrigues, the lusts and falsehoods of the plains and the city, seemed trivial and far away before their eternal ways.
>
> Their solidity and imperturbability looked down upon me with the wisdom of a million years and mocked at my varying humours soothing my fevered mind.

Nature has held the greatest fascination for poets in India from Valmiki and Kalidasa to their descendants today but not without suffering damage in the actual handling. But Nehru can get away with successive paragraphs at a stretch and make them all convincing: 'prevented from indulging in normal activities we became more observant of Nature's ways'. Here is an example:

> Spring was very pleasant in Dehra .... The winter had denuded almost all the trees of their leaves and they stood naked and bare. Even the four magnificent peepal trees, which stood in front of the gaol gate, much to my surprise, dropped nearly all their leaves. Gaunt and

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cheerless they stood there, till the spring air warmed them up again and sent a message of life to their innermost cells.

It is true the entire book is not written this way. There are quite a few examples of dull reportage as in the chapters on the kisans, the agrarian troubles, no tax campaigns which, while important to Nehru and his associates, fail to evoke the same enthusiasm from readers today. But such sections do not at all detract from the general impression of the book which is the record of a brave man who suffered much but carries a note of subdued but confident triumph of the spirit.

Nirad Chaudhuri's Autobiography. If after Nehru's *Autobiography* any other is mentioned for some consideration it is not because of its intrinsic worth but because of its false reputation which like bad currency has driven out the good. Such a work is Nirad Chaudhuri's (b. 1897) *Autobiography of an Unknown Indian* (1951). If Nehru's autobiography is pulsating with human warmth, the other is abstract, ponderous and dully academic; the former meant for Indians, the latter, on the author's own admission, meant for the English-speaking world. The title is clearly intended to catch the ear and eye of the western readers. Unlike Nehru, who realizes the meaning of the vital past, Chaudhuri wants to write off his past and begin life anew. Far from writing off he presents every little detail about himself with deliberation. While Nehru writes it to clarify himself to himself, Chaudhuri writes with 'the conscious object of reaching the English-speaking world'. But how did the English-speaking world allow itself to be taken in by such schoolboy bravado as the following?:

> In the first place, my personal development has in no wise been typical of a modern Indian of the twentieth century. It is certainly exceptional, and may even be unique.... In relation to modern Indian society I am like an aeroplane in relation to the earth. It can never rise so high as to be able to sever the terrestrial connexion, but its flight helps it to obtain a better view of the lie of the land.

The pomp and circumstance of the claim is soon offset by the looseness of thinking matched by the clumsiness of expression: 'In a country like India, so vast and populous, the individuals who form the exceptions may well run into millions.' Now imagine millions of exceptional individuals in any country, more especially in what Chaudhuri calls the 'Continent of Circe'.

The 'Unknown Indian' misses no chance to magnify things that have any relation to him whether it is the house he lived in, his mode of living, the fairs he visited, the festivals he celebrated and the books and paintings he owned. Snobbery is writ large on every page. He gives 47½ pages to his birth place, 30 pages to 'My Ancestral Village' and 22 to 'My Mother's Village'. His house was built in 1903, another was added in 1907 and both were sold in 1910. Then: descriptions of the East Hut, the West Hut and the North Hut. More details: his first sister's marriage took place in 1916, his mother visited Shillong thrice between 1896 and 1900. Then the catalogue of things: furniture, books, dolls, trunks. To top it all, his self-laudatory references: 'I could pass from physics to Sanskrit literature or from novels to astronomy with an agility which seemed like volatility to those who did not know me well.' And yet this book is better known as an Indian autobiography than Gandhi's or Nehru's or a subsequent one like *The Punjabi Century* (1961) by Tandon. Put briefly, Chaudhuri's claim as a writer rests on his publication *Scholar Extraordinary* (1974), on the life and work of Max Mueller.

Poetry

Indian-English poetry, like poetry everywhere, found its votaries among many young people, teachers and their admiring pupils, both products of modern European education and English literature in particular. Derozio, Malabari, Michael Madhusudan Dutt and Kasi Prasad Ghose are some of the oft-mentioned names in surveys of Indian-English verse but no poem of theirs has endured, though at the time they were published they received high praise from sympathetic readers, Englishmen not excepted.

Toru Dutt. Among the earliest poets who are to this day read with respect is of course Toru Dutt (1855–76), that marvellous girl who died at 21—if Keats had died at that age what would the world know of his genius? But Toru had left fine proof of her genius before she was 20. The family was convert to Christianity, which proves beyond a doubt that neither borrowed religion nor borrowed language, both unparalleled creators and conveyors of culture, could impair genius; indeed, genius can put them to creative use as if they were a great gift. Edmund Gosse, a distinguished critic of his day, gives it handsome praise: 'When poetry is as good as this it does not much matter whether Rouveyre prints it upon Watman paper or whether it steals to light in blurred type from some press in Bhowanipore.' More: 'Occasionally she showed a profundity of research that would have done no discredit to Mr. Saintsbury.' No small praise for an Indian girl in her teens whose pursuit was not scholarship but verse-writing. 'This one surpasses all prodigies', said a renowned French critic of her *Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields* (1875).

Her second volume of verse, *Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan* (1882) is at once a tribute to her knowledge

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of Sanskrit and the tradition it nourished, not to speak of the folk culture which also owed its stimulus to Sanskrit. By the very choice of her themes she joins the galaxy of boys and girls she celebrates in poem after poem: Savitri, Dhruva, Prahlad, Buttoo, Lakshmana (every one of them a Hindu household name). The time-honoured Indian way of story-telling in verse which must keep the story going and the listener engrossed in it; the admirable economy of word and phrase—she had not read her Sanskrit, French and English in vain—the evocative power of Sanskrit, the precision of French and the concreteness of English are potentially present, potentially because her life and work were more in the nature of a rare promise than achievement since she died so early. These poems remain children's classics and what strikes at once is the consummate opening and the smooth flow of the narrative:

Savitri was the only child
Of Madra's wife and mighty king.
Stern warriors, when they saw her, smiled
As mountains smile to see the spring.

Not only the narrative, but the reflective, nostalgic and dramatic qualities are also fully developed. And her admirable insight into the character of so mysterious and elusive a person as Narad Muni—the realization of it all in a few sure strokes is the work of one who has grasped her country's legends:

No god in heaven, nor king on earth,
But Narad knew his history—
The sun's, the moon's, the planet's birth
was not to him a mystery.

Consider now the ease and perfect command of the dramatic form, so crisp and fearless that a hundred years have not made any difference to the speech rhythms employed here. And yet the vocabulary is just enough archaic to distance the story from our own times, but the tone of voice makes it sound as something which happened only the other day:

Now welcome, welcome, dear old friend
All hail and welcome once again!
The greeting had not reached its end,
When glided like a music-strain
Savitri's presence through the room.
And who is this bright creature, say,
Whose radiance lights the chamber's gloom—
'Is she an Apsara or fay?'
'No son thy servant hath, alas!
This is my one,—my only child'—
'And married'? 'No'—The seasons pass
Make haste, O king'—he said and smiled

Toru is not translating from the Mahabharata story; it takes shape in her vision of it. All the essential facts get into the poem together with her own assessment. The controlling Indian metaphysical view of life on earth as 'appearance', *Maya*; and the transience of this illusory world, she could not have better expressed than through the following uncanny choice of words:

I know its *shows* are mists *unfurled*
To *please* and *varnish*. To renew
Its *bubble* joys
. . . . . .
Is not my aim. The gladsome sound
Of husband, brother, friend is *air*.

There is a reinforcement of the same quality in her self-effacement of Buttoo who goes in search of the ideal teacher:

And what if I should chance to die
None miss one bubble from a stream

In contrast to this expression of evanescence is the zest behind the amazingly original image in the opening lines of 'Sindhu'

The fireflies gemmed the bushes all
Like fiery drops of rain

So too the robustness with which she can ignite a cliche:

Blood calls for red blood still.

And the poignancy of a mother's heart beating in premonition of the death that has overtaken her child in the forest:

Why do my bowels for him yearn?

The sensibility is Indian but the concretization is admirably English as in:

Shell bracelets ho! Shell-bracelets ho!
Fair maids and matrons come and buy

'Our Casuarina Tree' is her most anthologized poem. The tree evoked as 'huge python', a 'giant', 'gallantly' wearing a 'scarf' and found in the 'embrace' of 'a creeper' places the poet in the tradition of Kalidasa's *Sakuntala*. There is evidence too of the tradition assimilating other influences —here, Wordsworth and Keats of 'The Solitary Reaper' and 'Ode to a Nightingale' respectively—as the following lines reveal:

And oft at nights the garden overflows
With one sweet song that seems to have no close
Sung darkling from our tree, while men repose

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But it is the less known sonnet 'Lotus' which shows the best concentration of her gifts. It is her response, an Indian response, to the imperial challenge posed by Cowper's 'The Lily and the Rose' out of which she brings out 'the queenliest flower that blows', the lotus. No wonder Edward Thompson brackets her with Sappho and Emile Brontë.

Sarojini Naidu. Edmund Gosse who discovered Toru's genius was available to Sarojini Naidu (1879–1949) too. He advised her to make her poetry out of 'some revelation of India, some penetrating analysis of the mature passion, the principles of antique religion and of such mysterious intimations as stirred the soul of the East'. She did of course write on the Indian scene, but consider how the very titles of her poetic collections betray her fragile romanticism: *The Golden Threshold* (1905), *The Bird of Time* (1912), *The Broken Wing* (1917), *The Sceptred Flute* (1946) and the posthumous *Feather of the Dawn* (1961). She had the aspiration all right: she 'hoped to be a Goethe or Keats' for her country and it was her supreme desire to write good poetry—'one poem, one line of enduring verse even'. Better poems are made of such juvenile stuff as snake-charmers, *kokils* and *champak* blossoms. Predictably, they bring forth recurrence of 'fairy fancies', 'gem-like fires', 'raptures', 'ecstasies', 'mellifluous wooing', 'the poppies of lips that are opiate sweet'—that the sense almost faints. Sugary sentimentality is her besetting sin. And the patriotic public who were lulled by her melody and jewel-tinted words conferred on her the title 'The Nightingale of India'. The same standards that operate in the judgement of many writers in our regional languages!

Toru had a Keats for her model. But Sarojini seems to have come under the influence of Shelley and Tennyson and the Georgians who were hardly equipped to give her a lead; they had made a mess of their own poetry. She wrote thus to Arthur Symons: 'I am not a poet really. I have the vision and desire, but not the voice and I sing just as the birds do, and my songs are emphemeral.' It is true she did not let her gifts come to full fruition.

Even so, such poems as 'Corn Grinders', 'Indian Weavers', 'Festival of Serpents', 'Song of Radha, the Milk-maid' and 'Leile' stand out. In 'The Buddha Seated on a Lotus' she sums up her heavenward hunger and the central thought of the Vedanta in lines like:

> And all our mortal moments are
> A session of the infinite

Consider the evocation of the Indian evening in such stray lines as

> A caste-mark on the azure brows of heaven
> The golden moon burns sacred, solemn and bright

J. H. Cousins grows so ecstatic about these lines that he remarks 'the image lifts India to the literary heavens, it threatens the throne of Diana of the classics, it releases Luna from the work of an asylum keeper and gives her instead the office of the remembrancer that the Divine is imprinted on the open face of Nature.'

It is in 'Indian Weavers' that Sarojini shows that in a short space of 12 lines she can be elliptical, allusive and symbolic in presenting life's journey from birth to death. As a song to be sung 'The Song of Radha' captures the very tone of voice of the milkmaid, the chanting rhythm, and the evocative power of the name 'Govinda, Govinda' as she carried her curds, her pots and the gifts of her inner self to the shrine of Mathura. The full-throated ease of the devotee's song manifests itself in the free flow of the verse:

> When the bees grow loud and the days grow long
> And the peach groves thrilled to the Oriole's song

This is how she carried the banner of song to the thick of political struggle. While her poetry is not great, it came at a time when India's self-confidence and self-respect were at a low ebb. At such a time that an Indian, and a woman, should voice forth her country's aspirations in the English language infused into public life song, form and colour. It cannot be said, however, that she carried forward the tradition inaugurated by Toru Dutt. Such possibilities are in hints, but not developed to give it the status of a tradition.

Aurobindo. Like Toru and Sarojini before him, Sri Aurobindo (1872–1950) also went to Cambridge, not for a brief visit like them, but to read and distinguish himself in Greek and Latin. Add to these a good knowledge of French and Italian, and a profound scholarship in Sanskrit and English. I do not know of any poet of our time, unless it be T. S. Eliot, who knew so many languages and literatures, ancient and modern, in addition to history, philosophy, theology, science and the arts. He even enjoyed an advantage over Eliot in that he was for some years deeply involved in the National Movement and after his mystic experience in jail, left it all behind and went to meditate in the seclusion of his *āshram* at Pondicherry. If poetry is a mode of meditation, *dhyānamantra*, you find it here. But a distinctly different sensibility from the one so far embodied in the English language had to be expressed in it. Perhaps the language of concrete imagery was a help (French was not congenial for his purpose: 'too clear and limited to express mystic truth', on his own admission), because it served as a corrective to the excess of emotion and sentiment for which the Hindu mind is notorious. Like Conrad who broadened the descriptive range of the English language, it may be said of Aurobindo that he 'made the English language accommodate certain hitherto unknown (inconscient) areas of expe-

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rience' both through his prose work *Life Divine* (vol. I, 1939; vol. II, 1940) and through his epic *Savitri* (1950–51), not to speak of the numerous translations from Sanskrit poetry and drama as well as his other less known but important works. This is a gain to the English language somewhat inhibited by the western faith in verisimilitude. Aurobindo knows that in the past 'the seeker of the spirit tended to become the cloistered monk, the ascetic, and the mystic and thus caused to set the spiritual apart from and against the material life. The lover of Nature went away from the din and bustle of life to commune with her largeness and peace.' 'The gods were found more in lights of solitude than in the thoughts and actions of men.'

He claims that poetry dealing with this new area of experience 'need not make our earthly life less, but more real'. To bring God into life is to help divinize our actual being, he asserts. This, Aurobindo knows, is not to be achieved by any individual, in isolation, but is a matter of belonging to one's tradition. Here, one would concede, is a poet who gave us the Indian equivalent of T. S. Eliot's 'Tradition and the Individual Talent'.

Let us turn to *Savitri* now. Any one of the numerous stories in the Mahabharata could have presented him with opportunities for the full realization of his preoccupation. But the legend of Savitri took the poet in him back to the Vedas, where it was a *mantra*, an incantation and a prayer to the feminine principle sustaining the universe. And nothing could have suited a poet's purpose better. In the Mahabharata, Savithri, daughter of King Aswapathy, married Satyavan disregarding the warning of Sage Narada that the young man had hardly a year to live. The legend was a symbol of the victory of love over death. Aurobindo invests the popular legend with mystic significance and makes it serve as a symbol of the conquest of darkness by light, of ignorance by knowledge. By so doing he is imparting to the story a contemporary relevance and a terrific urgency in the context of the world's suffering, caught up in the abysm of hate, ignorance and inaction. He makes Aswapathy (who as king has a responsibility for mankind's well-being) travel through the occult worlds, which are really gradations of individual consciousness, until he has the Beatific Vision, and Savitri is born. The child is a gift of the gods in answer to his meditation, that is, at the popular level, in the Mahabharata. But in Aurobindo's Savitri, the daughter, marks the birth of a new knowledge in man. With this knowledge she has to conquer death and save Satyavan, the symbol of truth. The knowledge, the expanding consciousness, belongs to Aswapathy and the striving to Savitri, for woman is Mahāsaraswati, Mahālakṣmi and also Mahākāḷi the moving spirit behind the universe.

It is significant that his own epic reminds Aurobindo of the Ramayana. But the symbolic meaning does not become clear at once in Aurobindo's epic. While the Ramayana is a symbolic fight between Good and Evil and was fashioned, according to Aurobindo, to 'serve the greater and completer national and cultural function', his own is meant for the cultural minority, as does the *Divine Comedy*. *Savitri* is a magnificent conception and a colossal undertaking. Consider the very opening of the epic, with the title, 'The Dawn':

> It was the hour before the Gods awake.
> Across the path of the divine Event
> The huge foreboding mind of Night, alone
> In her unlit temple of eternity,
> Lay stretched immobile upon Silence's marge.
> Almost one felt, opaque, impenetrable,
> In the sombre symbol of her eyeless muse
> The abysm of the unbodied Infinite;
> A fathomless zero occupied the world.

The first line, a complete sentence in itself, in its poise and simplicity, is a remarkable improvement on the magniloquence that starts breathlessly and rides high horse in Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Here in *Savitri* it presents a point in Time. The very next line brings in space so casually. And the mind in its journey is caught up in the 'unlit temple' and is 'immobile.' The word 'almost' gives the shock of recognition, as it were, and brings you down to the earth with a thud. I hope it isn't any prejudice against Milton but I think his 'no light; but rather darkness visible' is a memorable phrase but the poet of *Paradise Lost* gives his case away without any resistance while Aurobindo sees 'the huge foreboding mind of Night, alone, in her unlit temple'.

How many negatives have been summoned to the poet's aid in his presentation of the night! 'Across', 'foreboding', 'immobile', 'opaque', 'impenetrable', 'sombre', 'eyeless', 'abysm', 'unbodied', 'fathomless', 'zero'. The cumulative effect of these words coming in steady succession, whether one looks at them as images or simply as words yielding dictionary meanings, is a triumph of the poet's art. What at first appears to be a vague abstraction, yields on subsequent readings a central image (of darkness) which is itself a product of several contributory images which the words listed above evoke, each adding a distinct aspect of the night and helping to deepen the total impression of the dark hour before the dawn, thus taking you back to the Upanishads where one comes across 'darkness hidden in darkness' which only those who live in the tropics, and are alive to the varying moods of Nature can appreciate, seeing as they do, dark clouds hidden by layers of dark clouds in quick succession before they all burst upon the earth. But words like 'unbodied' and 'zero', especially the latter with its traditional philosophical overtones, carry a rich ambiguity of meaning, and suggest value at one level and deny it at another, the popular. These are not unintended

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either by the poet. Aurobindo claimed for himself in *Savitri*: 'I am not seeking for originality but for truth and the effective poetical expression of my vision....What I am trying to do everywhere in the poem, is to express exactly something seen, something felt or something experienced.' More than the dictionary meanings it is the mental images that the words call forth which add to the poetic value. The 'unlit temple' provides for the possibility of some pilgrim kindling a light. It is as though Aurobindo is ready to reverse Keats a little and suggest that in the very temple of darkness veiled dawn has set her sovran shrine. In any case it is eternity where darkness and dawn coexist and jostle.

Aurobindo no doubt sees in the dawn a rich legacy of poetry and prophecy which has come down from the Vedic fathers, our path-finders. The word 'dawn' at once evokes such rich images as Usha and Ahana with their western poetic counterparts Eros and Aurora, each helping to irradiate the eastern horizon with an earthless glory. Of these first lines, one can say in Aurobindo's own words from 'Urvasie':

..as if a line
Of some great poem out of dimness grew
Slowly unfolding into perfect speech.

No one will pretend that all the 24,000 verses of *Savitri* have this richness and density. There are many, many passages of second, third, and fourth degree of poetic intensity (if that is the word) which seem flat and sound feeble. In the first place these can hardly be helped in a poem of such immense length but if *Paradise Lost* is a great epic I should be prepared to put aside my personal predilections and feel bold to declare *Savitri* a very great epic indeed, perhaps the greatest in the English language, an opinion shared by some of the better English and American critics. If it fails to appeal to the sophisticated reader brought up on T. S. Eliot, it is probably because Aurobindo being cut off from modern movements in English poetry has not altogether discarded the idiom of an earlier age, and added to this is the other handicap of his operating in the labyrinthine mazes of mysticism to which a majority of readers have no access; and both become forbidding factors in our response. But he has his strengths in *Savitri* and elsewhere, especially in the slender collection called *Last Poems*, all of which must be read along with his critical work, *The Future Poetry* (1953) and the scattered bits of criticism that abound in periodicals and private correspondence revealing an astonishingly original mind. It is the criticism largely of a practitioner of verse, perhaps the best and the greatest by a poet in Indian literature. And yet this has gone unnoticed or mentioned only in passing by Indian scholars and critics. Consider for example his marvellous courage to experiment with vocabulary, syntax and form, in one of the *Last Poems*. The sheer recklessness of

I made an assignation with the Night
In the abyss was fixed our rendezvous
.....
I came her dark and dangerous heart to woo,

compels one's immediate recognition of the rendezvous, in a way better than Vaughan's 'I saw eternity the other night like a great ring of pure and endless light' does. Here is daring in verse-making which is incomparably greater than in all the feigned boldness of younger experimenters.

Tagore. It is difficult in the extreme to write on Tagore as he is made out to be 'the test of literary culture and criticism'. Tagore's name is often mentioned along with Indian-English poets largely because of his English *Gitanjali*, a small fraction of his immense work in Bengali which is in the region of 150,000 lines of verse and twice as much in prose. And *Gitanjali*, besides, is said to be a new creation rather than translation. Reaction to it is not only mixed but very confused.

Ezra Pound who called it 'an event in the history of English poetry and world poetry' didn't take long to be 'fed up' with its 'syrupy sentimentality'. And W. B. Yeats who helped in the translation of *Gītāñjali* and was not a little responsible for the award of a Nobel Prize to Tagore was so moved that he concealed the book lest someone should see how much he was moved. In less than three years, the same Yeats shouted, 'Damn Tagore, he writes rubbish.' In his own state of Bengal some of the stalwarts thought Shakespeare dwindled before Tagore. But others, they were rare, thought that much Tagore criticism was *sukhā-locana* (not *samālocana*). Much of the poetry, said J. C. Ghosh in his study of *Bengali Literature*, is semi-poetic' (sometimes 'pseudo-poetic')... 'emasculated in spirit and without the slightest suggestion of metrical variety or virility'. Budhadeva Bose who at one time claimed that Tagore was the world's most 'complete writer', later becomes apolegetic. After pointing out his many faults, Bose apologetically asks 'Can we for these reasons ever leave him aside?' It is interesting that in his own time the Chinese and Japanese considered Tagore 'the escapist poet of India'.

But to be fair to Tagore one must say a different valuation must result when Tagore is approached as a singer in Bengali and the *Gitanjali* lyrics as songs. Which means one must learn to distinguish 'the music of poetry' from 'the music of music'. Meanwhile, Tagore's own translation of Kabir's verses stands at an advantage in comparison with *Gitanjali*.

Recent Poetry

To pass from Tagore to more recent poetry is to pass from tradition—the great Indian tradition carried forward by him significantly—to experimentation, the stimulus for which has come wholly from abroad. The critic of poetry

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is faced with as delicate and difficult a task in dealing with these poets as with Aurobindo. While he may have some sympathy for the mood of the generation, which, deriving its subject-matter and syntax from the early T. S. Eliot, revolted against 'the blurred and rubbery sentiments' of the Aurobindo school and has waited in eager hope of backing the achievement that must result from so brave a reaction against Aurobindo, it appears to him that the time is not yet propitious to take a stand on their efforts, because there still is not a sufficient body of poetry which has advanced beyond the initial stages of experimentation and promise, sometimes remarkable promise, as in Dom Moraes' splendid first effort, *A Beginning*, winner of the Hawthorndon prize which had been lying, presumably without a worthy recipient, for 14 years in the very home of English poetry.

His second collection, *Poems* (1960), is distinguished on the whole, but does not mark a real progression in the poet's growth. And considering that he won the prize in his teens and is now past 40, one is apt to grow a little impatient that some kind of coherent view of man and the universe has not emerged from his poetry yet. Also, one is not sure that one can identify an unknown poem of Dom Moraes by any characteristic theme or craftsmanship of which he is now a master.

Would one be wrong to say the same of Nissim Ezekiel (b. 1924)? Ezekiel is a serious poet, perhaps the most serious of them all. The base on which he stands is Indian, of course, but in a very limited sense. There is also evidence of his having imbibed the best elements of the poetry of Yeats, Eliot and other English poets of the thirties. He has to date more than half a dozen collections of poetry of which the third, *The Unfinished Man* (1960) is deservedly the best known. Ezekiel's sensibility, to me, is rather more distinctly Indian, despite its obvious limitations, than that of Dom Moraes. But no one can pretend that this poet has inherited the great past of India in a significant way, which is to say that he does not command all the resources available to him—the 'Indianness' employed as a criterion of judgement is intended not to 'amputate' but to evaluate poetry. But to the extent he has availed himself of the composite culture of India to which he belongs he must be said to be an important poet not merely in the Indian context, but in a consideration of those that are writing poetry anywhere in English. What distinguishes him from a crowd of versifiers is a genuine sophistication in the use of language born of fine insights into life—which is very different from the phony elegance that ekes out a precarious living in the best poems of a vast majority of the younger poets writing today in India, England and Australia. But Ezekiel is so only at his best, perhaps in less than a dozen poems culled from half-a-dozen collections, and at the very next level he shares almost all the limitations of his contemporaries.

P. Lal (b. 1929) of Calcutta has written and published much verse in his *Writers' Workshop Miscellany* which has offered incentives to many a young writer. While he has taken note of the need for a change in the idiom of verse, his translations from Sanskrit poetry and drama as well as his own compositions tend to be rather precious and one is constrained to observe that his preciosity threatens to stifle his creative gifts. A. K. Ramanujan's translations from classical Tamil as well as medieval and modern Kannada are acknowledged to be more faithful to their originals than Lal's and have drawn deservedly wide attention, but his own verse can at best be described as elegant and urbane. Mokashi Punekar has published a volume of verse to which Sir Herbert Read has contributed a generous foreword. A. Madhavan has earned his inclusion in the annual collections of *P. E. N. International* and has subsequently collected his scattered verses in a volume. Kamala Das (b. 1934) has received enthusiastic praise in serious academic circles in our universities. The same must be said of R. Parthasarathy (b. 1934) and Arun Kolatkar (b. 1932), though the latter's *Jejuri*, which won the Commonwealth Poetry Prize, is more attitudinizing than distinguished poetry.

Our poets have done well by contemporary English standards but, have not created their own identity. Is it because they have not discovered their cultural identity? Indeed, they have not seriously probed it at all. Only when they do it, will the acting, on each other, of oriental and occidental mentalities cause a poetic ferment. None of them, it is obvious, has taken the pains to show Eliot's kind of equipment though almost all of them have followed the manner of early Eliot.

One is not sure, either, that any one of them is aware, that is, in their poetry that, as Aurobindo reminds us, ancient India was created by the Vedas and Upanishads and the vision of inspired seers made a people of us. Then, the epics Ramayana and Mahabharata through their ideal types of character gave a poetic manual of conduct for people of all strata. And later the religious poetry of the Vaishnavites, Saivites and Sakta poets has been a powerful formative influence in our lives. One is not so naive as to want them to revive that kind of poetry, but they cannot afford to forget that both folk and formal poetry, in this country has been functional, a humanizing and spiritualizing force, never a mere instrument of poeticality that it now threatens to be. And, so judged, many of the younger poets can hardly be said to belong to the tradition, let alone continue it in a significant way. And yet which of them can say his own talent can stand him in good stead and carry him through the crisis facing modern man?

Novel

V. S. Naipaul has accused the Indian novel of being a 'mimicry of the West', the Indian self-violation, because

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'the Novel is of the West'; it treats of life here and now, while 'thoughtful men in India have preferred to satisfy the basic hunger for the unseen'. One hopes for the sake of the western novel that Naipaul was speaking for *his* kind of novel which earlier provoked D. H. Lawrence to invoke the aids of 'surgery for the novel or bomb' when he deplored the parting of philosophy and fiction like a nagging married couple as a result of which the novel went sloppy and philosophy went abstract-dry.

The novel both in the West and in the East must trace its origins to a distant past. In one sense India had a richer potential for the novel than the West thanks to the Indian's gift for story-telling which goes back to the *Ṛgveda* and the Upanishads. There were cycles of stories in both prose and verse in the first millennium after Christ. *The Thirty-two Stories of the Throne* relating to King Vikramaditya and Somadeva's *Kathāsarithsāgara* are perhaps the most reputed in Sanskrit as well as regional languages. Then, there are the *Jātaka* tales narrating the successive births of the Buddha—and in prose too. The point of interest is that so much of contemporary social reality gets into these stories. Dandin's *Daśakumāracarita*, a 6th century work, narrates the adventures of 10 princes in which the day-to-day life of the people figures prominently and shows the merits of what we now call the psychological novel. We gather for instance that those who wished to spread a rumour had simply to whisper to the king's leading Counsellor—on oath of secrecy! The holyman of the stories can well be the envy of R. K. Narayan. A woman in love with the holyman could drive him to the edge of despair when he shed his loincloth—the only rag he had been left with—and declare to the world that he was a naked Jain saint in the hope of warding off the wilful female. A Buddhist abbess acts as a go-between in seducing the young man. Only the Indian story does not stop there—its concerns range wider and higher, the reason why Narayan's *The Guide* (1959) is more engaging than Naipaul's *Mystic Masseur*. Kipling's *Kim* and Raja Rao's *The Serpent and the Rope* (1960) are more significant than E. M. Forster's *Passage to India*, for Raja Rao begins where Forster ends.

And the Indian novel in English has shown a capacity to accommodate a wide range of concerns: starting from Mulk Raj Anand, R. K. Narayan and Raja Rao of the earlier generation to such later novelists as Bhabhani Bhattacharya, K. Nagarajan, Sudhin Ghose, G. V. Desani, Khushwant Singh, Kamala Markandaya, Shantha Rama Rau and Anita Desai.

Mulk Raj Anand. Let us first consider Anand, R. K. Narayan, and Raja Rao because theirs have been major voices in Indian-English novel. All three of them began to write in the early thirties. Mulk Raj Anand (b. 1905) has often been dubbed a novelist with an axe to grind. It is inconceivable how anyone could have put pen to paper in the twenties and thirties without reflecting the sense of the age, the spirit of the times that so largely shaped his sensibility. And Mulk Raj Anand spent a considerable part of those two decades in England and Europe. But for an Indian the decades had an immediate significance that with the fire that raged through the length and breadth of the land thanks to the National Movement led by Gandhiji, a movement which released the energies of men and women slumbering for centuries and roused their conscience against our degrading social practices and slavery. While British education, modes of writing and association with progressive movements did have their impact on young Anand, his distinction and originality consist in the urgency with which he reacted to the problems of his own society. Anand's concerns in some of his short stories and novels do give one the impression that the writer had a cause to promote. This is how 'The Barbers' Trade Union' opens:

> Among the makers of modern India, Chandu, the barber boy of our village, has a place which will be denied him unless I press for the recognition of his contribution to history.

An unequivocal statement like this does offend art. 'The Tractor and the Corn Goddess' too is what one would call a propaganda piece. Anand informs painfully in his admirable essay 'Apology for Heroism' that in 'this pink decade' there was 'less heroism and many heroic gestures'. Clearly the writer did not have any faith in those raging ideologies. He amplifies: 'My media was the whole man and . . .the whole gamut of human relationships.' Which meant for him the introduction into creative literature of whole new peoples who had seldom entered the realms of literature in India. Such are his novels *Untouchable* (1935) and *Coolie* (1933), both of the mid-thirties.

In *Untouchable* Anand creates a character who is seeking identity for himself in a world which has for ages suppressed his kind—a degrading social ill against which poets, philosophers and reformers have fought for over a thousand years. Bakha, the central character, is a type and an individual. While Anand leaves us in no doubt as to his sympathies for this character, his indignation at the society that so treats a fellow human being is unmistakable. Here is continuous mingling of approval and disapproval. He is amused at Bakha's obsession with aping the ways of the British Tommy in the name of fashion—to walk like them, talk like them and dream like them. But then, the Tommies have treated him as a human being while to caste Hindus he is untouchable. 'We clean their dirt and so *we* are dirt', thought Bakha. Even so as he comes near the temple the novelist lets the character respond to the chants that accompany worship with a spontaneity the moment calls for.

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Bakha was profoundly moved. He was affected by the rhythm of the song. His blood had coursed along... that his hands joined unconsciously, and his head hung in the worship of the unknown god.

The novelist uses this gesture of touching adoration to the unknown to shock the deaf and dumb at heart into recognition of their inhumanity to one who, while socially their inferior, is, in matters of the spirit, however, infinitely better than they. This impression is reinforced after the shameful attempt of the priest to molest Bakha's sister Rakha. Anand later enhances Bakha's religious steadfastness in his encounter with Colonel Hutchinson, whose portrait is a masterpiece in satire. Carried away by his zeal for conversion the Colonel behaves like a clown and Bakha proves too strong for his enticements—he thought he was happy with the religion of his father who in his turn had resisted the missionary.

Anand relieves the gloom and humiliation that had fallen upon the family by the human touch he imparts to it—a gesture of togetherness and fellow feeling in a society in which traditional family ties are seen loosening and the well-knit structure is crumbling under the pressure of technology. We are told 'they all ate from the same basket and the same bowl, not apportioning the food in different plates'.

That so much experience that the central character goes through should have been packed with the intensity of the poetic into a short span of 24 hours and in print into a length which can be covered at one sitting is a remarkable triumph of technique, the full implications of its application to this novel being hardly realized by those who glibly comment on the 'stream-of-consciousness' technique as though that were in itself a merit of the work. The technique, like the stimulus he may have received from Marx, was in the nature of a catalyst.

If in *Untouchable* Anand's success is the result of his edged economy, in his next novel *Coolie* he uses a larger canvas so as to accommodate an incredible range of Indian life from the extreme north to Bombay in south-west using it on another level as transition from the pastoral to the industrial phase and then to let the character die a near-destitute while in the service of an Anglo-Indian woman.

The novel which opens with a real raciness of the peasant speech—its very syntax, cadence and diction captured in the early thirties in a novel meant to be published in England-is a remarkable feat. As it moves to Bombay we have a whole section depicting life in Bombay: the factories, their owners who live in mansions and the emigrating peasants living on pavements. One is not sure if anywhere else in Indian-English fiction one gets so poignant a picture of the life of the pavement dwellers: 'an emaciated man, the bones of whose skeleton were locked up in a paralytic knot'; 'a grey-haired black blind man leaning half on the arm of his daughter, half on a stick'; the tormenting picture of a girl with 'clear-cut features that had once beamed with life' and next 'a heap of patched quilt that half enclosed the rotting flesh of a leper'. The gruesomeness is softened by the compassion the novelist invests these unfortunates with: 'the hoarse moan of a sleeping beggar who protected her child as she lay close to it', etc., etc. and the peasant bringing the coolie into Bombay cautioning the boy in a tone of quiet dignity, 'walk carefully, my son, let us not disturb other people's rest'. And as the day dawns the wretches on the pavement wake up thankful to God and murmur 'Ram-Ram', 'Sri-Sri'.

One sees in observations like these the mature manifestations of an old living culture which has sustained our peasantry through centuries of misery. Death has ceased to frighten these poor folk—they are past all fright; it is life that is a threat.

These are the two earliest novels of Anand and Indian-English fiction. He is still alive and writing his *Seven Ages of Man*, a series of seven autobiographical novels, and editing the international art magazine called *Marg*.

R. K. Narayan. A product of the Hindu middle class in South India sharing the beliefs, superstitions and prejudices of his class in a small town and viewing its goings-on with sympathy but also with a keen eye for the comic in the life around him, Narayan (b. 1907), qualified himself admirably to be a writer of his own class and the provincial town. Odd men, rather the oddities in men, seemed to evoke his interest, but they are common men with an uncommon potential. How do such men struggle towards maturity within the religious and social framework? That seems to be Narayan's preoccupation. The comic mode he employs will be seen to be the equivalent of the tragic mode through which man receives wisdom.

Narayan's *Swami and Friends* (1935), his first novel, anticipates his concerns in a succession of novels to date. Swami is Chandran of *Bachelor of Arts* (1937), Krishnan of *The English Teacher* (1945), Sampath of the same title, Margayya of *The Financial Expert* (1952), Raju of *The Guide* (1959) and so forth. Almost all of them have their bearing in Malgudi and come to grief when they go out or depart from its immemorial life-style.

Narayan's sense of the comic is sustained not by the Dickensian kind of exaggeration but rather by the irony of understatement practised by Jane Austen. Was this the natural reaction of a creative writer against the flamboyance of speech employed by his countrymen during the days of our political agitation when interest centred on the large and serious issues of life from which he stood away as an onlooker? This is especially clarified in his *Waiting for the Mahatma* (1955) where even Gandhi is not free from Narayan's operative irony. Indeed at times Gandhi looks

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and behaves like a clown much to the chagrin of Narayan's countrymen. Narayan's preoccupations with the social nexus, his irony and his comic mode at once found favour with the British who had brought into maturity the country-house comedy. This is also the kind of response that he got from his own countrymen looking for entertainment on the lighter side. Surface responded to the surface and confirmed the lighter side of the novelist and his rising popularity in the Anglo-American world, which made his writing a kind of yardstick to judge Indian-English writing with, reinforced his faith in his comic mode. Narayan's art is seldom aware of the profoundly serious except in *The English Teacher*, which is autobiographical. Krishnan, the English teacher, who is also Narayan, achieves a clarity of vision after the death of his wife—such is the nature of grief, such the end of all human existence that it calls for the most direct expression of experience:

> There were no more surprises and shocks in life; so that I watch the flame without agitation. For me the greatest reality is this and nothing else. . . Nothing else will worry or interest me hereafter.
>
> The days had acquired a peculiar blankness and emptiness. The only relief was my child.

The poise that ensues from it and the strength it now gives is more valuable than the momentary comfort he gets through the occult medium which helps him to be in touch with his dead wife. If he had turned to the Ramayana and the Mahabharata for stimulus rather than to the country-house comedy, that should have opened up more resources in his own tradition. What is astonishing is that even the modes of the Ramayana and Mahabharata are cut to size in his *Gods, Demons and Others* (1964) thanks to his comic preoccupations.

Nevertheless, with *The Guide* Narayan established himself as a master of fiction, *his* kind of fiction. Here in this novel, the traditional past and the changing present are in encounter with each other and Narayan shows, through his comic mode, the tremendous vitality of India's past in ordering the present. We are still in the world of Malgudi in *The Guide* with its spreading tamarind tree and the predominantly agricultural community now beginning to feel the impact of the industrial age with the coming of the railways which meant the undoing of the old ways of living. The words of Raju's father, 'just my misfortune', sound portentous. A small shopkeeper's son becomes the railway guide, spends all his time on the platform and starts living by his wits. Later he tells Velan, the peasant 'I am not so great as you imagine, I am just ordinary' which gives a clue to the understanding of all Narayan's characters. It is the struggle of the ordinary man to realize the full potentialities, not of his greatness but that which lies within the reach of many, but goes to waste except in men like Raju—who, whether as railway guide or Rosie's lover or as the Swami, does manage to realize himself. Raju says 'If I had had the inclination to say, I don't know what you are asking about, my life would have taken a different turn' — he would have been one of the thousands of normal human beings. It is this stuff of tragedy that Narayan handles comically.

It is this nonchalance that brings him close to Rosie. But he makes a remarkable success of it (and failure in a moral and spiritual sense) though that success ultimately lands him in prison, where also he distinguishes himself and becomes the jailor's favourite. And out of prison his constant habit of giving guidance brings him success in a different—spiritual—sense. 'He had erected a giant out of his puny self, a throne of authority with a stone slab'. Raju remembers his mother's saying: 'If there is one good man anywhere, the rains would descend for his sake and benefit the whole world'! That stands him in good stead in the crisis when the village is in the grip of a severe drought and the villagers look up to him as their saviour: 'If by avoiding food I shall help the trees bloom and the grass grow, why not do it thoroughly?' Where did this strength come from? It came from the examples of good life his mother had placed before him as a boy; it came from the faith of the simple villagers, it came from the locale itself with a temple on the banks of a river near the village Mangala (auspicious). All this, coupled with the old ingrained habit of rising to any occasion, must bring him its reward.

It has been said that all prose fiction in the West is a variation on the theme of Cervantes' *Don Quixote*—of appearance and reality—love, beauty, money, prestige, those generators of illusion which mislead the individual and perpetually place him in a false position with man and God and so have to be broken through and so done, what he achieves is a quest for reality exploring the deeper layers of life.

Now Narayan's comic mode which helps him achieve a high degree of detachment makes for a loss of intensity and capacity for profound engagement, the strength of tragic art. But to penetrate areas clearly outside the province of tragedy and sensitize us to the possibilities of the commonplace for the apprehension of reality can only be the privilege of the comic art. And it is a privilege Narayan has employed to his utmost advantage.

Raja Rao. With just four novels *Kanthapura* (1938), *The Serpent and the Rope* (1960), *The Cat and Shakespeare* (1965), *Comrade Kirillov* (1976) and a collection of short stories Raja Rao (b. 1909), remains our most important novelist in English. The Sahitya Akademi Award for his *The Serpent and the Rope* brought him national recognition. And one thing led to another. Those who read *The Serpent and the Rope* with interest went back to his first novel *Kanthapura*, a story of village life in the interior of Mysore,

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during the National Movement led by Gandhi. Raja Rao knows his village life from the inside. He has seen the inhabitants and known them by name: Postmaster Suryanarayana with his two-storeyed-house; Patwari Nanjudiah who had put glass panes to the windows; the *toṭṭi* house (inner courtyard, a status symbol) which had a big verandah, large roof and granary; waterfall Venkamma who roared day and night; and zamindar Bhatta who has gone on adding others' lands to his domain; the young idealistic 'corner house Moorthy', who was destined to shake the village out of complacency and put it on the map of Mysore and India, and the 'nine-beamed house' of Patel Range Gowda, the village headman, a 'tiger' to the authorities. As for the rest they were 'badly dressed and paid their taxes after several reminders'. It is by such details that he concretizes the village. Right in the centre of the village is a temple dedicated to Kenchamma, Great Goddess, Benign One. A river, a hill dedicated to the goddess completes the picture. Kenchamma in the centre of the village, forms the still-centre of village life and makes everything meaningful. Marriage, sickness, funeral, ploughing, sowing, harvest, arrests, release—all are watched over by Kenchamma.

It is this back-of-beyond village that comes to life during the National Movement, in the twenties. It is in the handling of this theme that the novelist quickens it to activity and thus gives us an insight into the appalling social conditions of our villagers as also the values that have preserved them through the centuries. But it is no political novel. It portrays, as no government-sponsored history of the Freedom Movement does, the story of the resurgence of India under Gandhi's leadership, the way he spiritualized politics. To be young was very heaven in those days. 'He is our Gandhi', 'he is the saint of our village' thought the villagers. There were others who disapproved of 'this Gandhi business' and 'Gandhi vagabondage'. The high-priest of the village, Bhatta, comes down heavily on Moorthy for socializing with the untouchables. It is possible that Raja Rao was influenced by Ignazio Silone's *Fontamara* in the handling of this material. But the manner in which religion became the nucleus of regeneration in Kanthapura and the manner in which Moorthy won their participation in celebrating the festivals, is all his own and that of his tradition. The novelist who has a higher conception of the Brahmin disapproves of the way Bhatta amassed his property and built his happiness on the graves of the poor and the wretched. He was the only one who would not have anything to do with Gandhi *bhajans*.

After the upheaval, thanks to police excess 'there was neither man nor mosquito' in Kanthapura. The Patel, who was 'tiger' to the authorities became 'lean as an areca', the 'city boys' went to the city, the peasant back to his village to find nothing left. 'Chinna, the concubine, went on lifting her leg to her new clients'. And the old woman-narrator's remark 'My heart, it beat like a drum' is the last sentence of the novel. It is a breathless tale, fascinatingly told. A whole character comes to life in one phrase: 'Iron-shop Inam Khan gun in hand and fire in his eyes' and a whole social milieu gets summed up in 'kitchen queen' for the Indian woman. That this novel with its Indian-English should have been published by Allen and Unwin in the thirties is a tribute to their progressive publishing policies. The novel assimilates disparate experiences and its experimentation with the English language makes it possible for the author to give expression to a complex sensibility.

To come from *Kanthapura* to *The Serpent and the Rope* is to come to an international, cosmopolitan experience which nevertheless leaves the timeless India untouched. The title was attractive, the language more than competent, but its 'Asiatic vague immensities' which repelled many and baffled others, precisely challenged and absorbed the attention of the Indian mind.

Consider how Raja Rao sets out on his present preoccupation in the opening paragraph 'I was born a Brahmin—that is devoted to Truth and all that.' Then comes the more explicit criterion: 'Brahmin is he who knows Brahman.'

The entire novel is an evocation of this truth, the tradition of India and its vitality especially in its encounters with the West—India seen as an idea, not as an area on the map. To the reader and perhaps to the author the evocation gains an edge, an immediacy because of India's present degradation, and the manner of presentation is not historical but strictly in terms of art. The novelist has not one method but has recourse to many to make his tradition alive—that India represents an idea, the idea of the absolute which makes the relative meaningful, but man should learn not to mistake the relative for the absolute, the rope for the serpent. Only that knowledge is knowledge which makes for the discrimination. Not until he learns this, can man be said to belong anywhere; he is, in the words of the central character, 'a wanderer', at best 'a holy vagabond'.

Is all this legitimate in fiction? Nothing really is excluded from this 'bright book of life'. To the western man, the Anglo-Saxon in particular, literature concerns itself with man, society, civilization and his concerns with these made for social morality. But how inadequate is social morality as a yardstick will be seen in the context of American and Russian fiction, certainly Indian fiction. It is thus that we have to look at Ramaswamy's life in the novel—the way he belongs to the world *and* transcends it. The way of the Buddha—of suppressing desires—is the one way (*nirvṛtti*) and the other of giving them a proper direction (*Parvṛtti*). And Ramaswamy takes the way of active life, for take what path you like, you reach the same destination. Ramaswamy, a young Brahmin from Mysore, goes to France, marries Madeleine, a French Catholic, six years older than him, researches in Albigensian heresy in the hope of connecting Cathars with his Vedic ancestors. His French wife is interested in the same for a different reason—to trace the origin

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of the Holy Grail. The marriage breaks down, not because they belonged to two different cultures, though it must have contributed, but neither of them was able to transcend the ego, put simply, to appreciate the difference. And in his forlorn state he makes a diary entry which reads:

> No, not a God but a Guru is what I need. Oh, now my Guru, my Lord. I cried in the middle of this dreadful winter night: It is the gift that Yajnavalkya made to Maitreyi, it is the gift of Govinda to Sankara. It is the gift He made to me, My Lord.

This inner compulsion, we notice, takes place when Ramaswamy has an alternative, to wed Savitri, a Rajput princess educated at Cambridge and engaged to marry Pratap for whom she has no more regard than for her father's secretary. But she too decides to go away from Ramaswamy back to Pratap because it is her *dharma*. She asks: does it matter whom you marry?

The whole thing acquires a significance in the light of what Yajnavalkya says to Maitreyi: 'Not for the husband's sake is the husband dear but for the Self's sake'. Madeleine went as far as a woman in her tradition could go, but her mistake was in thinking she could find meaning in a tradition not her own. She was torn between the two, was neither here nor there.

Raja Rao draws numerous devices from history, mythology and contemporary living to evoke the central concept of illusion and reality. We would do well to read Deny Rougemont's book *Passion and Society* which takes the stand that 'passion and marriage are essentially irreconcilable and lead to social lawlessness and spiritual peril'. Now man cannot perceive this through the veil of ignorance. Hence the title *The Serpent and the Rope*.

Raja Rao calls his next novel *The Cat and Shakespeare* 'a tale of India' and 'a metaphysical comedy'. It is a tale—and Raja Rao tells the tale (the talking voice of *Kanthapura* comes back again with greater ease)—of modern India as he has known it from an intimate exposure to the life around him, but also as one who is steeped in the vital past. Nowhere has so much been said in so short a space—of less than 120 pages. The tale teases the reader so much that he can hardly turn a page without having to ponder on some metaphysical truth, some Shakespearian parallel or contrast in situation or language and some racial experience as crystallized in the folk wisdom of his own culture. Add to this the allegoric and parabolic mode of treatment. A word, a phrase, an analogy, a dialogue form, even an unsuspected rhythm may take the reader back and forth in the attempt to perceive the hidden truth.

It is done largely through the father figure of Govindan Nair, the narrator's neighbour. He is no Hamlet, but is rather like Prospero, not the Prospero who neglected his dukedom and put his trust in his brother to the peril of both, but one who put his faith in 'providence divine' and believed in the 'rarer action' of forgiveness, not revenge. Hence the cat. Shakespeare, says Raja Rao, knew every mystery of the relationship, but his characters, except perhaps in *King Lear*, had not learnt the way of surrender as Lear and Cordelia did towards the end of the play. 'Have you ever seen a kitten fall?' he asks. Because the kitten trusts the mother. Hence the exhortation 'Trust to the mother cat, then'.

It is clear that Raja Rao is reassuring himself as well as others that the Indian who learnt his English from Shakespeare and his ilk has made the language his, put it to many uses, clumsily perhaps, and pompously at times, but also profoundly when he feels the pressure inside. In *The Cat* it is English that can embody folk wisdom for purposes for which vernaculars are used obliquely, ambiguously. Here is the full maturing of a process put in motion in *Kanthapura*. While in *The Serpent and the Rope* the intellectual preoccupation did not always get accommodated in the novel form, in *The Cat* the abstractions have invariably found their concrete equivalents thanks largely to the symbolism and allegory which have transmuted abstractions into felt sensations. *The Cat* is in that sense the most mature of his novels.

G. V. Desani. Perhaps the only other novelist who has experimented with his English is G. V. Desani (b. 1909), Raja Rao's contemporary who has lived in and out (less in than out) of India, and has written but one novel, *All About H. Hatterr* (1949) and a verse-drama called *Hali* (1952). Like the author, the hero of his novel, too, has wandered all over the world and presents a throbbing picture of the world, which means all of us. Viewed from the Hatterr angle it adds a new dimension to our understanding of life in its *contrasts*. Put simply, the theme of the novel is life in its contrasts and one cannot know too well its implications. Hatterr is naturally the hero of his own autobiography, not because he has achieved great things but because he has lost the world and, in a sense, gained it with experience. Though European and Malayan by birth he is truly Indian for all purposes. It is the adventures and encounters of this complex character with life in all its variety, the presentation of the sage-disciple relationship indicating his search for Truth and his disappointments, the successive anticlimaxes, the sordid side of life, the robust humour, effective irony and satire, the underlying pathos and tragedy and the supreme detachment in presentation in 'rigmarole English' as Hatterr himself admits, that contribute to the richness of this novel and makes its reading an exhilarating experience. T. S. Eliot was right when he observed: 'It is amazing how anyone should be able to sustain a piece of experience at such length.' The gap between thought and expression is at a minimum. The story is told in one breath, its style is so flexible

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but unique that it marks Desani out as a distinguished novelist.

M. Ananthanarayan. M. Ananthanarayan is the author of a single remarkable novel, *The Silver Pilgrimage* (1961). Like Desani's *H. Hatterr*, what this picaresque novel seeks to do is to give expression to a culture 'in which religion, in its most intrinsic sense pervaded every activity of life, and tinged every experience or feeling, so that all events were seen as symbols'. As Harvey Breit informs in his preface to the paperback edition: 'Love, disease, philosophy, recipe for a particular dish, all were equally taken as manifestations of the divine....Unlike the Greek tragedies, catharsis has no place here; order and tranquillity reign amidst the chaos and terror.' Here, truly, is the complex challenge to India's cultural life today. Ananthanarayan has fused the medieval and the modern in this charming, most readable little novel of 170 pages. *The Silver Pilgrimage* enacts the indefatigable Indian stand that 'life is supportable at all points'.

Bhabani Bhattacharya. Bhabani Bhattacharya (b. 1906) belongs to the same generation as the writers we have so far discussed. His novels deal with contemporary social reality. *So Many Hungers* (1947) and *He Who Rides a Tiger* (1954) draw their stimulus from the Bengal Famine and the Quit India movement. *Music for Mohini* is partly concerned with the reconciliation of old and new values in Indian life. *A Goddess Named Gold* (1960) is preoccupied with the meaning and significances of freedom, as *Shadow from Ladakh* (1966), with the Chinese aggression of 1962.

Bhattacharya seems to have a theory of the novel—it must have a social purpose. Purposeless art and literature do not appeal to him. Well, that is his virtue and weakness as a novelist. *So Many Hungers* (1947) and *Shadow from Ladakh* are probably his best novels.

Manohar Malgonkar. Manohar Malgonkar (b. 1913) is a prolific writer. Besides novels like *Distant Drums* (1961), *Combat of Shadows*, *The Princes* (1970) and *A Bend in the Ganges* (1964), which are themselves rooted in history and deal with the stuff of history, he has a few books of history too and a good deal of occasional writing scattered in various magazines. His *A Bend in the Ganges*, selected by E. M. Forster as the best book of the year, examines the viability of Gandhi's non-violence as a way of life in India, though the author himself seems to have strong reservations on the efficacy of non-violence.

Arun Joshi. Arun Joshi (b. 1939) is probably the most important younger Indian-English novelist today. Still in his early forties, he has four novels, *The Foreigner* (1968), *The Strange Case of Billy Biswas* (1973), *The Apprentice* and *The Lost Labyrinth*, a collection of short stories, *The Survivor* and a biography. From the first novel to the latest his preoccupation has been the same. He says in *The Foreigner*: 'No, birth and death are real. They are the constants. All else is variable. In the rest you see what you want to see. According to the Hindu mystics there is a reality beyond all this. But I don't know. I would like to know some day.' He finds the world corrupt and the sensitive individual conscience-torn with a curious mixture of idealism and docility, a vague sense of values, but a self-deceptive effort to front them and achieve success. As he puts it in *Billy Biswas*: 'Life might be a zero, for all I know, but it seems that it need not be negative. And it becomes negative when you take out of it your sense of shame, your honour.'

He is a writer given to constant introspection, wanting to look at life from various angles as though he is trying to see if it has enough stamina to sustain the individual in a corrupt society. There is a hint in *The Apprentice* that a combination of humanism and religion might well be the saving grace of mankind in such a society.

Kamala Markandaya. Kamala Markandaya (b. 1922) is a captivating story-teller whether her story relates the life of an Indian peasant (*Nectar in a Sieve*, 1954), the affluent life of an English lady (*Possession*), or the intrigues in a poor clerk's family (*A Silence of Desire*, 1961), the progress of a rake in a city (*A Handful of Rice*), the precarious lives of Indian immigrants in London (*The Nowhere Man*), the adventures of young women in an Indian village (*Two Virgins*).

For Markandaya man is prey to his own fury and prejudice where he is not a victim of others' brutality, but he steers through obstacles with determination and hope. Her characters approximate to some mythical types and thus impart a stability to the life around them. This is a blessing considering that her interests are public issues—social, economic and political. More often, it is the encounter of cultures, the English and Indian, that engages her attention. Her fine sense of history gives a depth and perspective to her current interests. Generally her novels reflect her strong penchant for Indian values as against the spiritual impoverishment of English society; but Indians are not spared. Actually her good men and women come from both cultures. Hers is a feminine world and a feminine sensibility. And her command of the English language is impeccable. She is still in the midst of her creative life and seems destined to go far.

Another woman novelist worth mentioning in a rapid survey like this is Anita Desai, whose novels, *Voices in the City* and *Cry, the Peacock*, are best known for their psychological probing of men and women in an urban setting. Her *In the Clear Light of Day* (1980) was nominated for the Booker Prize. She mentions Sudhin Ghose's 'curious fantastic tales' as among the sources of her stimulus. His

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tetralogy, *And Gazelles Leaping*, *Cradle of the Clouds*, *Vermilion Boat* and *The Flame of the Forest*, uses the traditional Indian methods of story-telling like the novels of Raja Rao.

Khushwant Singh (b. 1915) in *A Train to Pakistan* (1956) and Chaman Nahal in *Azadi* dwell on the fateful Indian partition into India and Pakistan with remarkable realism.

Short Story

The short story in India is of great antiquity taking one back to the Upanishads, the Puranas and the epics, everyone of which abounds in short stories or *upakathas*, sub-stories. As an alternative to the formal composition, the short story found its vogue as the fable in the *Pañcatantra*, the *Jātaka Tales*, the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and the *Daśakumāracarita*, all of which have given the Indian the reputation of being a matchless story-teller —and the grandmother as the great improviser of the bedtime story.

Western influence is of relatively recent origin. Primarily it was the work of Maupassant in English translation. The Indian-English writer had inherited from his country's literary tradition the art of narrating the story, of suspense and conclusion with a message or moral. What he learnt from the West was to impart a sense of realism to the story and a concreteness of detail, prose without embellishment, clarity, economy and an obliqueness in imparting a message.

The earliest practitioners of the short story in English were K. S. Venkataramani, K. Nagarajan, Manjeri Isvaran. And earlier still, a stray collection of *Stories from Indian Christian Life* was brought out by Kamala Sathindranandan of Madras. The short stories of Tagore were all written in Bengali; it seems only two stories were translated by the author himself while most others with his help. A. Madhaviah's *Kausik's Short Stories* (1916) shows a zeal for social reform, especially in marriage. And A. S. P. Ayyar has dwelt in his short stories on the problems woman had to face in her daily life. Most of these stories of early days have no art worth mentioning; K. S. Venkataramani was some kind of exception, though he was not a distinguished one. It is not until we come to our major novelists, Mulk Raj Anand, R. K. Narayan and Raja Rao that the short story found its true exponents.

Anand's collection, *The Lost Child and Other Stories*, was an immediate success. The title story depicting the child's need to be restored to parental company, warmth and affection has since been filmed as a documentary. Anand knows the dispossessed of all kinds particularly well. Consider that little story called 'The Cobbler and his Machine', which for all the novelist's leftist preoccupations affirms the vitality of timeless India when Anand makes his cobbler (who never seemed to put a stitch on anyone's shoes without insisting on being paid for it) breathe his last with a devotional verse on his tongue, presumably a poor translation:

> The days of your life are ending
> And you have not made your accounts with God.

If Anand brought the oppressed and the downtrodden from 'the lanes and alleys of India' into his short story, R. K. Narayan celebrates mediocrity in a small town at a time of social change from traditional to modern ways. He goes looking for the average man and captures the oddities in his life with his pervasive irony and in the spirit of a countryhouse comedy. In addition to the short story he has also tried his hand at the tale as in his collection *A Horse and Two Goats*.

Raja Rao's output in short story, as in his fiction, is very slender, but again, as in his fiction, his reputation is happily disproportionate to the volume of his work. His *Cow of the Barricades* contains some remarkably moving stories, most of which are included in his subsequent collection *Policeman and the Rose*, whose contents range from the deservedly much anthologized 'Javni' to 'Nimka', the former unravelling the peasant, caste-ridden (but humane, for all that) India and the latter the less known Europe (less known to the Indian, that is) made authentic by one who has almost acquired the status of an insider in the West. It is the insider's kind of fidelity to the nuances of European life, rarely available to the Indian reader, that becomes evident in it thanks to the creative imagination of a gifted countryman of his. Raja Rao is the only Indian writer who has brought Europe nearer to Indian understanding and sympathy both in fiction and in the short story, in a manner, comparable to what Kipling has done for India. The distinction is as much one of language, the 'exploratory creative' use of language, as of what one may call a dual sensibility. Thanks to these Raja Rao has shown more than any other that in a short story there is more to it than 'length': its short span imposes responsibilities which only a writer with the poet's kind of equipment can grapple with, necessary if the short story is not to be a ruthlessly abridged novel.

Drama

The drama in India has a distant antiquity. Its beginnings can be traced back to the hymns and dialogues of the *Ṛgveda* as well a the epics of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* is itself sufficient proof of large-scale dramatic activity preceding it. The plays of Sudraka, Kalidasa, Bhasa, Bhavabhuti and Asvaghosha have received world recognition. Mr. Joseph Wood Krutch, the renowned American critic, has remarked in his review of Sudraka's *Mṛchakaṭika* (*The Clay Cart*) that such a play can be produced only by a civilization which has reached

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stability. The village theatre is still very active throughout the country.

But what of the sophisticated urban theatre? While some of our regional languages claim considerable achievement in drama, so many of them are imitative of Western Experimental Theatre. Drama in English has come in for much more severe criticism both as theatre and as literature.

Quantitatively speaking, as many as 400 plays in English have been listed. But where are the plays which compare favourably with the better work in fiction or for that matter, in poetry which, for all its failure, can lay claim to names like Toru Dutt, Sarojini, Aurobindo, Tagore and a couple of contemporaries? For one thing the playwright in English has no opportunities to test his play in a living theatre.

Both Aurobindo and Tagore, Aurobindo more than Tagore, remind one of the Romantic and Victorian dramatists in verse who sadly failed to produce distinguished drama though almost every poet tried his hand at playwriting. Aurobindo was steeped in Greek and Sanskrit drama. He had a profound awareness of our tradition but what he lacked was the dramatic idiom. *The Viziers* (1957) *Perseus* (1943), *Rodogune* (1958), *Vāsavadatta* (1957)—almost everyone of them is a failure, not for want of what Aurobindo claims as the 'interpretative vision' (which for him is central to dramatic action) but for his complete disregard of the theatre. Tagore's plays, most of which have been translated into English under the poet's supervision, fared no better. The best of them, *Chitra*, *The Post Office* (1914), *Sacrifice* (which W. B. Yeats helped to put on the London stage) and *The King of the Dark Chamber*, deal with abstract ideas and hardly come to life. T. P. Kailasam in the South erred elsewhere. He took his plots from the episodes of the Mahabharata for plays like *Keechaka*, *The Curse* (1946) and *Purpose* (1944). He even had some sense of the theatre and its language but he too failed to produce successful drama because of his inability to effect an intensive fusion of the material, the language and the situation. Consequently his plays, even when performed on the stage (often they were solo performances by the playwright himself), have remained curiosities.

This is true even of G. V. Desani's *Hali* (1969) which drew the attention of T. S. Eliot who was surprised that anyone should have sustained interest at such length in a play written to be read rather than seen on the stage. Nevertheless Hali shares with Aurobindo and Tagore all the weaknesses of a drama which has neither awareness of the theatre, nor the living language of the people.

A name which is frequently mentioned in modern surveys of drama is that of Asif Currimbhoy. He is the author of several plays, but the better known are *Doldrums* (1960), *The Dumb Dancer* (1961) *Goa* (1964), *Darjeeling Tea* (1971) and *Sonar Bangla* (1972). What some call experimentation in his plays is frowned upon by others, Faubian Bowers among them, who thinks Currimbhoy has 'let his mind run riot over the stage'. Where sometimes the situation or the experience is dramatic, the expression fails the playwright; indeed the whole thing flops, because the experience is not conceived dramatically, in the context of the theatre, that is.

The two or three plays which can be said to have been successful in a minor way are Gurucharan Das's *Larins Sahib* (1970) and Badal Sircar's *Evam Indrajit*. The hero of the first play is an Englishman called Henry Lawrence 'practically a native', greatly interested in Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the Lion of the Punjab, and after his death, in his Queen. Despite Das's capacity to manage the dialogues deftly it is sudden conversions of character that spoil an otherwise fairly successful play. How derivative our plays are can be best seen from Karnad's translation of *Evam Indrajit* (1974). The main point of the play is that 'nothing worth mentioning ever happens', that 'life is filled with the same old stuff' and that life is just a 'pointless particle of dust'. The characters search for meaning but find none and there is no escape. Sartre and Beckett are obviously behind Sircar. That this play was originally written in Bengali makes it worse.

It is futile to think Indian drama can establish itself on these lines, for Sartre, Camus and Beckett, for all their modernity, have no relevance to our situation.

It is in this light that Girish Karnad, who turned to Indian history and mythology in his *Tugluq* (1972) and *Hayavadana* (1975) should be considered. They have had some success on the stage but have made little impact on either the thinking or the imagination of those who have seen or read the plays.

To sum up, the dramatist has much to learn from the Indian-English novelist. Will he ever learn? (Santa Rama Rau, the novelist, in her dramatic rendering of Forster's *A Passage to India* (1960), seems to be that kind of playwright).

Criticism

Indian writing in English has generated a good deal of purposeful critical activity among Indian scholars but hardly any critic has succeeded in recovering the critical criteria of the past in the judgement of this literature. Western critical approaches have nevertheless drawn attention to what is worthwhile in this literature.

Among works of criticism that deserve the highest place are—*The Future Poetry* by Aurobindo, *Transformation of Nature in Art* and *The Dance of Shiva* by A. K. Coomaraswamy and *Art Experience* by M. Hiriyanna. To these may be added *Indian Writing in English* by K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Twice-Born Fiction* by Meenakshi Mukherjee and *The Swan and the Eagle* by C. D. Narasimhaiah. Among collections of articles on the subject, the following may be

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consulted: *Indian Writing in English* edited by M. K. Naik, *Fiction and the Reading Public in India* and *Indian Literature of the Past Fifty Years*, both edited by C. D. Narasimhaiah.

Indian Writers Series published by Arnold-Heinemann is also useful.

Conclusion

It will be seen that the foregoing account omits numerous names and titles in fiction, drama and poetry. The criterion for inclusion here has been one of significance: Does an author or a work matter in terms of increasing our awareness of the possibilities of life? Is it born of Indian pressures and concerns? Does it contribute significantly to the growth of Indian literary tradition? What is its relevance to us today in the Global Village that the world has become, that is, does it stand comparison with the best efforts elsewhere in the world? In other words does it make a difference to our world-view? Put negatively, will it be considered a conspicuous omission if we left it out of consideration, that is, in a short account like this?

Such are the criteria that have weighed with the author in this brief account, the material for which has been drawn largely from the author's own writing, lying scattered in books and periodicals.

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Konkani

N. PURUSHOTHAMA MALLAYA

Language

Konkani, one of the oldest languages in India, is spoken widely in the areas along the coast of India's Arabian Sea. According to the 1971 Census, the total Konkani-speaking population was 15,22,684. But this is an underestimation, as many Konkani-speakers were wrongly enumerated as speakers of other languages. The major concentrations of Konkani-speaking people are to be found in Karnataka, Goa, Maharashtra and Kerala.

Structurally, Konkani is an independent language like Maithili, Bengali, Assamese, Oriya, Gujarati, Marathi, etc. Konkani is in many respects similar to Marathi but the *pratyayas* (case-endings) of Konkani differ materially, being closer to Hindi than to Marathi (cf. S. M. Katre in *Formation of Konkani*). Konkani, being a variant of the Prakrit language, does not have a script of its own; Devanagari is its natural script, as in the case of Marathi and Hindi. But the language even today is written in such scripts as Kannada, Roman, Malayalam, etc. in different States.

Referring to Konkani, Suniti Kumar Chatterji, National Professor of India, states in a letter to the author: 'I think Konkani is an independent language and in its own right it should obtain recognition. It has a great and growing literature and the Konkani-speaking people, particularly the Saraswats among the Hindus and the Catholics among the Christians, have done great service to Indian literature by their writings. I hope the Konkani-speaking people would become alive once again to the greatness of their linguistic and cultural heritage which places them at the forefront of all Indian people.' The Central Sahitya Akademi has recognized Konkani as an independent literary language of India. But there are still some scholars who believe that Konkani is a dialect of Marathi.

Origins. The name Konkani derives from Konkan, an ancient name for the West Coast. The history of Konkani begins with the settlement of the Aryans in Goa. There are several ancient accounts of the migration of the Aryans from Saraswathi Pradesh in the Punjab to eastern Bihar (the then State of Magadha, now the Tirhut division of Bihar) and thence to Gomantak for permanent settlement. Konkani has been much influenced by Prakrit. For example, the word *ambo*, mango, is the same in Konkani as well as in Prakrit. In Sanskrit it is *āmra*. But the Konkani of today, which is a direct off-shoot of Eastern Māgadhi, has, according to Taraporewala (Calcutta University), 'a good deal of Dardic influence', i.e. Paiśāci Prakrit, the most ancient of the Prakrits of India. Konkani is the only language in South India which has been influenced by Paiśāchi.

Inscriptions. The earliest inscription in the Konkani language belongs to the Gupta period. It was found in Goa, at Arvalam. The inscription reads: 'Sacipurācā Śirasī' (on top of Sacipura), the suffix *cā* being Konkani. Only these words are legible in the entire inscription. The inscription is ascribed to the 2nd century A.D. One other inscription has been found dating to the 12th century. The entire inscription is not in Konkani; only one or two sentences are in that language, the rest being in Marathi. This inscription of the Silahāra King Aparāditya in A.D. 1166 has the following Konkani sentence:

> Atha tujo koṇu-huvrie śāsonlapi tecya
> vaidyanātha-devāci bhāl sakutumbi āpaḍem,
> tehāci māy gaḍhāveṁ.

In modern Konkani, retaining almost the same words, it would read

> Ataṁ tu jo coṇie śaraṇ lopīt, tajer vaidyanāth
> devāco bālo sakutumbiṁ apaḍum, etc.
> (whoever comes to Thee, today, for obeisance, O Vedvanath! shower Thy blessings on him).

The famous inscription at the foot of the colossal Jain monolithic statue of Gomateswara (Bāhubali) at Shravanabelgola (1116–17) is in Konkani, the word 'Karavīyaleṁ' (caused to be made) having the Konkani causative suffix *ya* in it. These inscriptions prove that the Konkani language has certainly existed at least from the beginning of the Christian era.

Script. Konkani was written in the Nagari script during the Portuguese and Dutch periods. The introduction to Van Rheeds's *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus* (1678)—a Dutch botanical book written in 12 volumes—contains a testimonial from Appu Bhat, Vinayaka Pandit and Ranga Bhat, three Konkani Ayurvedic physicians of Cochin. This testimonial in Konkani is written in the Nagari script. The name of each plant is written in different languages in this book. Among the languages used is Konkani which is called the 'Brāhmaṇa' language. Konkani was known during the Portuguese and Dutch times as *Lingua Brāh-*

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maṇica. The testimonial is the earliest specimen of Devanagari block-printing.

Konkani was written in Kerala till 1800 in Kannada script, records of which are to be found in the State Archives at Ernakulam. In the Goa Archives too can be found commercial records written in Konkani language using the Kannada script. Hence the Portuguese used to refer to this community as the Canarian caste. In the 19th century, Konkani adopted the Malayalam script in Kerala. The priestly class, however, used the Devanagari script.

Konkani Poetry

Before the advent of the Portuguese there was a flourishing Konkani literature in Goa. But nearly two centuries (16th and 17th) of Portuguese domination suppressed the natural growth of this literature and destroyed many of the earlier Konkani literary works. George Grierson says in his *Linguistic Survey of India* that Konkani developed an indigenous literature long before the Portuguese conquest but traces of it remain today only in the folklore of traditional poetry.

Traditional Poetry. Konkani traditional poetry was considerably influenced by the Marathas. Poet Namdev, the devotional bard in the 16th century, describes in one of his poems the child Krishna stealing the cowgirls' clothes and narrates how all the five of them begged the naughty God for their clothes in five different tongues, one of them being Konkani. The Konkani poets made the popular devotional works of the Maratha Brahmins their own. It is in the Roman script that the oldest known Konkani classics, the extensive tales of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, are preserved, in a codex in the Public Library at Braga in Portugal. The work is believed to be a translation of the Marathi original of the Konkani poet Krishnadas Sharma (16th century).

Father Joaquim de Miranda of Santana (? –1783) is the author of the longest Konkani hymn, *Riglo Jesu Molleantuṁ* (The Resurrection of Jesus). Dona Barreṭo of Morthgoun, Margoa, who lived in the early part of the 19th century, wrote *Pāpiānce Xerāttini* (Protector of Sinners), which is considered to be a masterpiece of Konkani hymnology.

The story of Rama, who has served as a model to Indians from time immemorial, is sung in the villages of Goa in rhyming verse. One such verse is:

Caniāce Pilā tukā tīn Pāṭ,
Rāvṇān Sītek Velā dakhoi Vāṭ.
(O! little squirrel with three stripes on your back,
Tell me which way Ravana has gone with Sita)

The stories from the Mahabharata told in Konkani contain beautiful verses. Sanskrit, the mother of the Indian languages, was a source of inspiration for Konkani writers. *Aśwamedhu* was written by Krishnadas Sharma and *Kṛṣṇa Carita* and *Raghuvamśāci Kathā* are also considered to be the works of the same poet. A considerable amount of Christian literature was written in Konkani in Goa during the 17th century. The *magnum opus* of Fr. Thomas Stephens (1549–1617) *Krist Purāṇ* is written in *Ovi* verse. It contains a number of Konkani words deliberately used by the author even though the poem is written in Marathi. Hence this work is also known as *Koṅkaṇi Purāṇa*. Traditional Konkani poetry is usually religious. *Goḍḍe* is another form of verse. It describes the story of the Ramayana beginning with that of Sravana Kumara. It is usually sung in groups and is anonymous. A line which is frequently repeated is:

Are puta Sirvaṇa tān lageliga
(O my son Sirvana, I feel thirsty)
Tānalagūn Sirvanu pānī haḍū geloga
(Having got thirsty, Sirvana went to bring water)

The first part of this *Goḍḍe Rāmāyaṇa* has been published by the Konkani Bhasha Prachar Sabha in its publication *Lok Gīt*.

Modern Poetry. The modern creative phase of Konkani literature began during the 20th century. The versatile genius of Shenoi Goembab (1877–1946), the father of modern Konkani literature, undoubtedly inspired the modern poets.

The most prolific literary form in Konkani is poetry, which shows a new dynamism and originality. Bakibab Borkar (b. 1910), Manoharrai Sardesai (b. 1925), R. V. Pandit (b. 1917), Olivinho Gomes (b. 1943) and many others have contributed much to modern Konkani poetry in Goa.

Bakibab Borkar's collection *Paiñjelā* (Anklets) was published in 1960. His poem *Nil Savṇe* (The Blue Bird) is very romantic and enchanting. One of its lines reads:

Savṇe gāyat ayle taśe
Jhāḍā pedā lagle piśe
(The bird came singing thus,
the shrubs and trees got mad)

The simplicity, lucidity and enchanting quality of this poem demonstrates its modernity. A Borkar poem replete with patriotic feeling is *Sāt Lāk Goynkār Ami* (Seven Lakh Goans Are We).

Sardesai's collection *Pissolīṅ* (Butterfly, 1978), contains several simple, pithy, short poems. An example is:

Phulāk Saṅgle Phulunaka,
Phūlāṅ saṅgle ullovnaka

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(The flower was asked not to blossom,
The flower said, be silent)

Even though the entire poem is only two lines, its meaning cannot be confined. It conveys the truth that man cannot control unconquerable powers of Nature. Sardesai's, patriotic poems are *Mhaje Goyṅ* (My Goa) and *Hāv Jei Vatā Thayṅ* (Wherever I Go). His other collections are *Goyṅ thuja moga khatīr* (For Thy Sake, O' Goa), *Zāit Zāge* (Be Alert) and *Zāyo Zuyo* (Flower-Jasmine).

Borkar's and Sardesai's poetry is predominantly lyrical and their favourite themes are love in all its aspects, Nature's beauty and patriotism.

Pandit's poems have been translated into English and have won acclaim the world over. As a poet he is a class apart. He published five books of poems on one day, 26 January 1963! They are: *Aileṁ Taśeṁ Gaileṁ* (I Sang as I Felt), *Mhajeṁ uttar Gaḍyāceṁ* (My Words are the Words of Gaudo), *Urtaleṁ Teṁ Rūp Dhartaleṁ* (What Will Remain Will Take a New Form), *Dharterecem Kavaṅ* (The Song of the Earth), and *Candrāval* (O, Moon, O, Moon). His poem 'Ubbār Ek Saṁsār' (Oh! Build Me a New World) is revolutionary in tone; the poet's disgust with this materialistic world full of slavery and injustice is revealed in it as he pines for an ideal world. His collection *Darya Gazatā* (Roaring of the Sea, 1978) won the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1979. His poem 'Hāṁv Gauḍo' (I am a Gaudo) is a paean to the peasant; he compares the peasant to a husk of rice and says that the peasant is ignored by people just like the husk of rice after the fruits of his hard labour have been enjoyed.

Olivinho Gomes' best known collection is *Puñjāilo Pakleo* (Collection of Leaves).

In Karnataka, Father Vitus Prabhudas (b. 1941) contributed *Śet Bhaṅgarāyaleṅ* (The Field Made Golden) to Konkani poetry. B. V. Bāliga (b. 1918) of Mangalore has translated into Konkani the *Gīth Rāmāyaṇa* from Marathi.

In Kerala, R. C. Sarma (1896–1980) wrote *Bhāṣā Gāṅa Mañjari* (a collection of devotional songs) in Konkani and G. Kamalammal (b. 1902) wrote *Pātra Caritram* and *Bālakāṇḍam Rāmāyaṇa*. Narayana Narasimha Pai (1879–1959) wrote beautiful verses in Konkani; the poignancy of his personal experiences contributed to the originality and beauty of his songs.

Folk Literature

Konkani is rich in folk literature. The traces of it found even after the Portuguese conquest are enough evidence of its wealth. To this day in parts of rural and urban Kerala, the North and South Canara districts of Karnataka and in Goa Konkani folk-songs can be heard sung by elderly men and women.

The themes of Konkani folk-songs are varied. They are associated with religious rites, social ceremonies and all forms of occupation of men and women, young or old. Such songs are also joyful, sad, satirical, etc. There are songs of love, beauty and youth, songs singing the glories of the past and the dreams of the future. Thanks to the influence of the Christian mission, there is also a unique blend of native and foreign elements in the folk-songs of Goa.

Folk-dance. *Goff* is a folk dance of the farmers. *Dekhnī* is the beauty dance of Goa. This is performed only by women. The famous song accompanying this dance begins like this:

Āum Saiba Pelthorḍi Votaṁ
(Oh! boatman, take me across the river.)

The *Kuṇbi* dance is rustic in theme and is accompanied by songs and percussion instruments, like the *Ghumaṭ*. Women sing short, quick-tempo verses and dance with ecstasy to the tune of the rhythmic beat. This dance is also known as *Fugḍī*. In one of the songs there is mention of the birth of a child, and a man is asked to bring oil to light a lamp for the performance of rituals. The song begins:

Aśi Dhāv Teśi Dhāv Ṭeṇḍū lecā bellā
Gharāṅ voṅi bālāṅjatā telā dhāvre Aṇṇā.
(Oh! Tendule creeper, you run this way and that. Inside the home a child is being born, hurry up, brother, to bring oil.)

Nature is glorified in many songs. Another example is:

Yedi Yedi Phula ambūlī kīru concaitha,
Vaṭeri vace bailā kithyāk kīru apaitha
(The parrot pecks at the tiny mango-buds calling out as the women pass that way. And the women ask, Why do you call us?)

This song is addressed to a parrot that pecks the tender mango and the flowers in the groves. The farmers in the field thus enjoy nature.

Corrīḍinho is a Portuguese peasant dance that is popular among the youth in elite Goan society. *Tonyāmel*, *Talgāḍī*, *Maṇḍo*, *Vīrabhadra*, *Hanpāṭ* and *Goḍḍe Moḍnī* are other folk dances.

Ovi is a verse pattern used by the Konkani-speaking people for religious and secular compositions. This metre was used by Fr. Thomas Stephens, the first English Jesuit missionary in India, for his epic composition, *Krista Purāṇa* (1616). The *Ovi* form is also used in the songs sung by women at traditional marriage celebrations.

There are several anonymous Konkani ballads that have been handed down from generation to generation, and are still sung by people. To cite an example:

Vaṭṭena vattalya vaṭṭecā vāḷāra
Rukmīṇī kūḷāra bolāva sāṅgḷa...

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(Oh! bangle-seller passing by the way,
Please go and inform Rukmini's parents...)

The dialogue continues with Rukimini asking the bangle-seller to convey her message to her parents.

Besides all these forms, there are also proverbs and short folk-tales in Konkani folk literature. N. Purushothama Mallaya (b. 1929), secretary of the Konkani Bhasha Prachar Sabha, Cochin, published in 1978 a collection of Konkani proverbs titled *Koṅkaṇi ālo Mhaṇio*. He had also published in 1976 a collection of folk songs titled *Koṅkaṇi Lok Gīt*.

Drama

Konkani folk-drama is in many ways akin to dance drama and is usually performed before temples. The beginnings of modern Konkani drama can be traced to 1890. Since then, the plays of Joao Agostinho Fernandes, Shenoy Goembab and Ramachandra Naik have set high standards.

Candrahāsanāṭaka (1912) and *Prahlādacaritra Nāṭaka* (1912) by the devotional writer and dramatist Bollantur Krishna Prabhu (?–1965), and *Sāvitri Nāṭaka* (1912) by Kumboḷe Narasimha Nāik (1882–1945) are some of the serious Konkani dramas written by authors from South Canara. Martin D'sa, S. S. Miranda, C. F. D'Costa (b. 1931), Fred Fernandes, Cyril Vugas, Wilfred Robinhas, Dolfi Lobo, and others are some of the dramatists who have made a considerable contribution to Konkani literature in Kannada script. Dolfi Lobo's plays include *Vaṭṭevelo Kaṇṭo* (Thorns on the Path). *Āv Jivant Asa* (I am Alive), *Rolnentu Liplo Soropu* (The Hidden Cobra), *Tuje Sarsi Apai* (Call Him Your Equal) and *Gaṇṭā Paḍele Sāt* (The Clock Has Struck Seven). C. F. D'Costa wrote *Sūṇ Maji Hastha* (My Daughter-in-Law Laughs), etc. The doyen of Konkani dramatists, Dongerkeri Umānāth Rao (1898–1967) wrote *Vajrakuṭakam* (A Chip of Diamond, 1914) which was staged in Gamdevi, Bombay, in 1934. He is the author of several plays for the stage as well as for the radio.

Konkani drama was first staged in 1890 and has flourished since then. It attained greater stature with Devrai Baindur (b. 1910). He is a polyglot well-versed in Kannada, English, Hindi and Marathi. He drew upon the resources of the more developed literatures and borrowed his plots from Moliere, Goldsmith and Wilde, though the characters and dialogue are his own. He has written eight one-act plays and 12 full-length plays, including farces, comedies and tragedies. Other dramatists are Surkuṇḍ Aṇṇāji Rāo (b. 1916), composer of the first Konkani *Yakṣagāṅās* and the chief poetic dramatist in the Karwari dialect, V. B. Shanbhag, Kalyanpur Narahari Bhatt (b. 1912), and others.

Among the Konkanis of Kerala who have written plays, Narayana Narasimha Pai (1879–1959) is well known. *Satyavān Sāvitri*, *Nalla Taṅgāḷ*, *Cellaya Caritram* and *Kucelopākhyāna* are some of his masterpieces. V. J. P. Saldhana (b. 1925), who wrote *Bhāvanāntule Gulāb* (The Rose in Imagination, 1943), has written over 50 plays and contributed several radio plays.

One-act plays are known as 'Ekankika' in Konkani. Well-known writers of the genre are Ravindra Kelekar (*Muktī*, 1975), Manohar Sardesai (*Smuggler*, 1975), Shenoi Goembab of Goa (*Mogāceṁ Lagn* and *Pavna ceṁ Taplaṁ*, both translations of Moliere's plays) and Ramachandra Shankar Naik (1893–1960), (*Cautīco Candr* and *Asal'lo Gharkar*).

Fiction

The novel or fiction form is known as *Kādambari* in Konkani. Reginaldo Fernandes has written over 50 novels in the Roman script. Manohar Sardesai's *Kālo Buklo* (A Black Cat) is one of the best Konkani novels.

Pedro Joso Souza, editor of *Dirveṁ* (1912) after Luis de Mascarenhas, is considered the Father of Konkani fiction. He has translated Shakespeare and Canon Smith into Konkani. Joequim Stana Alvares, after his first novel *Angel*, has written about 25 others. V. J. P. Saldhana is famous for his historical novels, including one on Tippu Sultan.

Damodar Maujo (*Sūd*, 1975), Ramesh Vāluska (*Moni Vyathā*, 1975), Pundalik Naik (b. 1952) of Goa (*Bambar*, 1975 and *Achev*, 1977), Bonaventura de Peibio (*Ek Bhaṭ Maṅglūrce Sarak*, 1976) and Dolfi Kasia (*Molbāveli Divṭi*, 1978) are other important Konkani novelists.

Short Story

Among the modern short-story writers, Damodar Mauzo of Majorda is perhaps the best known. He is a writer of short stories, novels and poems. A short story collection of his, *Ganthon* (Collection), contains some of the best Konkani short stories. J. M. Vartak also writes short stories. Collections of short stories by Chandrakant Keni of Goa include *Āṣāḍ Paulī* and *Dhartari ajūm Jili*. Sheela Naik's collection of stories is *Oli Sāñj* (Moist Evening), Meena S. Kakodkar's collection is *Doṅgor Convolā* (Moving Mountain, 1976) and Jaimala N. Danait's *Kāvāsso* (1978). Besides these authors, there are other writers such as Uday Bhembro (b. 1939), Nagesh Karmali (b. 1933), Ramakrishna Zuarcar, Vinayak Naik and others, who have contributed short stories to Konkani literature.

Prose

Thanks to the efforts of the missionaries, the first printing press in India was established in Goa in 1556. This gave Konkani the privilege of possessing the first texts printed in any Indian tongue, though it was in Roman script.

The very first printed works in Konkani prose were a

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few Christian catechisms of which no trace remains. Later, many religious texts were translated into Konkani. Stephens prepared a version of Marcos Jorge's catechism in standard Konkani prose. Diego Riberio rendered Bellarmine's catechism into Konkani. A co-friar, Amador de Santana, turned Ribandenevra's *Flos Sanctorum* into Konkani in 1612. The Jesuit Joao de Padrosa (1615–72) was the author of a superb rendition of Bernardino de Villages' soliloquies, Divinos, under the title the *Devāceṁ Yakaṅgra Bolāniṁ* (1660). In Ignajio Arcamone's (1615–83) *Sagaḷea Varuśāce Veṅgel* (1667) the Konkani 'gospels for the whole year', we have the first version in an Indian tongue of portions of the Bible.

Besides translations, there were original works too. Antonio de Saldanha (1598–1663) wrote about the saints' lives, meditations and pastoral subjects. Miguel de Almeida's (1610–83) monumental Konkani work *Oṇvaleānco Mālo* (Garden of the Shepherds) in five tomes is one of the first sophisticated prose works in the modern Indo-Aryan languages taken as a whole. It is a sort of *Summa Theologica* in Konkani wherein theological concepts are beautifully described.

In Kannada-speaking areas, Konkani speakers adopted Kannada script for Konkani. In 1878, Father Maffai, an Italian priest, produced the first dictionary of Konkani and a Konkani grammar written in Kannada script. Following his example, Miguel Colaco and Raemando Mascaranhas (1875–1960) wrote the first Konkani books in Kannada script. Both of them were poets as well as prose writers. Mascarenhas's *magnum opus* is his translation of the New Testament.

Besides Christian devotional literature, there is a considerable body of Hindu Konkani 'Sant Sāhitya' from the South. Jogavva and Appaya wrote Konkani devotional poetry. Those who wrote philosophical and religious Konkani prose include the two Swamijis, Chitrapur Pandurangashrama (1847–1915) and Anandashrama (1902–'66), and the three great *bhaktas*, Sahajananda (1850–1911), Naḍghār Śānti Bhāi (1850–1902) and Shivaramashrama Swami (mid-19th to mid-20th century). Narayana Tirtha (1820–1900) wrote a prose allegory, *Mana Indriyāleṁ Caritra* (A Discourse on the Mind and the Senses). Venkatarao wrote *Vivek Ratnākara* (Ocean of Discrimination). Swami Parijnanashrama's collected Diwali addresses to his various congregations are specimens of Konkani metaphysical prose.

In 1894, Eduardo Bruno de Souza (1837–1905) dedicated himself to the mission of raising Roman script literature to a higher level through his fortnightly paper *Udanteceṁ Sāḷok*. (The Blossoming Lotus). Joaquim Antonio Fernandes (b. 1889) followed up this work more vigorously and in a more scholarly manner through his book *Amco Saḍvandār*, which is one of the treasures of Konkani literature. *Udanteceṁ Naketr* (The Rising Star) and *Don Mhoināci Roṭṭi*, (A Bimonthly Bread), though exclusively religious periodicals, have also been instrumental in standardizing Konkani as a literary medium.

Modern Prose Writers. Modern writers of Konkani prose include Ravindra Kelekar (b. 1925), Felicio Cardoso (b. 1932), Evagrio Jorgo, Gurunath Kelekar, Chandrakant Keni, Godubai Kelekar, Dinkar Desai (b. 1909) Bayabhau Pandurangh Bhangi (b. 1923), J. B. Morais and others. Ravindra Kelekar of Priol writes in Konkani, Marathi and English. *Oṡé aṡille Gandhiji* (Thus was Gandhiji), *Kotha ani Kanyo* (Stories and Tales), *Navi Śālla* (New School), *Vaṭṭevoilo Ghulo* (Pebbles on the Path), etc. are some of his works. *Himālayānt* is a travelogue written by Kelekar about his experiences in the Himalayas. This book won the Sahitya Akademi award in 1977. He is also the foremost essayist in Konkani. *Jāpānāntuli Ānand Yātra* is another travelogue written by him.

Shenoy Goembab, an outstanding Konkani scholar and grammarian who is considered father of modern Konkani literature, has written several books. Some of them are *Puṇiātma Rāma Kamti* (biography), *Koṅkaṇi Mulānceṁ Pustak* (Book for Children), *Gomantopaniṣad*, *Goemkarānci Goāmhaili Vosnuk* (Goan Settlers Outside Goa) and *Koṅkaṇi Bhāṣenceṁ Jait* (The Victory of Konkani).

Fr Antonio Luis Pereira of Chinchi has written collections of essays titled *Amcheṁ Mis Tujo Vicār*, *Kaljidār*, etc.

Modern Journalism

Journalism in Konkani helped the language attain greater popularity and better literary standards. The journal *Sāraswat* was founded around 1923 by V. S. Kuḍvā and revived around 1941. Its most illustrious contributor was Manjeswar Govind Pai (1883–1963). Some other popular journals were *Navyug* (Karwar, 1940), *Uzvārh* (Karwar, 1947), *Koṅkaṇ Kināra* (Kumta, 1950) and *Sarvodaya* (Karwar, 1947). Most of these journals were not very popular and Karwari writers often had to make use of Goan and Manglluri papers.

Udanteceṁ Salok, the first language paper, was initiated by Eduardo de Souza's periodical (1889–94). The periodical *Koṅkaṇī Dirveṁ* was started by Luis Mascarenhas (1887–1961) in 1912. For a variety of reasons, the paper stopped publication, and its work was continued by the successful *Rakno* (1938). Bāyabhau, (b. 1899) greatly influenced by Shenoy Goembab, founded a journal, *Naveṁ Goeṁ* (New Goa), that gave young Konkani authors a chance to prove their talent. Ravindra Kelekar (b. 1925) continued the *Naveṁ Goeṁ's* work in his *Mirg* and Baki Borkar (b. 1910) in his *Prajeco Āvāz* (People's Voice). In addition to the journals of Kelekar and Borkar, the *Triveṇi* (1962) of Chandrakant Keni (b. 1934), the *Koṅkaṇi*,

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the *Vidyā*, the revived *Navem Goem*, the *Sallik* and the *Parmoḷ* enriched Konkani literature.

There is in Mangalore a monthly entitled *Pañcagadāyi* edited by B. V. Baliga. It is printed in the Kannada script, with one section printed in Devanagari script.

The most important Konkani journals in Kerala are *Sāraswat Vāṇī* published in the Malayalam script from Cannanore by the Gowda Saraswath Samaj, the *Koṅkaṇ Janatā*, a monthly published by the Gowda Saraswath Association of Cochin also in the same script, and the *Koṅkaṇī Vikās*, a quarterly published by the Konkani Bhasha Prachar Sabhaof Cochin.

Children's Literature

There is some children's literature in Konkani folk literature. There are quite a few folk-songs and folk-tales meant for children. Most of the nursery folk-songs deal with beautiful objects of Nature to which children are easily attracted, e.g.

(1) Pāvsu Jhoḍu kassi yetā, Pappāl maḍḍi kassi halata.
(How the rain and storm comes, How the arecanut tree with its arecanuts dances.)

(2) Kakya tu Goyāṅ gelolve
(Ājī phāyi yetolo manṭālve?
Puthāle mama dikilove)

This song is addressed to a crow which is pointed out to a child. The crow is asked whether it had gone to Goa and there seen the child's uncle and whether the uncle would be coming today or tomorrow.

The first book for children was published in 1889 by 'the Barao De Cumbarjua' Thomas Morao (1842–1904) and was followed in 1896 by S. J. D'Souza's work. Shenoy Goembab published *Burgiālo Iṣṭ*, a book for children. The Konkani Bhasha Mandal of Goa has published books for use in primary schools. Short stories for children were written by Godubai Kelkar, Fr. Alvaro Renato Mendes, Kamalabai Rao and many others besides Shenoy Goembab, some of them in the Kannada script. A. N. Mhambro's collection of short poems for children is entitled *Ghumce Kaṭṭari Ghum*. R. V. Pandit of Goa has published *Goḍ Goḍ Kaṇyo*, (Sweet Sweet Stories) and *Burgyālo Kaṇyo* (Stories for Children). Other books meant for children include *Kuṇḍa Kurkur* (a folk-tale) by Shyam Varekar, *Maḍlo Pūt*, a one-act play by Shantharam Hedo, Lakshmanao Shardesai's *Rāmgyāli Vāgha Bhovṇḍī*, Manohar Sardesai's *Bhaṅgara Kurāḍ* (Golden Axe), a story poem in Konkani and Ravindra Kelekar's *Rājārāṇi*.

In Kerala, B. Damodara Mallaya (1897–1979) has written in Malayalam script a collection of fables and stories in Konkani. He has also retold stories from the Puranas.

Grammars and Dictionaries

Konkani owes its standard linguistic form to the efforts of Fr. Thomas Stephen (1549–1617) between 1568 and 1617. Fr. Stephen's first Konkani book was the *Doctrina Crista am Lingua Brāmano Canarim* (Christian Doctrine in the Brahmana Canarin Language), written in the form of a dialogue to teach children. It was printed posthumously in 1622. His third book was a grammar of the Konkani language, published under the title *Arte de Lingua Canarim* (Art of the Canarin Language). This work was subsequently revised and enlarged by Fr. Diego Ribeiro (1560–1633) and published at Rachol in 1640. A second edition was published by Cunha Rivara (1809–79) in Goa in 1858. Later, the Franciscan Cristovam de Jesus wrote a grammar. The Czech Jesuit, Karal Prikryl (1718–86), also wrote a Konkani grammar titled *Principia Lingua Bramanica* (Principles of the Brahmins' Language).

Fr. Angelo Francesco Xavario Maffei (1844–99), an Italian scholar, wrote a dictionary which was published in Mangalore in 1882. Sebastiao Dalgado (1855–1922), a Konkani, compiled two dictionaries, *Diccionario Konkani—Portugese* (1893) and *Diccionario Portuguese—Konkani*, 1905, both published in Lisbon. About 20 Konkani grammars and 25 dictionaries have been written by foreign as well as Indian scholars.

The Office of the Registrar General of India, Language Division, published in 1976 a monograph on Konkani titled *Survey of Konkani in Kerala, Census of India* 1971. The book has been brought out for language studies and is helpful to students of linguistics on a regional basis.

Radio Goa started broadcasting in Konkani in 1945. All India Radio's Konkani news and other programmes started in 1952 from Bombay. Radio Portugal, Lisbon, started Konkani broadcasts in 1955. The External Services of A.I.R. have been broadcasting in Konkani for East Africa from 1955. Dharwar station has been broadcasting Konkani programmes for half an hour every week from 15 August 1965. There are also Konkani music programmes broadcast by A.I.R. stations in Trichur, Trivandrum and Calicut. It is the Konkani Bhasha Prachar Sabha that supplies material for these broadcasts of Konkani music. Panaji and Mangalore have both started broadcasting Konkani programmes.

Short stories, skits, plays, dramas, talks and poems in Konkani are broadcast by these A.I.R. stations. This has helped writers to a great extent to create a broadcasting literature in Konkani.

Role of Institutions

The Konkani language, which was reduced to a secondary status by many adverse circumstances, was able to regain

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its vigour thanks to the untiring efforts of various institutions.

The Konkani Bhasha Mandal came into being as a result of the first session of the All India Konkani Parishad held at Karwar in 1939. It was founded by Madhav Manjunath Shanbhag (1887-1950) of Karwar. Similar organizations were established in Bombay, viz. the Konkani Sahitya Samithi (1944) and the Konkani Cultural Association (1965). There is also a Konkani Bhasha Mandal functioning in Bombay. Another Konkani Bhasha Mandal was founded in Mangalore early in 1974. After the liberation of Goa from the Portuguese rule, a Konkani Bhasha Mandal was founded at Margao. This Mandal publishes books of literary merit in Konkani.

The Konkani Bhasha Prachar Sabha, recognized by the Central Sahitya Akademi as a literary institution, was founded in 1966. As a result of the Sabha's representation, the Government of Kerala introduced Konkani as an additional language for study in two primary schools in Cochin. The Sabha also successfully persuaded the Government of Kerala to recognize the Konkani community as a linguistic minority in the State. This Sabha has published a collection of folk literature. It has also established a training centre, the Koṇkaṇi Kalā Pariśīlana Kendra, to impart training and guidance to young aspiring artists interested in the Konkani fine arts.

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Maithili

R. K. MISHRA

The Region and Script

Maithili is the native language of about two crore[1] people inhabiting a distinct 'country with its own traditions, its own poets, and its own pride in everything belonging to itself'.[2] This country, known as early as 1000-600 B.C. as Videha,[3] was known from the 4th to the 5th century A.D. as Mithila, Tirabhukti[4] or Tirahuta.[5] The present-day Maithili-speaking country is about 30,000 square miles in extent and comprises the districts of Muzaffarpur, Madhubani, Samastipur, Begusaraya, Sitamarhi, Vaishali, Darbhanga, Saharsa, (North) Mongher, (North) Bhagalpur and parts of Purnea in the Indian Republic and those of Rautahat, Saralahi, Saptari, Mohatari and Morang in the kingdom of Nepal. This area is roughly identifiable on the map of India as North Bihar and the Nepal Terai.

The native script of these people, better known as Maithilas, is called Maithili, or Tirahuta, and is similar to the Bengali, Assamese and Oriya scripts. As alternative scripts, 'Kaithi' and, in print, 'Devanagari' have come to be used.

Early Poetry (Before 1700)

Beginnings (c. 800-1300). The earliest literature in Maithili is available in the form of vocables quoted as equivalents in Sanskrit works dating back to the 9th century A.D. The first eminent literary work is a collection of Buddhist mystic songs called *Caryāpadas* (The Songs of Mystics, 8th -11th century A.D.) which have been variously claimed as the earliest works in the sister languages of Bengali, Assamese and Oriya, but which have good reason to be considered specimens of the oldest Maithili poetry, being written as they were in the Maithili-speaking region.

The Age of Jyotirīśvara (c. 1300–1400). The next stage of development of Maithili literature was during the region's cultural renaissance. It appears that adventurers from South India (particularly Karṇāṭa) settled in Mithila around 1197. The most illustrious Karnata (Karṇāṭa) king of Mithila was Harasimhadeva (1296–1324) under whose patronage flourished 'the first among the sons of light', viz. Jyotirisvara Thakura.

Jyotirisvara is really a great original writer who contributed equally to poetry, drama and prose at such an early date. His contribution to the growth and development of Maithili literature has yet to be realized in its entirety. He wrote several works in Sanskrit as well, but his excellence as a writer of both lyrics and drama is to be seen in the Maithili version of his famous farce *Dhūrttasamāgama* (The Confluence of the Knaves, 1325).

More extensive and influential is his work *Varṇaratnākara*[6] (The Ocean of Descriptions). Haraprasada Sastri says:

> No Bengali or Maithili MS. of that age has yet been discovered. The subject matter of the book is very curious. It gives the poetic conventions. For instance, if a king is to be described, what are to be the details, and so on. Sometimes the conventions are very amusing. I will give the description of a pimp: she must be about hundred years old, with wrinkles all over her body, her hair as white as conchshell, her head high, her body without flesh, her cheeks all shrunken, her teeth all fallen. She must be a (sister) of Nārada (the god of quarrels) and an expert in bringing two persons together, and so on. The book seems to have guided the genius of Vidyapati.

Jyotirisvara was rightly called 'the preceptor of the top-ranking poets' (*Kaviśekharācārya*). Poet after poet seems to have learnt poetic conventions and phraseology from this great work. At times there seems to be a connected story in it, but, by and large it is simply a series of descriptive passages.

The Age of Vidyapati (c. 1400–1500). Though Jyotirisvara reveals Maithili literature at an equally high level in prose, poetry and drama, it was primarily in the field of lyric writing that this literature excelled during the next two centuries. The high point was reached in the celebrated *padāvalī* of Vidyapati (c. 1360–1448).

Vidyapati, who was patronized by several kings and queens, spent the long years of his many-sided and eventful life writing in Sanskrit, 'Avahaṭṭha'—or Old Maithili, akin to the archaic language of Jyotirisvara, as well as Maithili. He wrote *Puruṣaparīkṣā* (The Test of Man) in Sanskrit and established beyond doubt his knowledge and understanding of human nature in its entirety. He wrote two prose romances in 'Avahaṭṭha', one called *Kīrttilatā* (The Creeper of Fame), describing the exploits of his friend and benefactor Maharaja Kirttisimha (c. 1397–1407), and the other *Kīrttipatākā* (The Banner of Fame), celebrating the deeds in war and love of his royal companion Maharaja Sivasimha (c. 1412–16).

Vidyapati rose to his greatest eminence under Maharaja

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Sivasimha, who gifted him the village of Bisaphi on the occasion of his coronation in 1412 and acclaimed him 'the new Jayadeva (*abhinavajayadeva*) of Mithila, obviously linking him with the great writer of the Sanskrit *Gītagovinda*. Vidyapati's name is a household word everywhere in Mithila even this day.

Vidyapati wrote poems on almost everything covering the life of the common man and woman. It is a mistake to think that he merely imitated the themes of the *Gītagovinda*. He wrote of love and separation, of nature, everyday experiences of life, of the passing away of youth and the commencement of old age, of loyalties and disloyalties, of devotion to the Ganges, Krishna, Siva and Sakti, of occasional festivities, of birth, death and of many other topics close to the heart of man.

The widespread fame of Vidyapati appears to have been based on his devotional character. He is credited with having transcribed the whole *Srīmadbhāgavata* in his own hand. Towards the end of his life he became a devout worshipper of Siva who, it is said, was so highly moved that He came to serve him as a domestic servant. The people of Mithila to this day recall this as the greatest attainment of the devout poet.

Vidyapati was hailed as the Vaishnava saint par excellence in neighbouring Nepal, Bengal, Orissa and Assam. In Mithila he is regarded as the poet-saint who wrote *nacārīs* (hymns) and *maheśavāṇīs* (songs of Siva and His consort). The fame of his *nacārīs* was recorded by Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbarī*.

The Successors of Vidyapati (c. 1500–1700). Among the successors of Vidyapati there was hardly anyone to equal him. The history of poetry outside the drama is therefore largely made up of lyrics written in imitation of Vidyapati. But this poetical activity, both in volume and in spirit, was unprecedentedly widespread and of a high order. Much of it has not been traced, but even the little that has come to light is amazing.

A problem that makes it difficult to classify and arrange the poetry of the successors of Vidyapati is that in several cases these poems are indiscriminately ascribed to Vidyapati, the model, or are indifferently attributed to other poets or simply left anonymous.

Nevertheless, a few important anthologies of the poetry of the age have been unearthed in recent decades and they give some indication of who the leading poets were. These anthologies include: (i) *Bhāṣāgītasamgrahas* (collections of vernacular songs, particularly one called *Kamsanārāyaṇapadāvalī*), (ii) Lochana's *Rāgataraṁgiṇī* (The River of Melodies), (iii) *Bhāṣāgīta* (Vernacular Songs) discovered by Prabodha Chandra Bagchi, and (iv) *Daśāvatāragītas* (Songs of the Ten Incarnations) and *Gītapañcāśikā* (Fifty Songs).

The greatest of Vidyapati's successors was Govindadasa (c. 1660–1690), who is known for a series of Radha-Krishna *padas*. Sukumar Sen has summed up the qualities of his poetry thus:

> He drew largely upon classical lyric poetry for treatment in vernacular. All the simple and complex figures of speech and other devices known in Sanskrit rhetorics were utilized by our poet. But the greatest achievement... is metrical perfection added to musical assonance and rhythmic movement...He has written on the psychological aspect and on all different topics of the love story of Radha and Krishna...Musical word painting was his forte. Nevertheless, in the depiction of passion and the disappointment of love and its intensity, he has really very few equals... He has (not) dealt with the filial and friendly sentiment (*Vātsalya* and *Sakhya Bhāva*)... when they are sung in the right *Kīrttana* style, the songs of Govindadasa become extremely enjoyable...sweet to the tongue and a treat to the ears, Govindadasa composes his radiant songs.

The following words of Jayakanta Mishra are also significant:

> While Vidyapati is sophisticated, piles metaphor after metaphor, creates courtly atmosphere of joys and sorrows of human life and in general succeeds in entering into the sentiments of men and women through simple and directly sensual images, Govindadasa is more concerned with the diction of his poems than with their feelings... Vidyapati is like Kalidasa—having eminently *prasādaguṇa* (the quality of pleasing)—and Govindadasa is like Magha—hard to construe. He perfects the tendency visible in Maithili poetry in Lochana, like whom he is also forgotten today by the common man in Mithila... The defects of his poetry are a natural corollary to his qualities. There is more artistry, more sweetness and more smoothness in the movement of lines, consequently more artificiality than depth of feeling, largeness of vision or intensity of imagination. It is no exaggeration to say that meaning is sacrificed for formal beauty in his poems.

After Govindadasa, Maithili poetry declined in Mithila. It, however, flourished in greater, and perhaps nobler, strains in neighbouring Nepal. Of the three courts in the kingdom of Nepal, that of Bhatagao was the most conducive to its growth and variety. Among the celebrated poets under its patronage were Jagatprakasamalla (c. 1644–72) and his brother-in-law Chandrasekhara Simha, Jitamitra (c. 1672–96) and Bhupatindramalla (c. 1695–1722). They mainly wrote on devotional themes. Jagatprakasamalla was the most voluminous writer of Maithili lyrics in Nepal. His songs were more characterized by sincerity of senti-

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ment, directness and simplicity than by poetic excellence or craftsmanship. Chandrasekharasimha had greater poetic powers and inspired the creativity of Jagatprakasamalla, but Jitamitra's poetic talent and command of the language were superior to those of both the poets. Jitamitra did not write any secular poems, not even love poems. Bhupatindramalla's songs in his dramas are superior in quality to his songs usually found in anthologies. He, however, mixes Bengali and Hindi with Maithili. The greater part of his devotional songs is addressed to Sakti.

Pratapamalla (c. 1639–89) wrote his most famous poems under the patronage of Kantipura (Kathmandu). His diction is highly Sanskritized and his lyrics are addressed to Sakti. Only, he ignored Vishnu and Siva. His lyrics are truly great in simple direct supplication and Bhakti (devotion), though they are not great in literary embellishments.

At Lalitapura, or Patana, flourished perhaps the greatest of all Nepalese successors to Vidyapati, viz. Siddhinarasimhadeva (c. 1620–57). The poet-king was a devotee of Radha and Krishna and is reputed by tradition to have been a *Jīvanmukta Yogin* (liberated Yogi).

Medieval Drama (1300–1850)

The next stage in the growth and development of Maithili literature was the rise of medieval drama. The beginnings had been made by Jyotirisvara Thakura (c. 1325) in his *Maithilīdhūrtta-samāgama* (The Confluence of the Knaves) and by Vidyapati (c. 1360–1448) in his *Gorakṣavijaya* (Victory of Saint Gorakhnath). At first, Maithili songs were introduced in Sanskrit plays, but gradually Sanskrit and Prakrit were eroded and a full-fledged Maithili drama emerged with only a sprinkling of Sanskrit here and there, and this too disappeared in course of time, when prose came to be used in plenty.

A new dimension in this field was developed with three entirely fresh medieval types of drama that used Maithili as their medium: (i) *Kīrttaniya* drama of Mithila, (ii) the Nepalese song drama, and (iii) the Assamese plays called *Aṅkiā Nāṭa*.

No other language or literature in the North or East of India had developed the stage and the play in the vernacular after the downfall of Sanskrit drama. Medieval Maithili drama (all of it actually performed) is one of the glorious chapters in the history of Indian literature.

Kīrttaniya drama of Mithila (c. 1600–1850). The 'Kīrttaniya' actors in Mithila were so called because their main aim was to present a dramatic performance in praise of Lord Krishna or Siva (Kīrttana). The dramatis personae was usually given at the very beginning of the play in the form of a *praveśagīta* (entrance song). The Sūtradhāra, Nāyaka, Nāyikā, the two or three Sakhīs, Nārada (as a negotiator or *ghaṭaka*) and the Vipaṭā (Vidushaka or Clown) were the stock characters of a Kirttaniya party, which usually performed at night. The actors of this tradition were specially trained in the Naradiya form of musical Kirttana. These dramas were entertaining to one and all. Besides music, the fun of the clown, the songs of the heroine, and the symbolical gesticulations of the actors pleased both the learned and the illiterate in the audience.

The greatest of the dramatists of this school was Umapati Upadhyaya (c. 1700). His *Pārijātaharaṇa* (The Carrying Away of Parijata) is mainly based on the *Harivamśa*. It is a remarkably typical Maithili play, full of literary merit and entertainment. Characterization and plot construction are mature and the drama is noteworthy for its sustained interest, compactness, humour and the handling of *vīrarasa* (the heroic sentiment). The play was very popular; indeed, even the norms and nomenclature of a Kirttaniya play seem to have originated from it. Ramadas Jha (c. 1650) was another important dramatist and he wrote *Ānandavijayanāṭikā* (a playlet about the victory of Ananda), based on a love story. Ramapathi Upadhyaya's (c. 1750) celebrated *Rukmiṇīpariṇaya* (The Marriage of Rukmini) draws from the *Harivamśa* and the *Śrīmadbhāgavat* and is written in a truly devout spirit. His contemporary Lala Kavi (c. 1750) wrote *Gaurīsvayamvara* (The Marriage of Gauri) in adoration of Siva.

Nandipati's (c. 1750) name completes a trio, that includes Umapati and Lala Kavi, which made Kirttania drama popular and great. His play *Śrīkṛṣṇakelimālā* (The Garland of the Sports of Krishna) is effective and is a typical vernacular play of Mithila, using few Sanskrit and Prakrit passages but several songs. Maithila customs are described while celebrating the birth of Krishna on such occasions as, for example, when the cowherds prepare food during Indra's worship. 'The use of prose in this play in praise of Krishna represents the way in which set prose passages like those in Jyotirisvara's *Varṇaratnākara* were introduced and explain the Kirttana (prayer) style of the play. The poet does not pretend to be anything more than *Bhākhākavi* (a poet of the vernacular) and announces the complete emergence of Kirttaniya drama as a glorious vernacular genre.'[7]

The maturest Kirttaniya drama was, however, written by Ratnapani (c. 1850). His *Uṣāharaṇa* (The Carrying Away of Usha) is a well-written play based on the story of the *Harivamśa*, although he makes suitable changes to make the scenes more realistic. The play is notable for its elevated style and its lyrical and descriptive passages. Some typical characters like the manager (or the Sutradhara as in *Aṅkiā Nāṭs*) who assists in the performance of the play, for instance, or the progress of the action in the play, are reminiscent of the Greek Chorus. After Ratnapani, Kirttaniya drama declined, though it continued to flicker, down to the 20th century.[8]

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The Nepalese Song Drama (c. 1500–1750). The staging and writing of popular Maithili vernacular dramas more or less replaced in Nepal the Sanskrit drama whose framework, however, continued to be used for some time. Traditional Indian culture, especially as reflected in the Puranas, etc. appears to have been the focal point in these dramas.

The Maithilas were most effective at Bhātagāõ and a large number of prolific writers flourished there. Under Bhūpatīndramalla (1696–1722) 22 dramas were written and staged, the most notable among them being *Vidyāvilāpa*, *Mahābhārata*, *Gaurīvivāhanāṭaka*, *Jālandharopākhyāna*, *Manorañjananāṭaka* and *Nalacarita*. The largest number of plays available, however, are known to have been written and staged under Raṇajitamalla (c. 1722). The characteristic element in them is the frequent use of poems. *Mādhavānalakāmakandakalā*, one of these plays, has a popular medieval romantic story like that of *Vidyāvilāpa*.

At Kantipura the most important work was done during the reign of Pratapamalladeva (1639–89), who patronized Maithili scholars. One of them was Vamśamaṇi Jhā who is well known for the Maithili drama *Gītādigambara* (The Song of Digambara), based on the popular story of Siva's enticement by Parvati.

It was during Siddhinarasimhadeva's regin at Lalitapura that Damodara's *Hariścandranṛtyam* (Dance of Harischandra) was composed. This king founded the famous song and drama festival called *Kārtika Nāca*, which continued till about 1770 when the Gurkhas invaded the land and destroyed the tradition of Maithili drama in Nepal.

The Assamese Aṅkiā Nāṭa (c. 1550–1750). The reason for Maithili drama finding a place in Assam was the zeal of the Vaishnava saints to effectively influence the public. The most notable among these dramatists was Śamkaradeva (1449–1558) whose dramas *Kāliyadamana*, *Rāmavijaya*, *Rukmiṇīharaṇa*, *Kaligopāla*, *Patnīprasāda* and *Pārijātaharaṇa* are the best. His disciple Madhavadeva (1489–1596) has mainly dealt with the pranks of Krishna as a child in his dramas, among which mention should be made of *Coradhārā*, *Rāsajhumara* and *Bhojanavyavahāra*.

Medieval Prose (Before 1850)

Though Maithili had, as early as 1325, a full-fledged prose classic unique in the whole of Northern India, the celebrated *Varṇaratnākara* by Jyotirisvara Thakura, it did not for a long time thereafter have any other work wholly written in prose. But good prose was written and was, at a later stage, brought down to the level of everyday use. We have only a glimpse of this development, for, unfortunately, there are no independent works available to prove its mass character.

The main examples of this prose are found in the letters and documents recording the day-to-day business of the common man. They are hardly literary; they only reveal the utilitarian use of prose in this period. Better literary specimens of prose are found interspersed in the dramas. In Jagajjyotrimalla's (c. 1618–33) *Haragaurīvivāha* (The Marriage of Hara and Gauri) and Nandipati's *Śrīkṛṣṇakelimālā* there is found superb use of prose, musical, highly rhythmic, descriptive and effective, in every way directly descended from and linked with Jyotirisvara's more ornamental prose style. Less literary but highly emotive and poetic prose is found in the Nepalese dramas—of Siddhinarasimhadeva, for instance—and in the sustained eloquence and rhetoric of the Assamese *Aṅkiyā Nāṭa*.

Medieval Poetry (c. 1700–1850)

The medieval dramatic works in Mithila proper may, in a sense, be considered illustrative of medieval Maithili poetry. Medieval Maithili lyrics were also, by and large, dominated by the conventions of the Vidyapati tradition and were, therefore, imitative and lacking in originality, vigour and effectiveness. Yet it was plentiful and extremely popular. Anthology after anthology has been discovered.

In the 1780s, however, a new style of poetry that was narrative and epic took shape. This poetry was essentially the achievement of Manabodha (c. 1788) whose monumental work is *Kṛṣṇa Janma* (The Birth of Krishna), a poem with a message of hope for and comfort to the common man, woman and child of Mithila. Manabodh freed poetry from the conventions of the Vidyapati tradition and abandoned the emphasis on erotic poetry. He also created a revolution in poetic diction and rhythm. His poetry was no longer in the idiom of the learned man but in that of refined everyday use: full of raciness, verve and ease.

Several important poets were directly, as well as indirectly, influenced by the New Poetry. Ratipati Bhagata and Vaidyanatha wrote massive works, but writers like Chakrapani and Sivadatta raised folk forms like *sammaras* (long poems on celebrated marriages, i.e. *svayamvarās*) and *caritas* (eminent *paurāṇika* character sketches) to a literary level.

One of the new dimensions opened up in the wake of this poetry was a class of literature which may be termed saint literature (*santa-sāhitya*). The writers of this poetry were generally semi-literate men imbued with pseudo-vedantic and sufistic thought and directly influenced by the folk-types of devotional and mystic poetry. In this respect, the influence of the language and technique of North Indian saints like Kabira, Suradasa and Tulsidasa was pronounced. Among such Maithili poets, the names of Mahātmā Sāhebarāmadāsa (c. 1746) and Mahatma Lakṣmīnāthagosāni (c. 1840) are noteworthy. They mainly wrote *Viṣṇupadās* (Hymns to Vishnu) and *soharas* (songs about the births of Rama and Krishna).

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Modern Prose (after 1850)

The modern period dates roughly from 1857. It was at this time that administration and education were modernized and the feudal kingship of medieval Mithila was abolished. The fortunes of Maithili suffered for a time as the kingdom of Mithila (now reduced to a mere Zamindari) was placed under the Court of Wards by the British Government, which introduced Urdu and, later, Hindi as the official language in place of Maithili.

Nevertheless, when the mother tongue assumed importance in the new system of education, a renaissance took place and literary societies and associations sprang up all over old Mithila for its promotion. But before that a long struggle had ensued for the reinstatement of the mother tongue in its rightful place. Eventually in 1917 the University of Calcutta which in those days had jurisdiction over the colleges of Mithila, recognized Maithili. But before there could be any worthwhile results from this recognition of the language, the jurisdiction over the Maithili-speaking areas was transferred to the University of Patna, which recognized the language only in 1937. This is the real reason why there was a setback in the progress of Maithili literature at the beginning of the modern period.

Prose is the main vehicle of modern literature, just as lyric poetry was that of the early period and drama, that of the medieval period. Prose flourished with the growth of journalism and printing presses. The greatest names among the journals which promoted Maithili literature are *Mithilā Moda*, published in Banares ever since 1911 and *Mithilā Mihira*, published in Darbhanga from 1906. Education in English also made writers acquainted with new genres and literary forms. As a result important Maithili works were produced in every important genre. The most successful form, however, which has been cultivated is fiction.

Novels

The beginnings of Maithili fiction were in the forms of Sanskrit *ākhyāyikā* (long narrative story), *ākhyāna* (story) and *upākhyāna* (short story). Here the best-known work was Paramesvarajha's *Sīmantinī-ākhyāyikā*.

During the second stage translations of English and Bengali novels proliferated. Of these, the most popular translations were Dīnānāthajhā's *Vekaphīlḍakapādarī* and Sivanandachaudhari's *Kapālakuṇḍalā*. Then followed original works of fiction.

The earliest attempts at original fiction had didactic themes, especially those connected with the marriage system in Mithila. The most versatile writer of such works was Harimohana Jha (b. 1908) who started his career in the thirties. He made Maithili popular with the publication of his novels *Kanyādāna* (the giving away of a daughter in marriage) and *Dvirāgamana* (The Second Marriage Ceremony). But he discovered his true metier when he wrote *Khaṭṭarakak-ākataraṁga* (The Waves of Khattarakaka) and *Praṇamya Devatā* (The Adorable Gods). These were collections of stories in which social reform was only an excuse for creating comic situations and splendid characters. With these works Harimohana Jha laid the foundation of the art of fiction in Maithili as surely as Vidyapati had of lyric poetry and Umapati had of Kirttaniya drama.

Now fiction became mature and several important works followed. Kumara Gangananda Simha wrote an immortal work on Maithili society, *Agilahī* (The Fire-Agile Girl) in 1935, but full-length detailed pictures of this society were drawn by Yātrī in his much-discussed works *Pāro* (1946), which had incestuous overtones, and *Navaturiyā* (The Adolescent, 1954), a forthright condemnation of the older generation, and by Upendranatha Jha Vyasa in his *Kumāra* (The Bachelor, 1946). Yogendra Jha and Sailendramohana Jha also wrote stories of the same genre. Brajakisora Varma ('Manipadma') is the next important name that comes up. His *Lorika-Vijaya* (The Victory of Lorika, 1970) and *Naikā Banijārā* (The Tradesman Naika Banijara, 1973) are based on folk tales of infinite poetic charm. A more powerful writer is Maṇīndranātha Chowdhari, 'Rājakamal', the author of *Ādikathā* (The Original Story, 1958) and *Pātharphūl* (The Rock and the Flower, 1967) which brought to Maithili the full impact of modernity and a degree of freedom from age-old conventions and inhibitions.

Mayananda and Lalita are the next two significant writers of fiction. Mayananda's greatest contributions are *Bihāḍi Pāta O Pāthara* (Wind, Leaf and Hail, 1960) and *Khoñtā O Ciḍai* (The Nest and the Bird, 1965) which depict the violence of passion. He raises his tragedies and characters to sublime heights. Lalita, on the other hand, has successfully made heroes and heroines of the lowly and the downtrodden in society. His *Pṛthvīputra* (Son of the Soil, 1965) is a work of profound vision.

Other writers who have made their mark in Maithili fiction are Dhirendra, Ramananda Renu, Somadeva and Sudhamshu Sekhara Chowdhary. Two contemporary writers of importance are Jīvakānta and Prabhāsa Kumār Chowdhary. Jivakanta (b. 1936), whose style is admirable, has adopted the stream-of-consciousness technique, the best illustration of which is his *Dū Kuhesaka bāṭa* (Path between Two Fogs, 1968). Prabhasa is the novelist of the day, the idol of the present-day fiction-reading public. His works have a philosophy and viewpoint which verge on modern Existentialism. His *Hamarā Laga rahaba*? (Will you Live with Me?, 1978) is perhaps the work most representative of Maithili fiction today. The tragedy of modern life is poignantly and elegantly brought out in this novel. Pranava, the hero, feels lonely and let down right from his boyhood due to the vicious ways of his mighty village landlords, due to the selfishness and meanness of the rich people, and,

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finally, due to the double standards and callousness prevalent in Indian social customs. The characterization of Sheela as a woman, equally lonely and let down and alienated in all her relationships (including that of love), is just as powerful.

Short Story

The short story has strongly challenged longer works of fiction. The cost of production and the scarcity of leisure have paved the way for its popularity. The Maithili short story became a distinctive form of art by 1920. Harimohan Jha, Nagendra Kumara, Harinandana Thakura 'Saroja', and Janardana Jha Janasidana in the thirties and Upendra Natha Jha 'Vyasa' (b. 1917), Umanatha Jha, Manamohana Jha in the forties were the outstanding writers of short stories.

Amongst the new short-story writers, the foremost is Vyasa. His *Rūsala Jamāya* (The Sulky Son-in-Law) gave the genre a new direction. Sailendra Mohana Jha followed this lead in *Mṛṇālaka Sūta* (The Thread of Lotus Shoot) and *Bharata Vākya* (The Last Benedictory Words). Raja Mohana Jha (*Eka Ādi Eka Anta*, One Beginning, One End, 1965), Ramadeva Jha, Mayananda, Lalita, Rajakamala, Ramanda Renu and Hansaraja are other admirable writers in the new manner. All of them pick the commonest situations in the lives of common people and create touching moments of poetic profundity.

The present leaders in the field are Prabhasa Kumara Chowdhari, Gangesh Gunjana and Jivakanta. They have exploited the New Story in unique ways and created a permanent place for themselves on the Indian literary scene. Jivakanta's *Eksari Ṭhārhi Kadama Tara Re* (Lonely She Stands Beneath a Kadamba Tree) and *Sūrya Gali Rahala Chathi* (The Sun is Melting Away, 1976) are superb representations of the deep alienation the common man feels today both in cities and in villages.

Other Forms

Essay, humour, skits, sketches and other literary forms have also flourished in Maithili and the writers using these forms are as worthy of recognition as those writing fiction. Mention should be made of Muralidhara Jha, Mahamahopadhyaya Umesha Mishra (1897–1967), Ramanatha Jha (1906–71), Kshemadhari Simha and Radhakrishna Choudhari who are serious writers and Tantranatha Jha (b. 1909) and Hansaraja who write in the lighter vein.

Literary criticism of significance has been written by a host of writers, among whom Ramanatha Jha, Narendranatha Dasa, Subhadra Jha, Sri Krishna Mishra and Jayakanta Mishra (b. 1922) are notable.

Modern Drama (After 1850)

Modern drama is widely different from the Indian tradition. Earlier writers like Jivana Jha and Raghunandana Dasa introduced work-a-day prose and, in later years, succeeded in doing away with verse and song. But, drama was more of an academic exercise than a real creative force. A new and wholesome tendency was witnessed when, late in the 1950s good plays were inspired by modern stage conditions in Calcutta. A number of Bengali dramas were either tanslated or adapted in Maithili and quite a few Bengali actresses, instead of boys or men who had hitherto impersonated women, were introduced to the Maithili stage. Maithili drama now received a new lease of life from playwrights such as Gunanatha Jha and Nachiketa, who had been influenced by the new trends.

One-act plays have been quite successfully developed even on the amateur stage. Good farces and some serious plays have made their mark. Among them may be mentioned Harimohana Jha's *Bauāka Dāma* (The Price of the Bridegroom) and Tantranatha Jha's *Ekāṅkī Cayanikā* (Collection of One-Act Plays). But none of these plays are profound.

Once in a while a play like *Vijetā Vidyāpatī* (Vidyapati the Victor) by Kanchinatha Jha 'Kirana' (b. 1906), reveals the dramatic genius which lies dormant, requiring widespread patronage and practice if it is to compete with the popularity of the Hindi cinema.

Modern Poetry (After 1850)

While new forces made an impact on prose by introducing a variety of new forms, their impact on poetry was instrumental in reviving old forms like *Mahākāvya*, *Khaṇḍakāvya* and *Gītikāvya*.

The greatest Maithili writer of the modern age has been Chanda Jha, (1831–1907), who may be unhesitatingly called Maker of Modern Maithili. In 1898 he wrote *Mithilabhāṣā Rāmāyaṇā* (The Ramayana in the Language of Mithila) which attracted the attention of the learned and the illiterate alike and made them all aware of the charm and strength of their mother tongue. Among other great epics which have made a lasting impression on the Maithili speakers is Tantranatha Jha's *Kīcakavadhā* (The Killing of Kichaka).

Khaṇḍakāvyās. The latest and, perhaps, the most mature attempt has been by Upendra Natha Jha Vyasa in *Patana* (The Fall, 1969). It is a powerful and imaginative reconstruction of the myth of the fall of King Nahusha from Heaven, rationally interpreted as being similar to the fall of man in Milton's *Paradise Lost*. 'The Patana is a great work on a small scale'.[9] Other important *khaṇḍakāvyās* are *Lakhimā Rāṇī* (Queen Lakhima, 1960) and *Bhāratī*

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(1964) by Kedaranatha Labha and *Hama: ekaṭā mithyā paricaya* (Me: A False Introduction) by Gangesha Gunjana.

It is in the field of the lyric that poetry has been most modernized. Among older poets using this form are Harshanatha Jha (1848–1902), Chanda Jha, Gananatha Jha and Vindhyanatha Jha. The modern note was first sounded in the form of patriotic poetry. The love of the land inspired the young and old, the good and bad alike. The most inspired was Raghavacharya Sastri, whose collection of lyrics *Krāntigītā* (Songs of Revolution, 1930) and *Jwālāmukhī* (The Volcano, 1936) gave a direct impetus to Maithili movement. But the birth of the modern lyric must be dated backto Bhuvaneswara Simha 'Bhuvana's' collection, *Āṣāḍha* (1936). In his famous preface to this volume he declares war on the traditional lyric of *Rāgās* and *Rāgiṇīs*. He also extends the variety of themes. The first fruits of this revolution were a charming blend of the old and the new in the poems of Surendra Jha Suman, Īśānātha Jhā, Kashinatha Mishra 'Madhupa' and Upendra Jha Mohan.

One such poet, Vaidya Natha Mishra Yatri, gradually outgrew this poetry and developed into a unique, modern, progressive poet imbibing the best western ideas and techniques. He pleaded admirably for free verse and free thinking. His collections of poems from *Citra* (1949) to *Patrahīna Nagna Gāccha* (The Leafless Naked Tree, 1967) reveal the transformation that took place in modern Maithili poetry. The former is representative of older ideas but seeking new symbols and images in a polished and elegant poetic diction. The latter is wholly written in a new idiom and a new poetic style; the old world glory is gone and the disillusionment and alienation of the new generation has captured the poet's voice. This is the journey of modern poetry from 1900 to 1970.

Among the latter-day poets of eminence, mention must be made of Tantranatha Jha, the celebrated author of *Namasyā* (Obeisance, 1978) and *Maṅgalapañcāśikā* (Fifty Benedictory Songs, 1974), Buddhidhārī Siṁha 'Ramākara', Chandranatha Mishra 'Amara' (b. 1925), Upendranatha Jha Vyasa, Srikrishna Mishra, Gopālajī Jhā 'Gopesh' and Somadeva.

The newer voices in poetry are, as in prose, many. They are yet in search of new forms and have barely reached the heights. They are so many and are writing in so many directions that it is not possible to list them all in such a brief survey. But for those who desire to know modern Maithili literature their works cannot be ignored. Undoubtedly their leader is Maṇīndra Chowdhary Rājakamala (1929–67), whose preface to his collection, *Svaragandhā* (The Giver of the Smell of Sounds), was another declaration of a poet's purpose and method of writing. Rajakamala's lead has been followed by Ramakrishna Jha Kisuna, Mayananda Mishra, Kirthinarayana Mishra, Ramananda Renu and a host of others.

Today, Jivakanta, the celebrated author of *Nācū He Pṛthvī* (Dance O Earth, 1971), and the poets whose works appear in a collection of poems called *Dhurī* (The Axis, 1972) represent the best writers of the new poetry. In the words of Jayakanta Mishra: 'Here are poets who have a firm grasp over their subject matter as well as the idiom and rhythm of their lines. Even their stanzaic structure is significantly different. It is not only their outspoken criticism of life in its many facets but it is also their sense of the Beauty of the Word and Line that make these poets great'.

NOTES

1. Mishra, J., *History of Maithili Literature*, New Delhi, 1976, p. 19. However, the *Census of India* 1961 gives the number of Maithili speakers as 49.84 lakhs which is as ridiculous as the number given in *Census of India* 1951 (87,746) or that in 1921 (1641) when Sir George A. Grierson in his *Linguistic Survey of India* (v. II, p. 14) gives the number of people speaking Maithili in 1911 as 1.02 crores.
2. Grierson, Sir George A., *Maithili Grammar*, p. 2.
3. *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa.*
4. *Bṛhadviṣṇupurāṇa.*
5. District Gazetteer (Muzaffarpur).
6. Chapters 124–35.
7. Mishra, J., *History of Maithili Literature*, p. 180.
8. Ibid., p. 181.
9. Ibid., p. 287.

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2. Mishra, Jaya Kanta, *A History of Maithili Literature*, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1976.

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Manipuri

IROM BABU SINGH

Introduction

Manipuri, a Tibeto-Burmese language of the Kuki-Chin group, is the most advanced language of the group from the literary, cultural and linguistic points of view. It is an amalgam of seven dialects spoken by seven clans belonging to independent city-state type principalities in the valley of Manipur. Six of these clans, viz. the Moirangs, the Khumans, the Angoms, the Luwangs, the Chengleis and the Khaba-Nganbas, were defeated by the more powerful Ningthouja clan at different times. R. K. Jhalajit Singh is of the view that the subjugation of five of these clans by the Ningthouja ruler was completed by the 12th century A.D. The Moirangs continued to be independent for about three centuries more. When all the principalities were annexed by the Ningthouja, a new kind of language, with words from the different clans evolved and became the standard language that in time came to be known as Manipuri.

G. A. Grierson is of the opinion that 'Meithei-Chin' would be a better name for this language group. S. K. Chatterjee says that 'among the various Tibeto-Burman languages, the most important, and in literature, certainly, of much greater importance than Newari, is the Meithei or Manipuri language'. The Manipuri language has a script of its own and was written in this script alone. Though no one can pinpoint its origins, this script began to be less used when the Assamese-Bengali scripts came to the valley in the 18th century with the expansion of the Chaitanya Vaishnavism of Bengal.

The growth of Manipuri literature is usually divided into three periods. The ancient period was from about A.D. 33 to the end of the 17th century. The medieval period was from the beginning of the 18th century till the middle of the 19th century and the modern period dates from the last decade of the 19th century.

Folk Literature

Folk-songs. Manipuri has a rich tradition of folk literature. In fact, it may be said that the bulk of Manipuri literature down to the 19th century was primarily folk in content and style, if anonymity and communal characteristics are considered the main determining factors of folk literature. Examples of hymns and panegyrics to fire, sun and other natural objects are plenty. They can be found in *Khenco*, *Āwgri* and *Sanā Lamok* which are considered very old compositions and the foundation of Manipuri poetry. One of the hymns to fire is as follows:

O Fire brought by Poireiton,[1]
Thou Fire maintained by Poinaota![2]
Fire, twin fire,
O brightly burning fire!
Thou representative of the Sun! (tr.)

Occupational songs still sung have ancient origins. A popular folk-song sung during paddy husking by women goes like this:

Chahā Chabu Chaloibā
You damn paddy collector,
If you demand rice
You will be fed
With foul-smelling *Fougāk*[3] stale rice.

When you ask for curry
Stunted banana tree
Without salt will be offered.
If you want fish
Mighty-headed moat tadpoles
Will be fed as fish. (tr.)

Here is a lullaby sung by a mother carrying her baby on her back:

Moon, Moon
Last of the full moon,
Let me carry on my back
Your child *Morāmbi*[4]
Being tied by a cloth
Drop me a bunch of figs,
The one you dropped
Fell amidst your night soil,
Amidst your urine,
Drop me a bunch once more. (tr.)

When boys and girls play, they sing lively folk-songs. Some of these songs are exclusively meant to be sung by girls while others can be sung by boys and girls. This is a song sung by boys and girls during a game of chase:

Peepul is the biggest among trees,
Mango the leafiest

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Te Te Parrot
Parrot of *Keisāmpāt*[5]
When mango is ripe
Parrots are happy (tr.)

There is a folk-song for girls which is sung when they play a game called *Seboti Kāonabā*:

Se Se Seboti
Bhavani issue of *Lāiṣram*[6]
Let us fight
And see who wins (tr.)

There are many love songs, one of which is:

Ingellei[7] flower of the mountain,
I envy you, withering
Without being handled.
I don't wither
Of my own will;
The wind makes me wither
I, the wind, am not at fault.
You wither away
Because you are too old. (tr.)

Ballads. The ballad is one of the great traditions of Manipuri folk literature. The great ballad cycle from Moirang, which is seven in number and often called the incarnation of Moirang, is still sung by minstrels. These ballads are sung in two styles of folk music, *Penā* and *Khongjom Parba*. The most popular song in the cycle is the ballad of Khamba and Thoibi, the last in the series.

Mythology and legends are favourite themes in Manipuri ballads. The legend of Koubru and such mythological stories as Konthoujam Lairemma, Panthoibi, etc. are still the stuff of popular ballads. Another type of Manipuri ballad is the *Leiron*, which draws its inspiration from the plentiful flora and fauna of Manipur. The songs on *Kombirei*, a kind of iris found only in Lamphelpat, and *Ingellei* are some examples of this type of ballad. The heroic fight an elephant called Moirāngṣā wages against Koubru Yāishā, a rogue elephant that terrorized the people living in the north-west of Manipur, is a subject that is still very popular.

Folk-tales. The folk-tale, its origins still unexplored, is an oral tradition that still plays an important role in the life of Manipur. There are many types of tales. The tale of *Kēbu Kēoibā*, in which an animal (half-man, half-tiger) tries to seduce Thabāton, the only sister of seven brothers, is a good example of a folk-tale in which the strong resistance of a community against alien influences is epitomized. In *Niṅṅol Mawā Apaṅ*, the foolishness of a son-in-law is shown and in *Hanubi Hanubā Pān Tābā* the intrigues of youngsters intent on duping their elders is depicted. *Sandrembi Cāisrā* is a tragic folk-tale, but it demonstrates the eventual triumph of justice over falsehood.

General Prose

A problem faced in the study of ancient Manipuri literature is the anonymity of most authors and the total absence of the date when the books were written. In the absence of a scientific study of the available texts, it is very difficult to date these books and assign them to individual writers. Many of these ancient manuscripts are now being transliterated and published in modern script by scholars.

The *Kumbābā* is a royal chronicle of Manipur. It contains records from A.D. 33, when Pakhangba (Pākhaṁbā, c. A.D. 33–154) ascended the throne. The entries are in the ancient Meitei script and were made daily by the *Pandit Loishang* (Court of Royal Pandits) of Manipur. The subjects recorded cover a very wide range.

Poirēton Khuntokpā (Migration of Poireiton), the most important book of the pre-Garibniwaj period, throws light on the different aspects of Manipuri life. The book deals with the migration of Poireiton, the younger brother of the Land of Death, to Manipur. *Numit Kāppā* (Shooting the Sun, c. 10th century) is an allegorical work that narrates the story of the shooting of the sun. The controversial copper plate of Khongtekcha, containing the inscriptions of King Khongtekcha (763–784), was discovered by W. Yumjao Singh and published with an English translation in his *Report on Archaeological Studies in Manipur*, Bulletin No. 1 in 1935. This copper plate is considered an important landmark in the development of Manipuri prose.

Nāotiṅkhoṅ Phambāl Kābā, written sometime between 1576 and 1697, is a romantic tale about Yoikhunjāobā who ascended the throne of Manipur as Nāothingkhong in A.D. 633. The book narrtaes his love for Petaṅā and the tragic end of the latter. The *Cāinarol*, an anonymous book of the 16th century, contains records of the duels and combats of chiefs and other high dignitaries up to the reign of Khāgembā (1577–1652).

The *Lētak Lēkhārol* (Lore of Heaven and Netherworld) is a Manipuri purana of the first half of the 17th century in which is narrated the legend of the creation of the world. The book shows a definite tantric influence. The anecdotes and allusions in it are in veiled tones of sexual mysticism.

The *Pāntoibi Khoṅgul* (Footsteps of Panthoibi) is the most important composition of the 17th century and its literary beauty is comparable to that of Banabhatta's *Kādambari*. It is believed that the book was written during the last two decades of the 17th century when the cult of Pānthoibi was revived and became popular after the reign of Garibniwaj. Like the *Cētārol Kumbābā*, the *Niṅtāwrol Lambubā* (Royal Tours) is also a chronicle recording the travels and tours of the kings of Manipur. It is believed to have been written in the first decade of the 18th century.

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The book provides important source materials for cultural history because it gives reasons for the naming of many important places associated with cultural and historical events.

The second half of the 18th century was a period of great upheaval in Manipuri culture and literature. During the reign of Bhagyachandra (1763–98), Manipuri culture and literature emerged in a new light and were more spirited. It was during the reign of this king that the beautiful Manipuri dance form was created and new books on Vaishnava themes written in Manipuri. One of the great names in Manipuri literature of this period was Madhabram Wahengba (Mādhabrām Wāheṅbā). He wrote the *Lāṅlon*—a collection of moral maxims in archaic Manipuri, which is often called the Manipuri Chanakya Sloka, the *Śonā Manik*, the adventures of Sona Manik, *Ciṅtaṅkhombā Mahārāj Gaṅgā Catpā*, a book giving an account of a pilgrimage of Bhagyachandra Maharaj, and the *Candrakriti Jilā Caṅbā*, an account of a historical event in the life of Chandrakriti (1834–86). Didacticism, religious sentiments and a liberal use of Sanskrit words are found in most of the books of this period.

The reign of Maharaj Garibniwaj, who was converted to Hinduism and who propagated the Brahmanical cult in Manipur vigorously, was a period of translations and adaptations from Sanskrit, Bengali and other Indian languages. Angom Gopi (Aṅom Gopi), who lived during the reign of Garibniwaj is remembered for his Manipuri translations of portions of Kritibas's Ramayana and Gangadas Sen's Mahabharata from the Bengali. The next important translation was done by Nabānand Yubarāj (b. 1757), a son of Bhagyachandra, in 1781. He translated the *Birāta Parva* of the Mahabharata written by Ramkrishna Das. Labanga Singh Konthoujamba (Labaṅ Śiṅh Kontāwjāmbā), who also lived during the reign of Bhagyachandra, adapted in Manipuri the death of Rama from the *Uttar Kāṇḍa* of the Ramayana and called it *Rām Noṅgābā*.

In 1802, during the reign of Madhuchandra (1801–3), Longjam Prashuram (Loṅjam Praṣurām) translated into Manipuri the *Aśwamedha Parba* from the original Bengali Mahabharata of Gangadas Sen. The first 10 cantos of the Gita by Govind Mishra were summarized by Nongyai Oinamcha (Noṅyāi Oināmcā, 19th century) in 1810 and this was published by Rajkumar Sanahal Singh in 1973.

The ancient Manipuri style is ornate, language verbose and sentences long-winding and cumbersome. Another feature of this Manipuri is the juxtaposition of indigenous words with Sanskrit ones. Most of the books start with a kind of prologue paying tribute and homage to the gods and godlings. The sentences are often in the interrogative.

The conquest of the Manipuris by the British in April 1891 brought about a change in Manipuri literature both in content and in style. The contact with the British widened the horizons of the Manipuris and their literature became more extensive. Hāodeijāmbā Chaitanya's *Khambā Toibigi Wārini* (The Story of Khamba Thoibi, 1899) is one of the earliest prose works in the new style and tells the story of Khamba and Thoibi.

The writers of the earliest works of modern Manipuri literature were men who had both a western education as well as a sound background of Sanskrit and Bengali literatures. It was these writers who gave a new dimension to Manipuri literature by extending its perspectives through the translation of some of the greatest books in the other Indian literatures. Panditaraja Phurailatpam Atombapu Sharma (Paṇḍitarāja Phurāilātpam Atombāpu Śarmā, 1878–1963) and Kalachand Shastri (b. 1906) are the distinguished translators of a number of religious and other texts from Sanskrit and other Indian languages. Atombapu Sharma has also written a number of religious and ritualistic texts and interpretations, brought out new editions of old Manipuri works on history, literature and dance, and contributed general works on Sanskrit and Manipuri culture. Chingangbam Kalachand Singh has undertaken the stupendous task of translating the entire Mahabharata from the original Sanskrit into Manipuri. Books on Vaishnava religion and philosophy, and translations with commentaries like Krishnadas Kaviraj's *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, the *Govind Līlāmṛta*, the *Ujwala Nilamaṇi* and the *Gītāgovind* are also found in Manipuri.

Poetry

Traditional Poetry. Specimens of traditional poetry in Manipuri are to be found in the translations and adaptations of the Indian classics which became popular as a result of the spread of the Brahmanical religion in Manipur. The best specimen of traditional poetry in Manipuri is *Hijan Hirāo* (Royal Boat). This poem, by an anonymous writer, is a long narrative describing how a boat was made at the behest of Hoṅgnem Luwāṅg Niṅgthou Punṣibā (8th century) for a boat race. What is most distinctive about the poem is the human qualities and faculties that are ascribed to inanimate objects and nature. In this beautiful example, a mother tree weeps to see her son, a *Uningthou* tree (one of the best pieces of wood to make a boat), being felled by woodcutters:

My dear Son,
I brought you up,
Protecting carefully from
The biting frost
And away from
The gusty wind
And devastating fire;
But now I am undone
You are lost for ever. (tr.)

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Lēron (Of Flowers), which is believed to have been composed by Charairongba (Carāiroṅbā), a king of Manipur, during the period 1697–1709, describes the origins, the naming and the features of many orchids and flowers found in Manipur. This beautiful poem describing 100 orchids and flowers contains several cultural and historical allusions. *Rām Noṅgābā* (Death of Rama) is a composition by Labanga Singh Konthoujamba (18th century), who described the death of Rama in beautiful Manipuri, embellished here and there with Sanskrit words.

Modern Poetry. Poetry in the modern sense was written in Manipuri for the first time during the first two decades of the present century. *Lē Pareṅ* (Garland, 1929) by Kamal Singh (1899–1934) is one of the best books of Manipuri poetry. The poet shows his deep love of Nature in his poems and a kind of romantic atmosphere pervades the whole book. His use of the language is unique—common words are surcharged with significant meanings and connotations, often very suggestive.

The next important modern Manipuri poet is Khwāirākpam Cāobā Śiṅh (1895–1950) whose collection *Tāinagi Lēraṅ* (Ancient Flowers, 1939) contains several poems which are melancholic and grim. Chaoba Singh considered life transitory and full of trivialities. His poetry reflects this outlook in abundance. Another important strain in his poetry is that of folklore which is the basis of some of his best poems.

Arambam Dorendra Singha (Arāmbam Dorendra Śiṅh, 1907–44) is a writer of epic poetry in Manipuri. His *Kaṁsa Badha* (1942) is modelled upon Michael Madhusudan Dutt's Bengali *Meghanād Badha*. Hijam Anganghal Singh (Hijam Aṅāṅhal Śiṅh, 1892–1943) is another epic poet. His 34,000-line *Khambā Toibi Ṣēreṅ* (Poetry on Khamba Thoibi) is a monumental work on the immortal love of Khamba, an orphan, and Thoibi, a princess of Moirang, who, it is believed, lived during the reign of Loyumba (1074–1122). The story of Khamba and Thoibi is a romantic national legend of the Meities. Anghanghal's significant contribution is that he, for the first time, put part of oral tradition into the written word.

Hawaibam Nabadwipchandra Singh (Hawāibam Nabadwipcandra Śiṅh, 1897–1946) is one of the great lyric poets of Manipuri. His poems remained scattered for long, but in 1980 the Naharol Sahitya Sabha brought out a collection of his available poems in a work called *Nabadwipcandragi Ṣēreṅ* (Poems of Nabadwipachandra). These poems, written in beautiful language, show his deep religious conviction. A particularly significant contribution of Nabadwipchandra to Manipuri readers is his magnificent transcreation of the first five cantos of Michael Madhusudan Dutt's *Meghanād Badha Kāvya*. In this, his language is majestic, symbolic and beautiful, making it very nearly a grandiose work.

The lone old guard who still wields a pen is Ashangbam Minaketan Singh (Aṣāṁbam Minaketan Śiṅh, b. 1906). He published his first book of poems, *Baśanta Ṣēreṅ* (Vernal Poem), in 1926. *Tonu Lāijiṅlembi* was published in 1939 and *Asēbagi Nitāipada* (Last Lay of the Minstrel), a poem on tragic love, in 1976. *Aṣēbagi Ṣēroi* (Last Song of the Poet, 1977), a collection of 13 poems, is his latest contribution.

Post-1947 Manipuri poetry is marked by experiment. Elangbam Nilakanta Singh (Elāṁbam Nilakāṇṭa Śiṅh, b. 1925) and Lishram Samarendra Singh (Lāiṣram Śamarendra Śiṅh, b. 1925) are two leading poets of this period. *Catlaśine Kadāidano Ibāni* (Let us Go Somewhere, 1971) by Nilakanta Singh contains some of his best poems. The poems are intellectual and cleverly expressed. Samarendra Singh's two collections are *Mamāṅ Lēkāi Tambāl Ṣātle* (Lotus Blooms in the East, 1974) and *Wā Amatā Hāige Telaṅgā* (One Word with You Kite, 1963). He is intensely conscious of the human problems and is stirred to poetic expression by them. His tone is satiric but sympathetic. Sijagurumayum Nilabir Shastri's (b. 1926) *Khoṅjom Tirta* is an epic poem on the struggle of the Manipuris against the British in 1891. The patriotic strain is to be found in his short poems too. But the poems in *Itak Ipom* (Waves, 1972) show him in a different light. These poems are mystical and reveal romantic yearnings. Rājkumār Śurendrajit Śiṅh (1925–82), the poet who wrote *Baśantagi Bāṣi* (1970), laments lost values and hopes for a regeneration.

The seventies ushered in a new phase in Manipuri poetry. This is the age of the angry young man who claims knowledge of the whole gamut of human experience. He is not satisfied with what he finds around him; he is driven to question everything with a desire to destroy what exists in order to create a new system. Sri Biren's (b. 1949) *Tollabā Ṣādugi Wākhal* (Thought of the Miserable Animal, 1970) and Tāṅgjam Ibopiṣak Śiṅh's (b. 1948) *Apāibā Tawāi* (The Fleeting Soul, 1968) contain poems of anger, suspicion, doubt and loss of faith, all expressed in varying degrees and in a language which is far from elegant. Ibopishak Singh, whose poems reveal a deep strain of melancholic yearning, is adept at handling situations. Yumlembam Ibomcā Śiṅh (b. 1948) is a poet with a new insight. His *Ṣandrembi Toraklo Nahum Ponjel Ṣābige* (Come Out Shandrembi, Your Abode Will be Built), published in 1973, contains poems which appear on first reading to be dreamy and meaningless jugglery with words. These poems are primarily of the subconscious and are almost surrealistic. His use of uncommon and dreamy imagery is conspicuous.

R. K. Madhubir Singh, K. Padmakumar Singh, Kheiruddin Choudhury, E. Sonamani Singh, Prakash Singh, and S. Nodia Singh are other noteworthy poets who are still writing.

Drama

Students of Manipuri drama opine that the rudiments and basic elements of drama are to be found in such ritualistic

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festivals as the *Lāi Harāobā* (literally the ecstasy of gods) which celebrates the creation of the world by recreating the story. Similarly, Manipuri *rāsa līlā*, the divine dance of Radha and Krishna which was developed during the time of Bhagyachandra Maharaj, and such operatic performances as the *Sanshenbā* (Cow Tending), which narrates the episodes from the life of Krishna the cowherd, have contributed to the growth of regular drama.

But drama in the modern sense came to Manipur only in the early decades of this century. A Bengali play, *Pravash Milan*, was staged in 1902 at the temple of Shri Govindaji in the King's palace. In 1903, the Bamacharan Mukhopadhyay Bandhab Natyashala was established at Babupara. Later called the Manipur Friends Dramatic Union, this society was the first regular theatre group in Manipur.

L. Ibungohal Singh's *Narasiṁha*, written in 1925 and staged the same year, is the first original Manipuri play. It depicts the patriotic feelings of Narasingh who courageously fought the Burmese. The establishment of the Manipur Dramatic Union in 1931 gave a new impetus to Manipuri drama. Sorokhāibam Lalit Singh of this theatre group is the first man to write plays on social themes in Manipuri. His *Sati Khoṅṅāṅ* (Sati Peepul Tree) and *Areppā Marup* (The Infallible Friend) were staged regularly.

A great translator-director is Khomdrām Dhanacandra Śiṅh, who translated *Devala Devi*, *Sāvitrī*, etc. from the Bengali. Noṅgmāithem Tānil Śiṅh, whose name is closely associated with the development of Manipuri drama, translated *Karnārjuna* and *Bilvamaṅgol* from the Bengali into Manipuri.

The Rupamahal Artistes Association was established in 1943 and produced regular shows dealing with social and historical themes. Hijam Anganghal Singh's *Yāitiṅ Konu*, a folk drama, was staged in 1948. Arambam Dorendrajit Singh's *Moirāṅ Toibi* is considered one of the best dramas of the time. His use of the language is commendable in this play and in his characterization of Thoibi, Shakespeare's Portia is reflected. In *Bhāgyacandra*, the characters of Khelei Nuwa and his consort are modelled on Macbeth and Lady Macbeth.

Mayāṅlambam Birmaṅgol Śiṅh (1909–79), whose name is closely associated with the Aryan Theatre established in 1936, was a great playwright and director. His realm was the history and folklore of Manipur. Some of his best plays are *Ṣija Lāioibi*, *Naraśiṅh* and *Konok Teṅgrā*—all historical names. In his treatment of history, Birmangol Singh's concern for the historical truth is always discernible.

Ṣarāṅtem Bormani Śiṅh and Hāobam Tombā Śiṅh are two playwrights whose inspiration has been the myths and legends of Manipur. Bormani Singh's *Kege Lamjā* (Orphan of Kege) and *Hāoraṅ Lēṣaṅ Ṣāphabi* and Tomba Singh's *Ṣāyon Ṣāphabā* and *Tāmnā* are plays based on the legends of the Moirangs. Māibam Rāmcaran Śiṅh is a romantic playwright who deals with social problems.

The name of G. C. Tongbra (b. 1913) is synonymous with the Society Theatre, which was started in 1937 and staged his plays. He is a playwright with a definite purpose, a man who wants to expose the follies and failures of society and who wishes to convert it to his views. He humorously exposes the seamy side of life with brilliant dialogue and repartee. Some of his best plays are *Matric Pass*, *Imphāl Thoibi*, *Āndolan*, *Ani Toknā Ciṅkhāire Tammoi* (The Heart Splits into Two), *Hiṅminnabā* (Coexistence) and *Ceṅṅi Khujāi* (The Begging Bowl). He is a very active playwright who has written more than 50 plays.

The seventies has been a decade of experiments and new approaches to Manipuri theatre. Kanhailal Singh (b. 1938), Arambam Samarendra Singh (b. 1933) and Sri Biren are a few of the new playwrights who have brought elements of existentialism and Brechtian methods to Manipuri drama. Kanhailal's *Kēbu Kēoibā* (Half Man and Half Tiger) and *Pebet* have themes from mythology and folklore and aim at the restoration of the lost identity of a community. His *Nupilāl* (Revolt of Women) on the historic revolt of the women of Manipur in 1939 against the British policy of paddy procurement is Brechtian in conception. Sri Biren's *Hallakpā* (The Return) is existential thematically and in atmosphere. Samrendra's *Judge Śāhebki Imuṅ* (The Family of the Judge) and *Daṣā* and *Kārbār* are social satires. Besides these playwrights, there are several other writers who have written plays completely new in conception and execution.

Novel

Lamabam Kamal Singh, the greatest figure in Manipuri literature, published his *Mādhabi* in 1930. This heralded an important landmark in the development of modern Manipuri literature. The novel narrates the sacrifice of a girl named Madhabi. What is most beautiful in it is the language of Kamal, which is almost poetic. The author's lucid narration has made Madhabi the most popular Manipuri novel.

Labaṅlatā (1940) by Khwairakpam Chaoba Singh marked the beginning of the historical novel in Manipuri. The novel is based on the events during the reign of Maharaj Khagemba in the 16th century. It narrates the intrigues in the royal family and the history behind them. Here Chaoba tries to recapture the atmosphere, pomp and grandeur of the time. Rajkumar Shitaljit Singh (Rājkumār Ṣitaljit Śiṅh b. 1923), whose important novels were published in the forties, is a novelist of a different mould. His *Tādokpā* (Sacrifice), *Imā* (Mother) and *Rohiṇī* attempt to depict certain moral values in human life. Shitaljit Singh is deeply committed to the Vaishnavic faith and his novels also depict some of the values cherished by a Vaishnava. While *Imā* and *Rohiṇi* uphold the *Vātsalya Prem* of the Vaishnava faith, *Tādokpā* is a novel based on the teachings of the Gita

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the *Karmayoga*. His language is simple and style straightforward.

Hijam Anganghal Singh's *Jaherā*, which was posthumously published in 1964, is a novel on the love between a Meitei youth and a Muslim girl named Jahera. The novel deals with a social problem, but the compulsions of an orthodox society were so great that Anganghal had to end the novel with the tragic murder of Jahera by Kunjo, the hero. Hijam Guno Singh (b. 1926) in his novels *Laman* (Debt, 1958), *Khudol* (Present, 1961) and *Ēkhoigi Tāda* (Our Elder Brother, 1973) tries to depict certain noble qualities in human life through characters who pass through several vicissitudes. Guno Singh, however, tends to ramble too often and sometimes loses control over his medium.

A great novelist who, with a single novel *Boro Śāheb Oṅbi Śanātombi* (Sanatombi Married to Boro Saheb), made a name in Manipuri literature, is Maharajakumari Binodini Devi (b. 1922). Her historical novel is about the tragic life of Sanatombi, a daughter of Maharaj Surchandra Singh (1886–96) of Manipur who was driven from his throne. Sanatombi married Maxwell, the then Political Agent of Manipur, and Binodini Devi tries to recapture the glories, aspirations and disappointments of her protagonists. Binodini does it well, her style is direct and her beautiful language recreates a realistic royal atmosphere.

Pacha Meitei's (Pācā Mētē, b. 1946) novels are in a class by themselves. His *Nā Tāthibā Ahal Amā* (An Old Man Hard of Hearing), *Imphāl Amasuṅ Māgi Iṣiṅ Nuṅṣitki Phibam* (Impal and Its Atmosphere, 1969), *Ipāo Amā* (A Message of Mine, 1972) and *Tānil* are not novels of the traditional kind. They are psychological, episodic, without a beginning, a middle or an end. In *Nā Tāthibā Ahal Amā*, an ex-revolutionary makes journeys into the past, the present and the future and, in his reveries, finds himself an old man hard of hearing in spite of his best intentions and motives. In *Imphāl Amasuṅ Māgi Iṣiṅ Nuṅṣitki Phibam*, Thanil from Cachar, who has heard of the glories of Manipur and longed to make a pilgrimage to this holy place, came to Imphal. But to his utter dismay and disgust he sees and experiences the dirtier and more shady aspects of the so-called holy places. Pacha's novels are novels of the subconscious and as such the depiction of certain situations and conflicts is more important in them than the narration of a story.

Translations of important novels of Bankimchandra, Saratchandra and Jarasandha from the Bengali, and Bhagvati Charan Verma, Premchand and Jainendra Kumar Jain from the Hindi are also available in Manipuri.

Short Story

The short story is new to modern Manipuri literature. Lamabam Kamal Singh's *Brojendragi Luhoṅbā* (Brojendra's Marriage, 1933), which was published in *Lalit Mañjuri Patrikā*, a Manipuri literary journal popular in the thirties was the first short story. The first important short story writer in Manipuri, Rajkumar Shitaljit Singh, brought out *Lēkonnuṅdā* (In the Bower), a collection of his short stories, in 1946, beginning a new phase in the progress of the short story in Manipuri. His second book of short stories *Lēnuṅṣi* (Dear Flower) was published in the same year. Shitaljit Singh's stories are marked by a simplicity of language and style and moralistic themes. After this there was a gap of about ten years before R. K. Elangbam's (Elāmbam, b. 1928) *Ciṅyā Tamyā* (At the Foothill and Plain, 1955) was published. This was followed by *Yumgi Māw* (Household Daughter-in-Law, 1958), a collection of his short stories. A long while later, he brought out in 1979 his third collection of short stories, *Kālentāgi Lēpāklē* (Summer Flower).

The most important, and perhaps the most powerful, short story writer in Manipuri is Maharajakumari Binodini Devi whose stories in *Nuṅgāiraktā Candramukhi* (Chrysanthemum Amidst Stones, 1965) created a sensation. Life with its tragedies and comedies is the theme of her stories, which abound with excitement, and the differing values of youth and age. Her clever handling of the language and her colourful writing add to the quality of the stories. Nongthombam Kunjamohan Singh (b. 1935) is a prolific short story writer. His collection *Ilisā Amagi Mahāo* (Taste of an Ilisa, 1934) contains several sentimental stories. His second book, *Tawānmicāk Amanā Kenkhibā* (The Fall of a Star, 1981) has many stories of topical interest.

Sijagurumayum Nilbir Shastri's *Bāśanti Caroṅ* (A Bunch of Basanti) is a collection of short stories about the life of the less privileged and of youthful love. His use of the Manipuri language as spoken by different social classes is outstanding. Khumanthem Prakash Singh's (b. 1932) short stories in *Icegi Ṣam* (Sister's Hair, 1965) are stories of situation, which he contrives skilfully. Hijam Guno Singh excels in depicting the corrupt social and bureaucratic practices. His stories in *Phijaṅ Marumdā* (Behind the Screen) are good examples of this ability. Sri Biren in his *Lēcillakki Tāja* (Moon Behind the Cloud) identifies himself with the underdogs in society and realistically portrays them using a rather violent language that sometimes verges on the obscene.

Elangbam Dinamani Singh (Elāṁbam Dinamaṇi Śiṅh, b. 1940) is a totally different type of short story writer. He is the only story writer in Manipuri who narrates the humorous aspects of life, depicting incidents, episodes and situations that make the readers laugh at and yet sympathize with his characters. His three books of short stories, *Taklabi* (Drunken), *Morāmbi Aṅāobi* (Mad with Plaything) and *Tiṅkhaṅlē* (Cactus) contain stories of this kind.

Lamabam Viramani Singh (b. 1948) is a short story writer whose stories in *Picnic Picnic* (1980) and *Ceklā*

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Pāikhrabadā (When the Bird Flew Away, 1981) are the voice of a young man caught in the labyrinth of life's problems. Yumlembam Ibomcha Singh, Nongthombam Saratchandra Singh, Aribam Chitreswar Sharma are other promising young writers.

Essay

The essay made its appearance in Manipuri literature in the early decades of this century. Khwairakpam Chaoba Singh is a pioneer in this field and wrote *Wākhalgi Icel* (Thought Current), *Chātra Macā* (Student) and *Phidam* (Ideal), three collections of essays. His essays are idealistic and are characterized as much by a simplicity of expression as by their forceful style. One of the foremost essayists in Manipuri is Sinam Krishnamohan Singh (Śinām Kṛṣṇamohan Śiṅh, b. 1902). His *Wāreṅ Nācom* (Bunch of Prose) is a collection of religious and moralistic essays. Hijam Anganghal Singh's *Tambāl* (Lotus) is an allegorical essay wherein a comparison is made between the lotus and girlhood. Ornate language and long-winding sentences mark this composition. Elangbam Nilakanta Singh's *Acāibā Lē* (Scattered Flower) and *Matamgi Wākhal* (Thoughts of Time) contain belles-lettres and critical discussions of art and culture. Baasi's (b. 1941) *Kṛṣṇacurāgi Aṅāṅbā Mapāl* (Red Flower of Gol Mohur, 1979) is of the same type.

History

The first Manipuri book to be published was *A History of Manipur* (1890). It was printed in Bengali. Pukhrambam Pārijāt Śiṅh (20th century) brought out *Mētrabākki Wāri* (Stories of Manipur), another history of Manipur. Khumantem Kāomacā Śiṅh (1870–1944) wrote *Maṇipur Itibrita*, the first part of which was published in 1934. Mutum Jhulon Singh (20th century) wrote *Maṇipuri Itihās* and *Bijoy Pañcāli* (1947), two books on the history of Manipur. Phurailatpam Atombapu Sharma wrote *Maṇipur Itihās*, *Mētē Mēhāwrol* and *Mēhāwrol Sākaw*, on different aspects of the history of Manipur. Wahengbam Yumjao Singh's (20th century) *Maṇipur Itihās* was published in 1950. Wāheṅbam Gouro Śiṅh (b. 1918) wrote *Gambhir Singh*, an account of the invasion by Maharaj Gambhir Śiṅh (1825–84) of Burma, and *Maṇipurigi Aroibā Lān* (Last Battle of Manipur, 1971), an account of the tragic battle the Manipuris fought against the British in 1891. Leishangthem Chandramani Singh's (Leṣāṅtem Candramaṇi Śiṅh) *Maṇipur Itihās* is a study of Anglo-Manipuri relationships in the 19th and 20th centuries. Rajkumar Sanahal Singh's *Maṇipur Itihās* (1960) is another book of history.

Chingangbam Kalachand Singh's *Aṣambā Maṇipuri Sāhityagi Itihās* (A Short History of Manipuri Literature), published in 1969, is the first Manipuri book of its type. Ningthoukhongjam Khelchandra Singh (b. 1920) brought out in 1971 *Aribā Maṇipuri Sāhityagi Itihās*, a history of Manipuri literature in the ancient and medieval periods. It is a commendable book which provides information about many of the manuscripts in archaic Manipuri script. Rajkumar Jhalajit Singh's (b. 1924) *A History of Manipuri Literature* published in 1976, though written in English, is a very important book on the history of Manipuri literature. It covers the period from the 3rd century to the 17th century with new insights and new perspectives. It is a dependable work of great authenticity.

Research

Vigorous research is being done on ancient Manipuri history, culture and linguistics. Important publications in this field are *Lāi Harāoba* by Ngariyambam Kulachandra Singh (Ṅāriyāmbam Kulacandra Śiṅh), *Maṇipur Amaśuṅ Mētrabāk* by Phurailatpam Atombapu Sharma and *Mētē Kāṅ* by Haobam Kulabidhu Singh (Hāobam Kulabidhu Śiṅh). *Khunnuṅloṅgi Ārta* (Meaning of Archaic Language), edited by Yaima Singh and Khelchandra Singh, and *Aribā Maṇipuri Loṅgē* (Dictionary of Ancient Manipuri Language, 1978) compiled by Khelchandra Singh are research works on linguistics. Another important book on linguistics is *Mētēlon* by Phurailatpam Nandalal Sharma (Phurāilātpam Nandalāl Ṣarmā).

The Manipuri dance has been written about by many scholars as well as performing artistes. Phurailatpam Atombapu Sharma's *Mētē Jagoi Cāli*, *Mētē Kirtan*, *Maṇipur Rāsa* vols. I and II and *Bhaṅgi Parēṅ Acāwbā*, etc. are pioneer titles on this subject. Mention must also be made of *Bhaṅgi Pareṅ Cāli* and *Maṇipuri Jagoi* by Maisnam Amubi Singh, *Mētēloṅgi Iṣē* by Irengbam Gulamjat Singh, *Mētē Puṅlon Mahā Dhumel* by Laishram Ibohal Apabi Singh, and *Mētē Jagoi*, in several parts by Guruaribam Śurcānd Ṣarmā. Surchand Sharma has also translated and edited *Rāsa Humphumari* (64 Rasas, 1978), considered the foundation of the *Sanskirtana* music prevalent in Manipur. *Mētē Jagoi* (Manipuri Dance), in three volumes, by Khumallambam Yaima Singh, *Maṇipuri Rās* by Khaidem Lokeswar Singh and *Manipuri Dance Seminar* (1975) published by the Manipur State Kala Akademi deal with different aspects of the Manipuri dance.

NOTES

1 & 2. They are believed to have migrated to Manipur from the East in pre-historic days.
3. A kind of local paddy.
4. Morambi is made by rolling together cloths to look like a doll. This is carried on the back of a child as an imaginary baby.
5. Name of a locality.
6. Name of a clan in Manipur.
7. A kind of white flower.

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Nepali

PARASMANI PRADHAN

The Nepali language belongs to the Indo-Aryan family like most of the other Indian languages of northern India.[1] It has descended from the Khas Prakrit which came to be known as Gorkhali during the reign of King Ram Shah (1606–33) of Gorkha, a town which lies about 70 miles to the north-west of Kathmandu. Gorkha is derived from Gorakhnath, the eponymous deity of the royal family of Nepal.

Khas Prakrit was the language of the Khas tribe, to whom there are references in the various puranas as well as in the Mahabharata.[2] The *Bhārat Nāṭya Śāstra* says, 'The Bahliki language is the native tongue of the Khasas.' Kalhana's famous chronicle of Kashmir, the *Rājataraṅgiṇi*,[3] written in the middle of the 12th century, says a lot about the Khasas who were a veritable thorn in the side of the rulers of Kashmir. Queen Didda, who once occupied the throne of Kashmir, was the daughter of Sinharaja, who belonged to the Khas tribe.

Sir George Grierson in his *Linguistic Survey of India* writes, 'We gather that according to the most ancient Indian authorities in the extreme north-west of India, on the Hindu Kush and the mountainous tracts to the south, and the Western Punjab, there was a group of tribes, one of which was called Khasa, who were looked upon as Kshatriyas of Aryan origin.' He also writes, 'Further to the east, Garhwal and Kumaon, the bulk of the population is called Khasia and these people are universally admitted to be Khasas by descent. In fact, as we shall see, the principal dialect of Kumaon is known as Khasa-Parjiya, or the speech of Khas cultivators. Further east again, in Nepal, the ruling caste is called Khas. In Nepal, however, the tribe is very mixed. A great number of the so-called Khas are really descended from the union between the highcaste Aryan immigrants from the plains and the aboriginal Tibeto-Burmese population. But that there is a leaven of pure Khas descent also in the tribe is not denied... In this way we see that the great mass of the Aryan-speaking population of the Lower Himalayas from Kashmir to Darjeeling is inhabited by tribes descended from the ancient Khasas of the Mahabharata.'

Khas-kura, or the language of the Khasa tribe, was imported into Nepal from India and is primarily the language of the Gorkha rulers of the country. Before the conquest of Nepal by the settlers from Rajputana there was already an Aryan colony known as Bayeese and Chaubise dwelling amongst the Tibeto-Burmese population.

According to tradition, the Khasas came to Nepal with Raja Mukunda Sen in the early part of the 12th century.[4] With him also came the Magars. Dr Wright further writes, 'Certain Rajputs of Udaipur, being oppressed by the Musalmans, fled to the North, and in the early part of the 16th century settled in the country of the Lower Himalayas, including Garhwal, Kumaon and Western Nepal. In 1559 a party of these conquered the town of Gorkha. In 1768 Prithwinarayan Shah of Gorkha made himself master of the whole of Nepal and founded the present Gorkhali

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dynasty. It will thus be seen that the ruling classes of Nepal maintain that they are of Rajput origin and their language, which is the *lingua franca* of the country, is still closely connected with the Mewari-Marwari dialect of Rajasthani spoken in Udaipur which they claim as their original home'. This assertion is, however, not correct, says Dayananda Srivastava.[5]

The Khas language passed under various names. Europeans call it Nepali or Naipali, i.e. the language of Nepal. It is called Khas-Kura, or the language of the Khasas, by the inhabitants of Nepal itself. It is also called Gorkhali, i.e. the language of the Gorkhas, owing to the fact that the Rajput rulers of Nepal originally came from the town of Gorkha. Another name is Parbatiya, or the language of the mountaineers. This was much used in the valley of Nepal itself. Yet another name is Pahari, also meaning mountaineers' language. This last name was given by Baines to the whole group of Aryan languages spoken in the Lower Himalayas from Nepal to Chamba. The language is now called Nepali and nothing else and has been recognized as such by the Government of Nepal. Nepali written in Devanagari character is now the national language of the country. Nepali is one of the State languages of West Bengal and Sikkim and as many as 10 unversities in India have recognized it for the B.A. Course. In North Bengal University, it is also taught for the M.A. and it is approved as a medium for the Ph.D. degree. Last but not the least, the Nepali language has been recognized by the Sahitya Akademi of New Delhi as one of the 'Modern Literary Languages' of India.

The earliest known document in Nepali so far discovered by research scholars is a royal deed of gift dated 1356.[6]

Early inscriptions and *Tāmrapatrās* confirm that Nepali, like the other new Indo-Aryan languages, is in the direct line of development from Old Indo-Aryan through the Middle Indo-Aryan. Nepali appears to have belonged to a language from which Sindhi, Rajasthani and Gujarati have evolved. Turner advances the following points which deserve attention:

Sanskrit *danta* becomes *dānt* in Nepali, Gujarati and Marathi. But in one group, that of the north-west, the consonant has been voiced, e.g. *dānd* in Kashmiri and Punjabi and *dāndu* in Sindhi. In Nepali it is *dānde*, for harrow.

According to Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, the doyen of linguistic studies in India, Kashmiri has evolved from Darada and also the Eastern Pahari-Nepali, Central Pahari-Garhwali and Kumaon.

The vocabulary of the Nepali language, like the other new Indo-Aryan languages, consists of (i) *Tadbhava*, (ii) *Tatsama*, and (iii) borrowed words from the Arabic, Persian and European languages.

Materials for the study of the early Nepali language are found in the various *Tāmrapatrās*, *Ādesas*, *Kanakpatrās* and inscriptions ranging in date from 1356 to 1670. For materials about middle Nepali, *Purāṇā Kavi ra Kavitā*, collected and edited by Itihas Shiromani Baburam Acharya, and *Pāñcsaya Varṣa*, edited by Balkrishna Pokhrel, should be referred to.

As for phonology, the Nepali language has altogether 44 essential phonemes excluding the nasal vowels.

Scholars interested in the study of the phonology and morphology of the Nepali language may refer to Dayananda Srivastava's book, *Nepali Language—Its History and Development*.

Folk Literature

Nepali is not poor in folk literature. The Nepali-speaking population consists of a great variety of races, principally the Khasas, Brahmans, Magars, Gurungs, Newars, Kiratis, Limboos, Lapchas, Tamangs, Rais, Sherpas and Sunuwars. Folk-songs are very popular amongst all classes of these people. Folk-stories, proverbs and nonsense utterances are to be found in plenty among them.

Nepal is famous for its natural beauty. Several large and small streams and rivulets emerge from the snow-capped Mt. Everest, Kangchenjunga and other peaks and flow through various parts of the country. Several kinds of birds and insects sing sweetly. The people have naturally imitated these sounds and movements on their various musical instruments and in their songs. The Nepalese are, on the whole, a very jolly people, fond of songs and dances. They like to assemble at fairs and festivals and participate in song-feasts and dances.

Bhairab Bahadur Thapa writes about the leading features of Nepalese folk-dances thus:

> The exotic and quick-changing pageantry of Nature also casts its spell on the dance of Nepal, making it lively in movement, colourful in apparel and direct and immediate in appeal. Centuries of development in the native atmosphere with nothing to mould it except the genius of the people, the Nepalese folk dance has a strong, rugged individuality of its own. High idealism and developed psychology are revealed in all dance-forms, no matter whether they are designed to portray social life or religious feelings or worldly aspirations. One and all of these are imbued with dynamism, enthusiasm and sensitiveness.[7]

There is a special caste called *Gāine* (bard) amongst the Nepalese whose duty it is to compose poems extempore and sing them to the music of their harp which is called Sarangee. They are born singers, wandering minstrels, but they lead a very poor life.

Nepalese songs are of various kinds. Some of them are: *Jhyāwre*—It means lean and thin, and its songs are

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short but sweet. A *jhyāwre* song consists of two lines and the theme of the couplet is generally love, e.g.

Himālchuli tyo pāribāṭa, hium kaile jāminchha?
Bageko pāni udeko mana, kahāṅ gayi thāminchha?

(When, O when will snow gather,
On the Himalayan peaks yonder part?
Where, Where-O-where, will stop
The rippling stream and the flying heart?)

Take another couplet:

Sun jasto Nepāl ke rāmro dekhchha,
Swarga chha sansārmā;
Sun Jasto premle jun jasto dekhchha
Māyāko sansārmā.

(How beautiful looks golden Nepal,
A heaven upon the world it is;
How beautiful looks my golden sweetheart,
The moon of the world of love she is.)

Mahakavi Devkota was a great Nepalese poet and his masterpiece *Munā Madan*[8] is read by the Nepali-speaking people with pleasure and profit. In this poetical booklet the author has told the lovely story of Muna and Madan in *Jhyāwre Chhanda*, which is a departure from the usual theme of a love-song. To cite an example:

Hātakā mailā sunakā thailā, ke garnu dhanale?
Sāga ra ṣisnu khāyeko besa ānandi manale.

(Good Gracious! what will riches do?
They are like the nasty dirt of the palm,
Nettle leaves eaten in peace and calm
Are better far than countless bags of gold.)

There was a practice among the Newar traders of the Kathmandu valley to go to Lhasa in Tibet to trade and earn money for the betterment of their families. It was, of course, a hazardous journey, but Madan, the newly married husband of Muna, decided to go. His bride dreaded the idea and tried her level best to dissuade him, singing the couplet quoted above. But in spite of her coaxing and cajoling, entreating and imploring with all the powers she possessed, she failed to change her husband's mind. The story is tragic and heart-rending.

The names of other kinds of songs are *Sawāi*, *Mālsiri*, *Bhailo*, *Deosi*, *Juwāri*, *Rasia*, *Bālun*, *Rateli*, *Bāhramāse*, *Asāre*, *Sāwne*, *Chaite* and *Nāni Phulyāune Gīt* (Nursery Rhymes).

Traditional Poetry

Long ago, when the early Kirati and Lichhavi Kings reigned over Nepal, Sanskrit was the court language while the common peope used Khas Prakrit. Subsequently Khaskura, i.e. the Khas speech, became the *lingua franca* of the common people of the hills although Gurungs and Magars, Rais and Limboos, Sherpas and Tamangs, Newars and Lapchas spoke their respective dialects derived from the Tibeto-Burmese group. As in the case of most literatures, formal literature had its beginning in heroic verses.

The earliest verse in Gorkhali, the name given to Khaskura by the Gorkha kings, was an ode on the heroic exploits of Prithwinarayan Shah (1730–75), the builder of the Nepali nation. During his reign, Subananda Das was the first man to shine in the firmament of Nepali literature. He was followed by Shakti Ballav Aryal and Udayananda Aryal, (B.C. 1776). Almost all the litterateurs of those days were well-versed in Sanskrit but were able to turn out literary compositions in Nepali as well. In fact, Sanskrit was the court language as well as the language of culture of those days. Sanskrit verse patterns used to serve as models and were freely adopted and followed in writing and developing Nepali poems.

The three poets mentioned above were followed by Indiras (b. 1827), Vidyaranya Keshari (b. 1806), Gumani (1847–1906) and Vasanta Kavi (b. 1884), Jadunath (1808–88), Patanjali (1823–1887), Veershali Panta (1803–1890) and others. They were the leading poets of the period roughly between 1750 and 1850.

Shakti Ballav Aryal was a poet and a pandit in the court of Prithwinarayan Shah, the king of Gorkha, whose personality influenced him. Pandit Udayananda Aryal, born in 1776, was poet Shakti Ballav's nephew. He has written poems about King Sinha Pratap. He has used some Urdu words here and there along with pure Nepali words in his poems.

Poet Gumani Pant was born in Kumaon and used to write poetry in Sanskrit and Khari Boli. He is regarded as the foremost poet of Khariboli. He used to mix Nepali with Sanskrit. As a matter of fact, his first three lines used to be in Sanskrit and the fourth in Nepali. These lines were in praise of the Gorkha king:

Hiṅḍa hiṅḍa hiṅḍa chāṅḍo rānrīko chora pājya
Iti badati Gumāni, Dhanya Gorkhāli rājya.

(Hurry on, you widow's son, thus commands Gumani.
Thanks to the King of Gorkha, that you serve him.)

The third line is pure and simple Sanskrit, whereas the other lines are Kumaoni and Nepali intermixed.

Indiras, born in 1827, translated *Gopikā Stuti* and *Śrimad Bhāgawat* into Nepali. There are plenty of Awadhi, Bhojpuri and Maithili words in his compositions.

Vidyaranya Keshari was educated in Varanasi. Two poems composed by him in Nepali, viz. *Draupadī Stuti* and *Yugal Gīt*, have so far been discovered. He was fond of using Hindi words in his poems.

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Basanta Sharma is another distinguished poet. His *Kṛṣṇa Carita* is regarded as the first *Khaṇḍa Kāvya* in Nepali literature. He is also famous for his free translation of the Mahabharata. Another famous poem of his is *Samudra Lahari*.

Yadunath Pokhrel (1808–33) is known for his *Stuti Padya* and short *Kṛṣṇa Carita*. He was in the service of General Bhimsen Thapa and considered the British enemies of the Nepalese. So he sang:

Firaṅgi haṭāi luṭīpīti chāṅḍo
Pugi āja Gaṅgā pakhālnu chha khāṇḍo.

(We have to reach the Ganga soon
Collect the booty and clean the sword,
We have to thrash the English foe.)

Patanjali Gajurel was born in 1823. He studied Sanskrit in Varanasi and translated *Chaur Pañcāśikā* into Nepali. His famous poems are *Machindranāth ko kathā*, *Haribhakta Mālā* and *Gopāl Vāṇi*. His language is pure, lucid and sweet.

The period between 1750 and 1850 was a formative period in Nepali poetry, when Sanskrit was preferred to the native tongue by the learned pandits.

Modern Poetry

Prior to the Anglo-Nepal War (1814–16), practically nothing seems to have been done to develop the Nepali language and its literature. The Gorkha nation as a whole was busy extending and rehabilitating its territory. Till then the Gorkhas were considered the bravest of the brave in the Himalayan area, but the Treaty of Segauli broke their backbone. The pride of the heroic Gorkhas was humbled and curbed by the British. Their vast territory was reduced to a great extent and their military activities were halted. The leaders of the nation and its learned men began to turn their attention to the life story of Ramchandra of Ayodhya, who had to spend his life in exile, yet did not give up hope.

At this juncture there was born a boy named Bhanubhakta at a place called Ramgha in Tanahun. He was taken to Varanasi to be educated. There he learnt Sanskrit literature and astrology. When he returned home, he had acquired a love for poetry. One day it so happened that he met an old grass-cutter, who told him that whatever he had saved of his earnings he had spent digging a well for the good of the people. This idea of immortalizing his name so touched Bhanubhakta's heart that out came the following verse instantaneously in his native tongue, which he repeated again and again:

Wealth he earned by deed devotion
  Cutting grass throughout his life,
He dug a well to make his good name
  Never dying after death.
How poor a grass-cutter is he
  But how great a mind he has!
I Bhanubhakta although rich
  Alas! I am like this.
All properties are in my house,
  No wells, no inns have I.
How great a lesson I have got
  From that grass-cutter poor!
Fie! Fie upon my worthless life
  Without a name or fame.[9] (tr.)

After this incident Bhanubhakta made up his mind to translate the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*. He began work on it in 1841 and completed it in 1868, shortly before his death. By writing the Ramayan in simple and sweet vernacular, Bhanubhakta, like Chaucer in English, not only established Nepali as the national and literary language but, by making it easily understood by the masses, also made it the *lingua franca* of the Nepali nation. He is regarded as the father of the Nepali language and literature.

Motiram Bhatta (1883–1912) was the man who collected Bhanubhakta's manuscripts and got them printed and published, first in Varanasi in 1887 and subsequently by his own Pashupati Press, which he established at Kathmandu. Motiram Bhatta was a poet and knew Urdu and Persian besides Sanskrit, Hindi and English. He was the author of many books in Nepali. He went to Calcutta to study for his F. A. but, unluckily he died of a virulent fever at the age of 30. He was Bharatendu Harishchandra's close associate. Motiram was not only a poet but a good biographer, journalist and a versatile genius. He has as many as 12 books to his credit.

Motiram Bhatta was assisted by a band of other poets in developing Nepali poetry. Rajivlochan and Gopinath Lohani were his friends. Lal Bahadur, Naradev, Kashinath, Tejabahadur, Devaraj, Lekhnath, Padmavilas and a host of others were associates. Lekhnath, Chakrapani, Chiranjivi Paudyal, Kulachandra Gautam, Somnath, Sikharnath, Homnath, Krishna Prasad, Shambhu Prasad and several others were followers. Together all of them were instrumental in developing modern Nepali poetry during the transition period. Of them, Lekhnath Paudyal's contributions are the foremost. He along with Laxmi Prasad Devkota and Balakrishna Sama form the trio who dominate Nepali literature.

Lekhnath was a philosopher-poet. His *Taruṇ Tapasi* is a blend of philosophical thought and poetry of a high standard. His *Piñjarāko Sugā* (A Parrot in a Cage) is a masterpiece. He was made 'Kavi Shiromani' (Poet Laureate) of Nepal and awarded the Tribhuwan Puraskar in 1970, three years after his death.

Laxmi Prasad Devkota was a great gifted poet in Nepali.

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Rahul Sankrityayan, the great Indian scholar, paid a tribute to the poet when he said 'Devkota was the sumtotal of Pant, Prasad and Nirala', three eminent Indian poets. Devkota has many books to his credit. He knew as many as 10 languages. As mentioned earlier, his *Munā Madan* is a masterpiece.

Balakrishna Sama is known as the Shakespeare of Nepali language. He was instrumental in developing Nepali literature to its present position. Several large volumes have already appeared about him and his literary works.

There were and are many more poets, such as Dharanidhar Sharma, Mahananda Sapkota, Siddhicharan, Kedarman, Madhav Prasad Deokota, Bhimnidhi Tiwari, Agamsingh Giri, Bhikshu, Dharmaraj Thapa, M.B.B. Shah, Birendra Subba, Pushpalal Upadhya, Haribhakta Katwal and several others. All of them contributed towards the creation of modern poetry in Nepali.

Drama

Shakti Ballav Aryal was the first man to write a drama in Nepali. His *Hāsyakadamba* written in 1798 was translated from his original work in to Sanskrit. *Mudrārākṣas*, translated into Nepali in 1833 from Sanskrit, by Pt. Bhawanidutta Pandey was the second drama. After this, several other dramas were translated into Nepali from Hindi, Persian and Sanskrit and were staged. *Śakuntala* and *Priyadarśikā* were translated from Sanskrit by Motiram Bhatta and staged at the Royal Imperial Opera House. *Ratnāvali* (1915) and *Durgabhakti Taraṅgiṇī* (1916) by Shambhu Prasad and Kedar Shumsher respectively were also staged. These were followed by *Bhartṛhari Nirved* by Lekhnath and *Aśok Sundarī* by Jiweshwar Rimal in 1917. *Atalbahādur*, written in Nepali by Pahalmansingh Swanr in 1905, was staged at Darjeeling by the Himalayan and Children's Amusement Association in 1915. It was much appreciated by the audience because of its simple and chaste Nepali.

Balakrishna Sama was, no doubt, responsible for introducing new types of plays in Nepali, in the Shakespearean style. But before his emergence Darjeeling staged *King Lear* and *King John* in 'broken Nepali', written by James Dunne, an Anglo-Indian. *Śakuntala*, *Manamohit*, *Vijaya Vasanta* and *Rājā Hariścandra* were also staged after being duly adapted and written in the local Nepali language. *Rātkānā* and *Kanṭhahār*, translated in to Nepali by Mahananda Sapkota from Bengali, were also staged but the language was found to be rather stiff. These were followed by a number of dramas written in chaste Nepali. These dramas, partly translated and partly adapted to suit the local stage and audience, included *Vidyāsundar*, *Sati Sāvitrī*, *Candragupta*, *Sītā-banabās*, *Mahābhārat*, *Buddha Caritra* and *Ratnāvali* by Parasmani Pradhan and *Tārābāi* by Seshmani Pradhan. The Association also staged in Darjeeling *Ṣyāmi Kamārī* by Surya Bikram Gewali and *Nala-Damayanti*, *Parsurām* and *Swāmibhakti* by Bhaiyasingh. These dramas were written and staged during 1921–25. Later dramatists who have been noteworthy outside Nepal are Harka Bahadur Shahi, Harkadhoj Lama, Tulsi Bahadur Apatan and Indraman Rai among others. Of late, Manbahadur Mukhia's Nepali dramas, such as *Deorāli*, have attracted the attention of the masses.

Novel

Motiram Bhatta was, no doubt, a poet, but he was also the man who gave a start to written Nepali prose. Bhanu Datta's translation in Nepali of *Hitopadeś* in 1776 was the beginning. *Daśakumār Carita* (1818) was the next work and was followed by Sundarananda Banda's original work *Saundarya Gāthā* (1837). *Birsikkā*, an original novel written by an anonymous writer, followed. Then Sadashiva Sharma wrote as many as five novels in Nepali, after the Persian style. He also published from Varanasi the first Nepali magazine, *Upanyās Taraṅgiṇī* (1902).

Bircaritra (1903) and *Mahākāl Jāsūs* (1919) were detective novels. The latter was written by Pratiman Lama of Kurseong and is regarded as the first of its kind in Nepali literature. *Rūpamatī*, written by Rudraraj Panday and printed at the Mani Press, Kalimpong, in 1934, was the first modern Nepali novel. It was followed by *Bhramar* written by Roopnarayan Sinha of Darjeeling whose style is regarded as superb. His next novel was *Bijulī* (1955, incomplete). Lainsingh Bangdel and Shivakumar Rai wrote *Muluk Bāhira* and *Dāk Bungalow* respectively, both equally good. *Maṅgalī* (1958) by Indra Sundas and *Lagan* (1955) by Achha Rai are popular novels that were written and published in India. *Bāsantī* and *Seto Bāgh*, written by Diamond Shamsher, are also considered successful novels. *Showcase Bhitrako Jindagī* by Harish Bomjan, *Śirīṣko Phūl* by Parijat and *Basain* by Laal Bahadur Chhetri are realistic novels. The last named book, *Basain*, captured a Madan Award. Subas Ghising has written several romantic novels, so too has Indra Bahadur Rai, his *Āja Ramitā Chha* being worthy of special mention.

Nepali novels have been few up to now but the field is a growing one.

Short Story

Short stories came to Nepali literature along with Nepali magazines. *Gorkhā Patrā* (1901), *Chandrikā* (1918–19), *Gorkhā Sansār*, *Śāradā*, *Khojī*, *Bhāratī*, *Hāmro Kathā* and a host of other Nepali journals and magazines published a number of stories which subsequently appeared in collections. These stories mainly deal with the social and economic life of the people.

Kathā-Kusum was the first collection of stories published. The Nepali Sahitya Sammelan of Darjeeling was the pub-

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lisher of this popular book. *Kathā Bhāratī* issued in several parts was equally popular.

Parālko Āgo (Fire of Straw, 1938) by Guruprasad Mainali is considered the best Nepali story so far published. It has been translated into English, Hindi, Kannada and other languages. 'Mrityukai Mukhenji' (Within the Jaws of Death, 1950) by Parsuram Roka is another good story. Roopnarayan Sinha's stories included in his *Kathā Nawaratna* are also very popular. Shiva Kumar Rai's short stories 'Yātri' and 'Khahare' (Rain-Fed Stream) are noteworthy. Stories by M. M. Gurung are based on local life, so are Ganusingh Gurung's, e.g. 'Ghara Sansār'.

There are now many short story writers in Nepali, both in and outside Nepal. Indian Nepali literature is now rich thanks to the contributions of such writers as Bhaichand Pradhan, Nar Bahadur Dahal, Bir Bikram Gurung, Gay Tshering Lepcha, Edon Rongong, Bikram Rupasa, Prem Thapa, Mohan Thapa, Nilam Pradhan, Kumar Pradhan, Dev Kumari Thapa, Samiran Chhetri, Nanda Hankhim, Mohan Dukhun, Prakash Rai, Prakash Rana, Lilbahadur Chhetri, Man Bahadur Mukhia, I. K. Singh, Hari Narayan Upadhyaya and several others.

General Prose

Under general prose in Nepali may be included essays, travelogues, biographies, literary criticism, etc.

Chandrikā, a literary magazine from Kurseong, edited and published by Parasmani Pradhan, is regarded as a pioneering work in this respect. *Mahendramalli* by Shambhu Prasad Dhungel is considered to be the first essay. It was followed by essays written by Surya Bikram Gewali, Ramchandra Upadhya, Manisingh Gurung and others.

Śāradā, edited by Riddhi Bahadur and published from Kathmandu, was the next literary magazine to help Nepali literature develop on the right path. *Gorkhā Sansār*, edited by Thakur Chandan Singh of Dehradun, *Gorkhā Sewak*, edited by Mani Singh Gurung of Shillong, *Gorkhāli*, published from Varanasi, and *Uday*, edited by Kashi Bahadur Shrestha, also of Varanasi, all published a number of useful essays. *Bhāratī*, edited by Parasmani Pradhan and published by Mani Printing Press at Darjeeling, also did valuable service to the development of Nepali literature.

The Nepali Sahitya Sammelan was established at Darjeeling in 1924 and in its magazine, *Sammelan Patrikā*, included several essays of a high standard. These were written by Roop Narayan Sinha, Surya Bikram Gewali, Parasmani Pradhan, Dharanidhar Sharma, Khadga Bahadur Singh and others. This journal was later issued as *Diyālo* and continues to do a lot of good work in connection with the development of creative literature.

Travelogues were first written in Nepali by Dilli Shumsher Thapa. Kedarmani Dikshit's travelogues are worth reading. Tana Sharma has also written a travelogue-book and Dil Bahadur Newar of Shillong has written similar works in Nepali. Ransur Limbu's *Burmāko Samjhanā* is quite good. Matrika Prasad Koirala has written one small but interesting work, *Mero Āsām Yātrā*. Yogi Naraharinath's *Hāmro Deś Darśan* is very informative. And Dharmaraj Thapa's *Mero Nepāl Bhraman* is a wonderful account of his native country.

There are quite a number of biographies in Nepali. *Rāmśāhko Jiwanī* (1933) was the first. This was followed by *Prithwinārāyaṇ Śāhko Jiwanī*. Surya Bikram Gewali has written such books on Drabya Shah, Ram Shah, Prithwinarayan Shah, Amar Singh and others, which are very informative. Parasmani Pradhan wrote three volumes on Amarjeewani and Rajnarain Pradhan has brought out two books on this subject. His *Nau Nāmi Netā* and *Pandhra Praśiddha Puruṣ* are quite popular. There are, however, very few autobiographies in Nepali. Parasmani Pradhan's *Afnobāremā* is a good beginning.

The art of writing criticism in Nepali was first tried by Surya Bikram Gewali in 1922. His second article on criticism appeared in the *Nepāli Sāhitya Sammelan Patrikā* in 1936. *Śāradā* published many contributions on this subject. Ramkrishna Sharma (b. 1921) wrote some criticism and encouraged others to follow him. Prominent critics who followed Ramkrishna Sharma and Surya Bikram Gewali were Hridaya Chandra Pradhan and Ganeshlal Subba. Then came Ratnadhoj Joshi, Yadunath Khanal, Madhavlal Karmacharyak, Iswar Baral, Kamal Dixit, Indrabahadur Rai and others. The present critics are busy popularizing healthy criticism with a view to developing Nepali literature.

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Rajasthani

RAWAT SARASWAT

Introduction

Rajasthani is the spoken language of most people in Rajasthan. This region was known by various cultural and geographical names in ancient times, the most prominent of them being the Maru, i.e. the desert. Its other names, such as Jāṅgala, Matsya, Sālva, Śibi, Mālava, etc. are to be found in the Vedas and epics as well as in the classics and epigraphs.[1] It was Col. Tod who first used the word Rajasthan in the present sense of the term. This usage is found in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (1829).

George A. Grierson, in his survey of the Western Indian dialects, which forms a part of his famous *Linguistic Survey of India* (1907–8), coined the word Rajasthani for this special group of dialects.[2] Later, in 1916, L. P. Tessitori used the word in his writings.[3] Local scholars thereafter took a fancy to the word and it became the unified name of all Rajasthani dialects.

Language

Belonging to the Indo-Aryan group of languages and claiming descent from the Vedic Sanskrit, Rajasthani is said to have its roots in Śauraseni Prākṛt and Apabhramsa. The Shauraseni form of Apabhramsa, when considerably influenced by the Gurjar, or Saurashtra, Apabhramsa of the Gujarat region, became separately known by the latter name.[4] This Gurjar Apabhramsa, also called Maru-Gurjar, was termed 'old western Rajasthani' by Tessitori and 'juni (old) Gujarati' by scholars from Gujarat. In old texts it is mentioned as Maru Bhāṣā or Maru Vāṇī.[5]

Linguists have divided Rajasthani into five promient dialects: Mārvāṛī, Ḍhūṇḍhāṛi, Mevātī, Vāgaṛī and Mālvī. These have been further subdivided into smaller sub-dialects, such as Mevāṛi, Hāḍautī, Thaḷī, Ahīrwāṭī, Bāṅgṛū, etc. Mārvaṛi is the dialect most spoken in Rajasthan. Mālvi is spoken in a large area of Madhya Pradesh known as Mālvā.[6]

The script used for writing Rajasthani is Devanāgarī. But some of the alphabets are written in their own peculiar styles by people engaged in trade and commerce as well as by those working in administration. No line is drawn on the tops of letters, as in the standard Devanagari form. These scripts are therefore called Bāṇīkā, or Mahājanī, and Kāmdārī respectively. Substandard scripts of Muṛiyā or Kāmdārī letters, which rarely carry any vowel marks, 'matras', occasionally differ from region to region.[7]

The two most outstanding peculiarities of Rajasthani are the letters ḷ and ṇ, which, in Marathi, differ not only in pronunciation from the ordinary *l* and *n* sounds but also change the meanings of words.[8] A slight stress on the accent also changes the meaning in the case of homonyms. Some linguists have tried to show the subtle difference in sounds and meanings denoted by the letters *v*, *w*, and *b*, but these

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are no longer observed by modern writers who use only two sounds *v* or *w*, and *b*, which also differ from dialect to dialect. There are rare instances when the three forms *ś*, *ṣ* and *s* are used; usually all of them are represented by plain *s*. The letter *ṣ*, wherever it appears, is used in place of *kh* and is also pronounced as such. *d* and *ṛ* are also pronounced differently and have different meanings; *ṛ*, however, does not appear at the beginning of a word.

During the course of Rajasthani's gradual evolution from the Apabhramsa certain phenomenal changes have taken place. The form *a-i* and *a-u* have changed to *ai* and *au* (kara-i=karai, kara-u=karau). Such philological and grammatical aspects of the language need closer study.

Rajasthani is more akin to Gujarati than to any other Indian language. Then come Bāṅgṛū and Khaṛī Bolī, which are closer to eastern Rajasthani, followed by Braj and Bundelī.

The Gurjars and Ābhīrs, who, according to some historians of eminence, were the original inhabitants of India and lived on animal-breeding, are responsible for shaping the language into what is called Gurjar Apabhramsa, which was used in Sindh, Gujarat, Malva and Rajasthan. It was from this Gurjari that two distinct literary styles developed in course of time. One was Piṅgal, which had a considerable influence on the Shauraseni Apabhramsa used in the eastern part of this area; the other was Ḍiṅgal, which retained the original peculiarities of Gurjarī.[9]

The constant invasions from Arabia, Turkey and Persia over a period of a thousand years and more, have also influenced the language considerably. Not less than 50 per cent of its vocabulary owes its origin to these languages. It was in the Mughal period that the Rajputs were ruled by overlords from the western U.P. and Delhi regions. This was when Rajasthani parted company with Gujarati.

Folk Literature

As no attempts were ever made to preserve folk literature in manuscript form, it is difficult to verify the authenticity of the chronology of various ballads, songs, proverbs, aphorisms, folk-tales, panegyrics, etc. There is record, however, of the religious heads and saints of the Jains composing songs with a stanzaic structure and refrains (Ḍhāḷ) based on the popular folk songs of their times. While doing so they have also made mention of the refrains styled as *Deśi*. M. D. Desai, a modern literary historian of Gujarat, has compiled about 2500 such refrains dating from the 16th to the 19th century in his *Jain Gurjar Kavio* (Jaina Poets of Gujarat). A number of songs mentioned therein are still sung.

Ballads relating to local heroes as well as to epic themes from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata are also sung, but most of the texts found in manuscript form do not date earlier than the 18th century. *Bagaṛavat Bhārat* is one such ballad that is recited in prose and verse. Another equally important ballad is *Pābūjī rā Pavāṛā*, which relates the heroic deeds of Pābū, a 14th-century Rajput hero who rushed out of his unfinished marriage ceremony to save his cows on the battle field. Other ballads which have romance, heroism or the epics as their theme are *Tejājī*, *Dūṅgājī—Javārjī*, *Baljī—Bhūrjī*, *Haras-Jīṇ*, *Galāleng*, *Bhīm Bhārat*, *Ahmano*, *Narsījī ro Māhero*, *Rukmaṇī ro Byāvalo*, *Śivjī ro Byāvalo*, etc. Among the love ballads *Nihālde-Sultān Ḍholā Mārū*, the love songs of Canaṇā, Nāgjī, Mūmal, Pannā, Rāṇā Kāchvā, etc. are popular. Ceremonial and other songs are in the thousands. Some of these ballads and songs have been published with critical studies.[10]

Dozens of selections of folk-songs have been brought out. S. K. Parīk (1903–39) and Manohar Sharma (b. 1915) have particularly done much in this field. Sharma has also published hundreds of folk-tales.[11] Vijaydān Dethā (b. 1926) has retold several folk-tales giving them a Marxist touch.[12] K. L. Sahal (1911–80)[13] has written a study of proverbs and M. D. Vyās (b. 1898) has published a collection of idioms. Bhāgīrath Kānoṛiā,[14] separately in collaboration with Vijaydān Dethā and Govind Agraval (b. 1922) has published dictionaries of proverbs. Devotional *Padas* (compositions to be sung in *Rāga*) in the folk style, are recited in hundreds of religious congregations. Claiming no authorship, they resemble the songs of famous saints such as Kabir, Miran, Surdas, etc. in form, style and substance.

Traditional Poetry

Literary historians[15] have divided traditional poetry into two periods. The early period starts from 1050, while the medieval one begins in 1450 and lasts till 1850. Prominent trends to be noticed during the eight centuries are: Jain cult poetry, bardic poetry consisting of historical, religious and moral compositions; devotional poetry of various non-Jain religious factions; secular poetry of love, mythology, biographical accounts of historical personages, etc. and folk literature. Treatises on prosody and rhetoric and lexicons are in a separate category.

The early period abounds in Jain poetry. The bardic and other secular compositions are fewer. *Rās*, *Phāgu*, *Carcarī*, *Catuṣpadī*, *Caupaī*, *Stavan*, *Stotra*, *Dhaval*, *Kaḷaś*, *Reluā*, *Utsāh*, *Vivāhalā*, *Sandhi* and other metrical writings, such as *Candrāyaṇā*, *Ṣaṭapadī*, etc. are the varieties of Jain literature. *Rās*, *Phāgu* and *Carcarī* are recitations accompanied by dance while *Stavan*, *Stotra* and *Dhaval* are prayers. The rest are miscellaneous forms of devotional poetry. Dhanpal's *Saccauriya Mahāvīr Utsāh* (11th century), Palla's *Jindatt Sūri Stuti* (12th century). Dev Sūri's *Bharateśvar Bāhubalī Ghor* (13th century), Śālibhadra Sūri's *Bharateśvar Bāhubalī Rās* (13th century), Āsigu's *Jivadayā Rās* (13th century), Mahendra Suri's *Jambūsvāmī Rās* (13th century),

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Som Murti's *Jinprabodhsūri Carcarī* (14th century), Jinprabhasuri's *Padmāvati Caupaī* (14th century) and *Sthūli Bhadra Phāgu* (14th century), and Raj Sekhar Sūri's *Neminātth Phāgu* (15th century) are some prominent works.[16]

Among bardic compositions, mention should be made of some ancient poets who composed *Dūhās*. Celebrated works like *Sāvayadhamma Dohā* (c. 933) by Devsen, *Dohā Koś* (c. 1100), *Siddh Hemśabdānuśāsan* (c. 1135), *Kumār Pāl Pratibodh* (c. 1184) by Somprabh Sūri, *Prabhāvak Carit* (c. 1167) by Prabha Chandra Sūri, *Dohāsār* by Yog Chandra (12th century), *Prabandhāvalī* (c. 1233) by Udayaprabha Sūri, *Prabandha Cintāmaṇi* (c. 1304) by Merutuṅga and *Prabandha Koś* (c. 1348) by Raj Sekhar Sūri contain some fine specimens of this metre, a favourite of the bards. Their names are Lākhā, Anand, Karmanand, Ḍhūmaṇ, Ramchandra, Ām Bhaṭṭ and Gāgil. A number of *Dūhās* quoted in these books do not have names. They are more concerned with eulogy than anything else.[17]

Other poets of the early period who have written composite works and miscellaneous Gita include Roṛā, author of *Rāul Vel* (11th century), *Ṭhakkar Pheru* (c. 1290); Asāit, the poet of *Hansāvalī* (c. 1370); Śarṅgadhar, who is believed to be the author of *Hammīr Rāso* and *Hammīr Kāvya*; Sridhar, the creator of *Raṇmall Chanda* and *Saptaśati* (c.1400); Bhīm, who wrote *Sadaya Vatsa Carita* (c. 1409); Gāḍaṇ Śivadās, the author of *Acaldās Khīcī rī Vacanikā* (c. 1428); Gādaṇ Pasait, who composed *Rāv Riṇmal Ro Rūpak* (c. 1423) and Mayaṇ Bhaṭṭ, author of *Kavitta* (c.1400).[18] The *Vīsaldev Rās* of Narpati Nālh, which is believed to have been composed in 1215, appears to have retained the oral recension of the 18th century. Khiṛiyā Cānaṇ, Siṇḍhāyaca Caubhujā and Ālhā Bāraṭh were also famous poets.[19]

The medieval period, which began from 1450, was the richest period for poetry and prose compositions. All the masterpieces of traditional poetry are products of this period. *Gīta* (a general name for over 84 varieties of metres) in thousands and *Dūhās* in tens of thousands were composed, besides full-length poetic works dealing with wars, princes, mythological events, religious devotion and the like. Outstanding works of this period are *Kānhaṛade Prabandha* by Padmanābh (15th century), *Hammīrāyaṇ* by Bhāṇḍau Vyās (15th century), *Chanda Rāu Jayatasī Rāu* by Vīhū Sūjo (16th century), *Hālā Jhālān Rā Kuṇḍaliyā*, besides ten others, by Isardās, (16th–17th century), *Vivek Vār Nisāṇī* and *Gajguṇ Rūpak* by Keśavadās Gāḍaṇ (17th century), *Mādhavanal Kāmkandalā* by Gaṇpathi Kāyasth (16th century), *Kavitta* by Alūjī (17th century), *Kṛṣṇa Rukmiṇī Rī Veli* by Rāthoṛ Pṛithvīrāj (17th century), *Nāgdamaṇ* and *Rukmiṇī Haraṇ* by Sāyān Jhūlā (17th century), *Rāmrāso* by Mādhodās (17th century), *Ratan Maheśdāsot rī vacanikā* by Jaggā Khiṛiā (18th century), *Rāj Rūpak* by Vīrbhāṇ (18th century), *Sūraj Prakāś* by Karṇīdān (18th century), *Rājiyā ra Soraṭhā* by Kṛpārām Khiḍiyā (19th century), and *Karuṇā Bahottarī* and *Pābūjī rā Dūhā* by Rāmnāth Kaviyā (19th century). Dursā Āḍhā (17th century), Opā Āḍhā (19th century), Sūryamall (19th century) and Bāṅkī Dās (19th century) are other prominent poets who made a rich contribution during this period.[20]

Among the Jains, Dharmavardhan, Samayasundargaṇi, Kuśallābh, Hemaratan Sūri, Labh do daya. Jinharṣa (alias Jasrāj), Bhīkhaṇ, Jaymal and Gyānsār are worth mentioning.

Representative saint-poets of other religious sects are Prithvinath, Mansingh and Bāṇanāth of the Nath Sect; Jāmbhojī, Vīlhojī, Ūdojī, Surjandas and Paramanand of the Viṣṇoī Sampradāya; Karam Das, Devoji and Lalnathji of Jasnāthī Sampradāya; Haridas, Tulsidas, Jagjivandas, Manohardas and Sevādās of Niranjanī Sampradāya; Parśurāmdev and Tattvavettā of Nimbārk Sampradāya; Dādū, Bahknā, Rajjab, Sundardas, Bhikhjan, Santdas, Laldas, Anantdas, Ragavdas and Vājīnd of Dādū Panth; Laldas, Haridas and Ḍūṅgarsī of Laldasi Sampradāya; Caraṇdās, Sahjobaī and Dayābāi of Caraṇdāsi Sampradāya; Santdās of Gūdaṛ Panth; Ramcaraṇ, Ramjan, Bhagwāndās Karvā, Nāvalrām and Sarūpbāi of Ramsnehi Sampradāya of Śāhpurā Branch; Dariyāvajī, Kisandās, Harkharam and Abhābāi of Reṇ Branch; Hariramads and Harideodas of Sīnthaḷ Branch; Ramdas, Dayaludas and Murariram of Kheḍāpā Branch; Lalgiri of Alakhiya Sampradāya; Āījī of Āī Panth; and Kāzī Mahamūd, Pipājī, Sant Māvjī, Dīn Darveś, Gavarī Bāi and Mīrān Bāi of miscellaneous faiths.[21]

Literature of the folk style is contained in the *Dūhās* of Ḍholā Mārū, Soraṭh Bīnjā, Ūjaḷī Jeṭhavā, Sayaṇī Bījāṇand, Jalāl Būbanā, Nāgaji Nāgamati and other love stories.

Prominent works on prosody and rhetoric are *Piṅgaḷ Śiromaṇi* by Kuśallābh (17th century), *Lakhpat Piṅgaḷ* by Hamīrdān Ratnū (18th century), *Hari Piṅgaḷ-Prabandh* by Cāraṇ Jogīdās Kunvariā (17th century), *Raghunāth Rūpak* by Mansārām 'Manch' (19th century), *Raguvar Jas Prakāś* by Āḍhā Kiśanā, and *Kavikulbodh* by Udayrām Gūṅgā. *Vaiṇ Sagāi* (Fraternity of Words) is the most prominent of rhetorics. The lexicons of the age were composed on the pattern of *Amarakośa*, the distinguished Sanskrit dictionary. Prominent among the lexicons are the *Hamīrnām Māḷā* of Hamīr (18th century) and the *Diṅgaḷ Koś* of Murāridān (20th century).[22]

Modern Poetry

Though modern poetry is traced as far back as Suryamall (1815–68) and Bāṅkidās (1781–1833), two great Cāraṇ poets and historians who wrote against the British, the real modern verse was introduced only in the late forties of the 20th century. This poetry was a consequence of the impact of western culture and knowledge on Indian life. The Arya-

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samaj Movement was followed by the Gandhian one and both were at the root of India's cultural revival, which, however, showed itself in true form only after Independence. It was in the wake of Gandhian thought that poems criticizing the local chieftains and *jāgīrdārs* were written. Marxist theory encouraged poets to give vent to anti-capitalist feelings. The introduction of Hindi and English literatures in the educational curricula was responsible for encouraging young talent to try their pens in similar ways.

The real literary awakening, however, came only after 1950, when the State of Rajasthan came into being. It was then that a number of Rajasthani poets came forward to sing of its past glory, to rejoice in its folklore and culture, and to write serious works on the pattern of Hindi literature. This poetry of Rajasthan passed through such stylistic phases as romantic lyricism, mysticism, progressivism, surrealism, etc. before it reached what is called the *Naī Kavitā* (New Poetry), which is directly connected with the leftist writers.

The traditional metres gradually gave way to metres of unknown origin and name, as in Hindi. Blank verse was also tried. Finally, this poetry severed all links with prosody. The rhetorics also donned a new guise. The imageries of the new poets are totally unconventional and represent the hard truth of modern life. But as this trend has no roots in Indian culture, it finds little support with the masses. Moreover, the scattered and unlinked thoughts, diverse imageries, the individual moods of frustration and the non-traditional vocabulary—all combine to make it unintelligible even to many litterateurs.

The *Vanś Bhāṣkar* and *Virsatsaī* of Suryamall, the doyen of the 19th century poets, are the works which contained the first germs of revolution. This trend was later followed more pointedly and openly by Śankardān Sāmor, who aimed his verses like bullets at the pro-British chiefs. This kind of writing became a fashion with the Cāraṇs in due course. They, however, continued to compose the traditional *Dūhās* and *Gīts* too. The last Ḍiṅgal poet of eminence was Kaviyā Hiṅgaḷājdān (20th century).

Didactic or moral-preaching poetry in the traditional *Dūhā* and *Soraṭhā* metres also continued to find favour with modern poets. *Ramaṇiyā Rā Soraṭhā* by K. L. Sethiā, *Śekhar Kā Sorṭhā* (1957) by Chandra Sekhar and *Kāsapī Kā Soraṭhā* (published in Maruvani) by Sangram Singh are some examples of such poetry.

The first book of modern poetry was *Bādḷī* (Cloud) written by Chandra Singh (b. 1912). It describes the joys and sorrows of rain in the desert. His other well-known work is *Lū* (Hot Wind). *Meghmāḷ* (String of Clouds) by Sumersingh Sekhāwat, *Kaḷāyaṇ* (Dark Clouds) by N. R. Sanskarta and *Sānjh* (Evening) by Narayan Singh Bhati are other books of poetry dealing with Nature.

Poets who write with a Marxist slant are Revatdan Kalpit and G. L. Vyas 'Ustad'. Romantic lyrics were attempted by S. P. Jośī in his *Dīvā Kāmpai Kyūn* (O Lamp, Why do You Flicker?) and Gajanan Varma in his *Bārāmāsā* (The Cycle of Months). Versified stories of profound sobriety and loftiness of thought and feeling were told by Manohar Sarma in his *Dhorān ro Saṅgīt* (Music of the Sand-dunes), Girdhārī Siṅgh Paṛihār in his *Mānakho* (Humanity), B. L. Suman in his *Deḷyān ko Dīvalo* (The Lamp on the Threshold) and M. P. Joshi in *Bindrāvan*. K. L. Seṭhiyā, a veteran poet, wrote appealing aphorisms with cultural values in his books *Kūnkūn* (The Sprouting Ears of Corn), *Mīñjhar* (The Blooming Flowers), *Līḷāns* (An Auspicious Bird) and *Dharmajlān Dhar Kuchān* (On the Long March). K. K. Kānt and Gajānan Varma are also powerful lyricists. Stories of Radha and Miran were retold in a modern context with thought-provoking ideas and feelings by S. P. Jośī and N. S. Bhāṭi respectively. An exercise in sexual relations was S. P. Jośī's *Bol Bhārmalī*. Bhārmali, a concubine of the 16th century, is the character chosen for unsatisfied sex. Heroic poetry in a modern style was attempted by N. S. Bhāṭī in his *Durgādās*. He also composed *Pad* in the style of the saints, but the subject matter represents his own mood of frustration, and the title of his book, *Kaḷāp*, reflects this mood. Credit for humorous and satirical poetry belongs to Vimaleś, who has published four collections.

In the latest phase, Maṇi Madhukar's *Pagphero* (Step with a Change) and C. P. Deval's *Pāgī* (The Searcher) are prize-winning books of *Naī Kavitā*. *Andhārpakh* (The Dark Fortnight) by Nand Bhārdvāj and *Kirkar* (The Grit) by Govardhan Singh are other prominent works of this school, while the latest prize-winner is *Mhāro Gānva* (My Village, 1978) by R. D. Śrimāli. There is no deyning the fact that the recent trends in poetry have confined it to a chosen few who rejoice in their own thoughts without caring to make it understandable to those who are fond of poetry and seek benefit from it. If this state of affairs continues, poetry will be a thing of the past.

Drama

Drama is a completely new genre in Rajasthani literature. The tradition of Sanskrit dramas was not adopted by Rajasthani writers and folk entertainers devised their own forms of *Khyāl*, dances, *Līlā*, etc. The first dramas in the language were attempted by some writers who had migrated to other parts of the country and had come into contact with writers in Marathi, Gujarati, etc. Siva Chandra Bhartiya, author of *Keśarvilās* (1900), *Buḍhāpā Kī Sagāī* (Old Age Marriage, 1906) and *Phāṭakā Janjāḷ* (The Snare of Future Trading, 1907), and Bhagwatī Prasād Dāruka, author of *Vṛddha Vivāha* (Old Age Marriage, 1903), *Bāl Vivāh* (Child Marriage, 1920), *Ḍhaḷatī Phiratī Chāyān* (The Changing Shadow, 1920) and *Kalkatiyā Bābū* (The Gentleman from Calcutta, 1922), were followed by Gulab-

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chand Nāgaurī, Nārāyaṇ Dās Sāraḍā, Sri Narayan Agarwal, Bal Krishna Lahoti and Ghāsīrām, all of whom lived away from Rajasthan.

These writers, though the forerunners, had no impact on the local scene, as there were no playwrights to respond to the example they set. As such, local writers continued to write in their own outmoded style. M. M. Siddha of Jaipur wrote *Jayapur Kī Jyoṇār* (A Feast at Jaipur) and M. N. Bhaṭṭ, the epic *Rambhā Ramaṇ* in 1920. A second phase was represented by Jamana Lal Pacheriya's *Naī Bīnaṇī* (The Bride) and Bharat Vyas's *Raṅgīlo Mārwāṛ* (The Romantic Land of Marwad) and *Ḍholā Mārū* (a famous pair of lovers). The post-Independence dramas included *Pannā Dhāya* (Panna, The Nurse) by Āgyā Candra Bhanḍārī, *Praṇvīr Pratāp* (Pratap, The Hero of Vows) by G. L. Sastri, *Tās ro Ghar* (The House of Cards) by Yadavendra Candra and *Baḍhatī Anvaḷāi* (The Increasing Distances of Wrong Routes) by A. R. Sudama.

The themes of the migrated playwrights were purely social and were confined to the merchant community. Professional dramatists such as Pacheriya and Vyas wrote stage-plays with no specific aim, but with social and love themes. Dramas of the glorious past were written by Bhanḍāri and Sastri, while Bhaṭṭ retold epic stories. M. M. Siddha has provided humour, Yadavendra has shown modern frustration and Sudāmā has written of corruption.[23] An experimental play, *Do Nāṭāk Āj Rā* (Two Dramas of Today), was written by Arjundev Caraṇ.

The technique of all Rajasthani drama-writing has been borrowed from western literature, though the classic, indigenous style is occasionally adopted. So is the case with one-act-plays and radio plays. Among the published one-act plays is *Naiṇsī Ro Sāko* (The Heroic Adventures of Nainsi) by Manohar Sarma; its theme is that of Rajput traditions. Motivated plays on co-operation, panchayats and community development have been written by G. L. Mathur and G. L. Vyas. An important name is that of Sobhārām Jammaṛ, a humorist and satirsit, who died in the sixties.

The genre is yet to grow and flourish, but much will depend on the evolution of an indigenous theatre.

Novel

The novel is completely alien to the Rajasthani tradition. Here again it was the scholars who had migrated from Rajasthan who were the pioneers. In the first quarter of the 20th century Śiva Chandra Bhartiya (1853–1918) wrote *Kanak Sundar* (1903) and S. N. Agarwal *Campā* (1925). The local novelists were, however, not influenced by them and, thus, S. N. Jośi of Bikaner may be considered the first Rajasthani novelist when he wrote *Ābhai Paṭkī* (Fallen from the Sky) in 1952. It was after a decade that another major novel was written, Annaram's *Mahakatī Kāyā Muḷakatī Dharatī* (Sweet Smelling Body and Smiling Land, 1966). Then followed S. N. Jośi's *Dhorān ro Dhorī* (The Leader of the Sand-dunes) in 1968 and Yadavendra Chandra's *Hūn Gorī Kiṇ Pīv rī* (Who is My Husband?) in 1970. The seventies saw much more novel writing. Some of the noteworthy works are *Kāḷ Bhairavī* by R. N. Sarma, *Jog Sañjog* (Event by Chance) by Yadavendra, *Kanvaḷ Pūjā* (Oblation of Head) by Satyen Jośi, *Seḷi Chānva Khajyūr Kī* (The Cool Shadow of Palm) by Prem ji Prem, *Minakh Rā Khoj* (The Footprints of Man) by B. L. Māli, *Tirśankū* by C. P. Singh, *Khultī Gānṭhān* (Loosening Knots) by Pāras Aroṛā, *Kuṇ Samjhai Canvarī rā Kol* (Who is to Understand the Promises made at the Marriage Ceremony) and *Lālḍī Ek Pherun Gamgī*, (A Ruby is Lost Again) by S. R. Maharṛi, and *Mevai rā Rūṅkh* (The Fuit-trees) and *Āndhī ar Āsthā* (The Storm and the Faith) by A. R. Sudama. A novel in the folk-style, written by V. K. Detha, is *Tiḍo Rāv* (a fictitious figure flourishing by sheer chance).

Most of these novels are based on social themes such as widow-marriage, inter-caste marriage, etc. *Kanvaḷ Pūjā* is a historical story while *Kāḷ Bhairavī* describes details of the Tantric cult. *Tirśankū* deals with political ideology and romance. Sudāmā focuses attention on the exploitation of the rural masses and the atrocities inflicted on them. The character of scholar L. P. Tessitori, is developed in *Dhorān ro Dhorī*. The best of all these authors in technique is Yadavendra, but Sudāmā's flow of language is superb. Standard prose is to be found in the works of C. P. Singh and Yadavendra, while Dethā holds to grass-root forms and substance.

Short Stories

Short stories known as *Vāt* have been in abundance in the language since the 18th century, but they differ in basic concept from the modern stories. The new story-writers have also not cared to look into the tradition and use it for modern themes. Śiva Candra Bhartiya's *Viśrant Pathik* (The Tired Traveller, 1904) is the first Rajasthani short story. Gulāb Candra Nāgauri, Śiva Nārāyaṇ Toṣaṇīwāḷ, Chotaram Sarma and Brajlāl Biyāṇi followed him. All of them wrote in idealistic tones on social subjects. Their stories are simple narratives bereft of the modern elements of story-writing.

M. D. Vyas pioneered the modern story with his *Varasgāṇṭh* (The Birthday, 1956) and *Ikke Vāḷo* (The Tongawala). He drew his inspiration from Premī Chand, the famous Hindi fiction writer. S. N. Jośi included a few sketches and caricatures in his *Sabaṛakā* (Sips with Hands, 1960). This trend had also been pioneered by M. D. Vyās but he published such works only later, in his *Jūna Jīvatā Citarām* (The Old and Living Pictures, 1960). Others who followed in their footsteps in the post-Independence period were B. N. Purohit in his *Aṭaravān* (1973) and *Vakīl*

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Sāhab (1973) and S. R. Changāṇi in *Oḷkhāṇ* (Introduction, 1976).

Shorter stories were written by Chandra Singh in his *Bāḷsād* (The Voice of a Child) and Sri Chandra Ray. L. K. Cuṇdāvat has given romantic descriptions of Rajput grandeur and glory in her collections, *Māñjhal Rāt* (The Midnight, 1957), *Mūmal* (the famous beloved of this name, 1961) and others. Her style resembles that of the traditional *Vāt*. The folk-style found favour with V. D. Dethā who has retold folk tales in a 12-volume series titled *Phulwāṛī* (The Little House-garden).

N. R. Rājpurohit is prominent among the story-writers of the post-Independence period. His collections, *Rāt Vāso* (Stay for the Night) and *Amar Cūnaḍī* (The Immortal Wedding Scarf) have been very much appreciated. R. D. Śrīmāli, another well-known writer, has recently published *Saḷvaṭān* (The Wrinkles). Mūḷcand Prāneś has two noteworthy collections *Ukaḷatā Āntara Siḷā Sāns* (The Hungry Stomach and Cold Sighs) and *Caśm Dīṭh Gavāh* (Eye Witness) while Sānvar Dahiyā's are *Aswāṛai Paswāṛai* (On the Sides) and *Dhartī Kad Tāin Ghūmailī* (How Long Will the Earth Revolve?). K. K. Kānt excels in romantic stories while Sudāmā is at his best in the idiom. Baijnāth Panvār's 'Lāḍesar' (The Dearest One) and 'Naiṇān Khūtyo Nir' (The Tears have Dried Up), Manohar Sarma's 'Kanyādān' (bestowing a girl in marriage) and Sudāmā's 'Āndhai Nai Ānkhyān' (Eyes to the Blind) are other noteworthy stories. Karṇī dān Bāraṭh, Damodar Sarma, Nānūrām Sanskartā, Prem Ji Prem, B. L. Mālī, B. L. Bhramar, R. N. Sarma, Vinod Somāṇī and Sachindra Upadhyaya are some other writers who have written good short stories. Śrīmāḷī scores with his realistic style, while Dahiya is unique in technique. Prāṇeś and Manohar Sarma are most at home with the problems of village life and middle-class families respectively.

Famine, corruption in the administration, the declining morals of society, exploitation by politicians, inter-caste marriages, the problems of the scheduled castes, the frustration of modern youth, etc. are some of the more popular themes woven in these stories. The underlying spirit of upsurge and an undercurrent of revolution are, however, lacking. Periodicals such as *Maruvāṇī*, *Oḷmon*, *Harāvaḷ* and *Jāgatījot* have played a prominent role in encouraging almost all the Rajasthani fiction-writers of today.

General Prose

Rajasthani has been exceptionally rich in prose writing. In the early period there were commentaries and *Kathās* written by Jain scholars. This trend was followed by others. Maharāṇā Kumbhā's commentary on *Gītagovind* (15th–16th century) is well known. The chronicle form of prose was prevalent in Mughal times. Every ruling dynasty had its history written by the *cāraṇs* or others in the profession. Contemporary historical events then began to be recorded and so too the ancient history of the land. Revenue records with other details were also kept. Letters in administrative offices, inscriptions and copper plates, commercial and trading accounts and correspondence, treatises on medicine, astrology and sciences dealing with horses and elephants, etc. were written in prose. This prose was known by such names as, *Khyāt*, *Vāt*, *Vigat*, *Hāl*, *Hakīkat*, *Vṛttānt*, *Pīḍhiyāvalī*, *Bhākhā*, *Vacanikā*, etc. Translations from Persian and Sanskrit texts were also attempted.

Modern prose writings are a product of western contact. Such writings, however, are very rare. K. L. Sethiyā has written some poetic prose in his *Gaḷgaciyā* (profusely butterred morsels of bread) and M. Manohar Sarma in his *Sonal Bhiṅg* (The Golden-coloured Butterfly). Translations of essays and original travelogues and descriptions of contemporary events have appeared in magazines. The first collection of essays titled *Rājasthānī Nibhandha Saṅgraha*, was brought out by the Rajasthan Sahitiya Akademi and it included a dozen essays. This genre is still in its infancy.

Biographical Writings

If the works written in verse and prose by poets and prose writers who recorded the lives of patrons or other historical personages are omitted, there is very little to talk about in this genre in the modern period. The only biography in the true sense of the term is *Dalpat Vilās* (The Life of Dalpat Singh, 16th century), an anonymous work written in the style and manner of *Bābarnāma*, *Humāyūnnāma*, etc. and edited by Rāwat Sāraswat (b. 1922). Muhtā Naiṇāsi (18th century) has written much in the style of biographies in his *Khyāt*, but they relate strictly to historical events. *Karaṇsiṅgh Rā Kanvarān Rī Vāt*, *Kunvarsī Sāṅkhaḷo Mūmal*, etc. are other biographical accounts of the medieval period. Their authors are unknown.

In the modern period, S. N. Jośi has written a biography of Gandhi entitled *Āpaṇā Bapujī*. Sāntā Bhāṇāwat's *Mahāvīr Rī Oḷkhāṇ* (An Introduction to Mahavir) may also be taken as some sort of biography. There is no autobiography worth mentioning.

Children's Literature

While folk literature has provided lullabies, songs and stories relating to the child, there has been practically nothing of this kind in modern literature till recently, when B. L. Māḷī, an enterprising writer, brought out a magazine called *Jhūñjhaṇio* (A Rattling Toy). He has published some children's stories and poems in collections. *Hūṅkāro Do Sā* is a collection of folk tales by L. K. Chuṇḍāvat. Chandra Singh has composed some modern lullabies and included them in his *Bāḷsād*. A novel by name

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Bhor Rā Pagaliyā (Steps of Dawn) was published by B. L. Bhramar, but it is not a children's novel in the true sense. Rajasthani writers need training and grooming in such writing.

Literary Criticism

The indigenous tradition encouraged commentaries that attempted to elucidate rather than criticize or appreciate. Literary criticism, as it stands today, is a gift of the West.

Unfortunately all criticism has been written in Hindi. Some book-reviews have, of course, appeared in Rajasthani. A special number of *Maruvāṇī* was devoted to reviewing a few dozen works in the language. A collection of critical essays was brought out by the Rajasthani Bhāṣa Sāhitiya Saṅgam (Academy), Bikaner, and it included an article on each of the genres of literature. Introductions and prefaces to books do contain literary criticism in their own styles. No independent book of literary criticism, however, has been brought out so far.

Literary Movements

The movement to revive the Rajasthani language was initiated by a band of three scholars (S. K. Parik, Ram Singh and N. D. Svāmī), all from Bikaner. It was launched in the wake of Oriental research in the field of cataloguing of manuscripts and editing of old texts done by L. P. Tessitori and Rāmkaraṇ Āsopā. The Sadul Rajasthani Research Institute was founded by the then ruler of Bikaner in the forties. A journal, *Rājasthān Bhāratī*, was published by this Institute and it also contained contributions in creative writing. *Rājasthān* and *Rājasthanī* were two journals which appeared at about the same time. They were published in Calcutta.

The movement got fresh impetus when another institute came into being in 1953. This institute, the Rajasthan Bhāṣā Pracār Sabhā, was founded in Jaipur. A monthly magazine *Maruvāṇī* was published and it introduced over a hundred writers. This was followed by *Oḷmon*, another magazine from Ratangaḍh, and *Harāvaḷ*, yet another magazine, from Jodhpur and Bombay. *Laḍesar*, *Sarvar*, *Naiṇsī*, *Apranc*, *Rājasthalī*, *Jāṇkārī*, *Oḷkhāṇ Kurjān*, *Jāgatī-jot*, *Madhumatī*, *Īsarlāṭ*, *Baṇjāro*, *Helo*, *Jhūnjhaṇio*, *Jalam Bhom*, *Dīṭh*, *Rājasthānī Ek*, *Mūmal*, *Cāmaḷ* and *Kacnār* are the other magazines which dealt with creative literature; most of them have now ceased publication. Research journals like *Vardā*, *Paramparā Vāgaṛ Sandeś*, *Śodh Patrikā*, *Maru Bhāratī*, etc. have also contributed to modern literature.

The Rajasthan Bhāṣā Sāhitiya Saṅgam (Academy), Bikaner, is an autonomous part of the Rajasthan Sahitya Akademi, established to deal with Rajasthani literature. The Sahitiya Akademi in New Delhi has an advisory panel for the language. The University of Jodhpur has introduced the subject up to graduate level. The Board of Secondary Education has allowed an optional subject in the secondary classes. The universities of Rajasthan and Udaipur have optional papers in Rajasthani in the postgraduate classes. Prizes of over Rs. 20,000 are given away every year by several institutions for creative writing. Examinations in Rajasthani from matriculation to postgraduate and Ph.D. levels are conducted by the Rajasthan Bhāṣā Pracār Sabha, Jaipur.

The main obstacle to the language is the absence of a standardized form of prose. And there is no one opinion as to a way out.

There is no specific literary movement as such, except that of the so-called committed writers of the left. It is sad that this young element denounces all tradition and does not care even to look into it. Their movement, being unplanned and having neither compact following nor dynamic leadership, has therefore no impact on the language.

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Appendix 2

LITERARY TERMS IN 15 LANGUAGES: A SYNOPTIC VIEW

Common literary terms which are in use in all the developed languages have been selected and their equivalents given in the 15 Indian languages approved for the main text. Some of these terms indicate mutual influence; but the influence of Sanskrit and English is dominant. These terms which give a synoptic view are given with the corresponding English terms as the base.

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	ASSAMESE	BENGALI	GUJARATI	HINDI	KANNADA
Adaptation	Abhiyojanā	Anusaraṇ, Abhij(y)ojan (A)	Rūpāntar	Anukūlan, Rūpāntaraṇ	Aḷavaḍike
Aesthetics	Nandan tattva	Nandan tatwa, Kāntividya, Sounderyatatwa	Rasamīmāṅsa	Saundarya-śāstra	Saundaryaśāstra, Saundaryamī-māmse
Allegory	Rūpaka	Rūpak	Rupak katha	Rūpak, Anyoktinīpak	Anyārtha
Alliteration	Anuprāsa	Anuprās(ā)	Anuprāsa	Anuprās	Varṇapunarāvṛtti, Ādyakṣaraprāsa
Anthology	Sañcayaṅa, Cayaṅika	Saṅkalan (grantha) Cayaṅika, Kośa (Kāvyakośa)	Cūṇṭeli kritiono-saṅgraha	Saṅkalan, Cayanika	Saṅkalana
Autobiography	Ātmajīvaṅi	Ātmacarit, Ātmajīvaṅi, Ātmakathā	Ātmakathā	Ātmakatha	Ātmacaritre, Ātmavṛtta
Ballad	Kāhinī-gāthā, Mālitā	Gāthā, Gītikā	Gītakathā	Gātha-gīt, Vīragīt	Lāvani, Nādupada
Biography	Jīvanī, Jīvan-carita	Jīvanī, Jīvancarit	Jīvan kathā	Jīvancarit, Jīvanī	Jīvanacaritre
Blank Verse	Amitrākṣara-chanda	Amitrākṣar-chanda	Prāsamukta-padya	Atukānt chand	Saraḷa ragaḷe
Character	Caritra, Pātra	Caritra, Pātra-pātri	Pātra	Caritra, pātra	Pātra
Classicism	Dhrupadavāda, Prācīnatāvāda	Nairātmapanthā	Śiṣṭatāvāda	Abhijātyavād, Śreṇyavād	Abhijāta-sāhityamarga, Prācīna-sampradāya
Comedy	Hāsya-madhura nāṭa, Milanān-taka nāṭa	Kāmeḍi	Sukhānta nāṭika	Kāmaḍi	Hāsyanāṭaka, Vainōdika, Harṣanāṭaka
Commentary	Ṭīka	Ṭīka, Bhāṣya	Ṭippaṇa	Vṛtti, Vyākhya, Bhāṣya	Bhāṣya
Couplet	Pada, Payāra	Śloka	Kaḍī	Dohā, Dvipadī	Dvipadī
Criticism	Samālocaṅā	Samālocaṅā	Vivecan	Ālocanā, Samīkṣa	Vimarśe
Detective story	Detective kahīni, Rahasya kahīni	Goyenda Galpā kāhinī	Rahasyakathā	Jāsūsī kahāni	Pattēdari kathe
Dialogue	Samlāp	Samlāp	Saṅvād	Samvād, Kathopakathan	Sambhāṣaṇe
Drama	Nāṭaka, Nāṭa	Nāṭak, Nāṭya	Nāṭak	Nāṭak	Nāṭaka
Elegy	Śoka-kavitā	Eliji, Bilāpika, Śokagātha	Karuṇa praśastī	Śokagīt	Śōkagīte
Epic	Mahākāvya	Epik, Mahā-kāvya	Mahākavyā	Mahākāvya	Mahākāvya

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	KASHMIRI	MALAYALAM	MARATHI	ORIYA	PUNJABI
Adaptation	Lagahāran, Tasāruph	Avalambaṅam, Upajīvikkal	Rūpāntara	Anusaraṇa, Upayōgīkaraṇa	Rūpāntar
Aesthetics	Jamāliyat	Soundaryaśāstram, Soundarya-mīmāṁsa	Soundaryaśāstra, Soundarya-mīmāṅsa	Saudarya-śāstra	Suhaj śāstṛ
Allegory	Tamsīliyi, tamsīl	Anyāpadēśam, Aligari	Rūpaka, Rūpaka katha	Rūpaka	Anyōkti
Alliteration	Āvāza-takrār, Aliṯarēṣan	Aṅuprāsam	Aṅuprāsa	Aṅuprāsa	Anupṛās
Anthology	Sombran, Majmūva	Samāhāram	Vece, Pratinidhika-saṅgraha	Saṁgraha-grantha, Cayanikā	Saṅkalan
Autobiography	Pana-ahval, Zathnām	Ātmakathā	Ātmacaritra	Ātma-jīvani, Ātma-kathā, Ātma-carita	Ātam katha
Ballad	Shar-kath, Ladishah, Belaḍ	Kathāgānam	Povāda	Gāthā-kavitā	Gātha-gīt
Biography	Ahvāl-nāma	Jīvacaritṛam	Caritṛa	Jīvanī, Jīvana-carita	Jīwani
Blank verse	Bulāṅk-verṣe	Svatantra-chandas	Nirayamaka-padya	Amitrākṣara-kavitā	Sirkhaṇḍī-chhand
Character	Kirdār	Pātṛam, Kathāpātṛam	Pātṛa, Vyakti-rēkha, Bhūmikā	Caritṛa	Pāttar (Caritṛe)
Classicism	Kalāsikiyath	Klāssisism	Abhijātatāvāda	Utkṛṣṭaśrēṅī-vāda	Klāsikīvād
Comedy	Tarabiyi, Kāmdi	Śubhānta-nāṭakam	Sukhāntika, Sukhātmika	Sukhāntaka, nāṭaka, Milanān-taka nāṭaka	Sukhānt, Kāmḍi
Commentary	Vyatshnay, Kamentri	Vyākhyāṅam	Ṭīka, Bhāṣya	Bhāṣya, Vyākhya, Ṭīka	Bhāṣ
Couplet	Bath, Svar	Īraṭī	Dvipadi	Dvi-pāda	Dohā
Criticism	Tanqīd	Vimarśanam, Nirūpaṇam	Ṭīka, Samīkṣa, Sāhityavicāra	Samālōcaṅa	Ālocaṅā
Detective story	Jāsūsya-kath	Apasarpaka katha, Kuṭṭānvēṣaṇa-katha	Guptacara kathā	Gōendā-kathā	Jāsūsī Kahāṅi
Dialogue	Kathā-kath, Makalma	Sambhāṣaṇam	Saṁvāda	Samlāpa, Kathopakathana	Saṁvād, Vārtālāp
Drama	Ḍrama, Nāṭak	Nāṭakam	Nāṭaka, Nāṭya	Nāṭaka, Abhiṅaya	Nāṭak
Elegy	Marsī	Vilāpakāvyam	Vilāpikā, Śokagīta	Śoka-gātha	Śōkgīt, Marsia
Epic	Razmiyi	Itihāsam	Mahākāvya	Purāṇa	Mahān kāvya

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	SANSKRIT	SINDHI	TAMIL	TELUGU	URDU
Adaptation	Saṁgrahaḥ, Saṁkṣepoktiḥ	Ulthō	Taḻuval	Aṅusaraṇa	Mākhūjh
Aesthetics	Soundarya-śāstṛam	Jamāliyāt	Aḻak-kalai	Alaṅkāra śastṛa	Jamāliyāt
Allegory	Pṛativastu-nirdeśaḥ	Tamsil	Uruvahak-kathai	Dvyardhi	Tamthīl
Alliteration	Anuprāsaḥ	Tajnis haṛfī	Mōnai	Anupṛāsa	Sauthī takrar
Anthology	Kāvya-samuccayaḥ	Adabī intikhāb	Tiraṭṭu, Tohai nūl	Saṁkalaṅam	Intikhāb
Autobiography	Svakathā-kathaṅam	Ātam kathā	Suya caritai	Svīya caritṛa	Khudnaviṣt-swāneh 'umri
Ballad	Tantrīgītam	Avāmi-rāg, Kāfi	Ammānaip-pāḍal, Kataip-pāḍal	Padam	Naghma, Gīt
Biography	Jīvacaritṛam	Jivani, Savāniḥ 'umrī	Vāḻkkai-Śaritai	Jīvita Caritṛa	Swaneh 'umri
Blank Verse	Ekāntapadyam	Chūṛī kavitā, Ghair muqaffa-nazm	Ahaval-pā	Mukta chanda	Nazm-i-M'Uarra
Character	Svabhāvaḥ, Pṛakṛtiḥ, Pātṛam	Kirdār, Caritṛ	Pāttiram, Gunac-ciṛappu	Pātra	Kirdār
Classicism	Abhijātatā-dṛṣṭiḥ	Klāsīkiyat	Pērilakkiyap-paṇpu	Saṁpradāya-vādam	Klāssikīyat
Comedy	Śubhaparyava-sāyi-rūpakam	Sukhānt nāṭak	Inbiyal (kathai, nāṭakam)	Sukhānta-nāṭakam	Tarabiyyah
Commentary	Vyākhyā	Ṭīka, Śaraḥ	Urai, Vyākyāṅam	Vyākhyāṅam	Tabsarah
Couplet	Dvipadā	Bait	Kaṇṇi, Tāḻiśai	Dvipada	Ṣer
Criticism	Vimarśaḥ	Tanqīḍ, Ālocanā	Tiranāyvu, Vimarśaṅam	Vimarśaṅa	Tanqīd
Detective story	Apasarpaka-kathā	Jāsūsi Kahānī	Tuppaṛiyum kathai	Aparādha pariśōdhaka katha	Jāsūsi afsāṅah
Dialogue	Samlāpaḥ	Guftagū, Mokālimo	Uraiyāṭal, Sampāṣaṇai	Sambhāṣaṇa	Mukālimah
Drama	Nāṭakam, Rūpakam	Nāṭak	Nāṭakam	Nāṭakam	Ḍṛāmā
Elegy	Vilāpakāvyam	Marsiyo	Iraṅkalpā, Pulambal	Vilāpa gītam	Marthiyah
Epic	Purāṇam, Itihāsaḥ	Vīrkathā	Perum kāppiyam	Itihāsam	Razamiyyah

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	ASSAMESE	BENGALI	GUJARATI	HINDI	KANNADA
Essay	Prabandha, Nibandha, Racanā	Prabandha	Nibandha	Nibandh	Prabandha
Existentialism	Astitvavāda	Astibād, Astitvabād	Astitvavāda	Astitvavād	Astitvavāda
Fable	Upakathā, Sādhukathā	Kathā, Nītigalpa	Nītikathā	Nītikathā	Nītikathe
Farce	Prahasana	Prahasan	Prahasana	Prahasan	Prahasana
Fiction	Kāhini, Kathā	Kathāsāhitya, Kāhini, Galpa	Kalpanāmūlak, Kathā sāhitya	Kathāsāhitya	Kaṭṭu kathe, Kalpita kathe
Folklore	Loka-Gīta, Loka-Sāhitya	Loka kathā, Lokajān	Lokasāhitya	Lokasāhitya	Jānapada
Form	Rūpa, Gaṭhan, Mādhyam	Rūp(a)	Ākṛti	Rūp	Rūpa
Free verse	Muktak-chanda	Muktachanda	Muktachanda	Muktachand	Svacchanda-chandassu, Muktachandassu
Grammar	Vyākaraṇa	Byākaraṇ	Vyākaraṇa	Vyākaraṇ	Vyākaraṇa
Humanism	Mānavatāvāda	Manuṣyadharma	Mānavatāvāda	Mānavavād, Mānavatāvād	Mānavatāvāda
Humour	Hāsyarasa	Hāsyaras(a)	Vinoda	Hāsya	Hāsya
Idealism	Ādarśavāda	Ādarśabād	Ādarśavāda	Ādarśavād	Ādarśavāda
Imagery	Kalpacitra	Citrakalpa, Bākpratimā	Kalpanācitra	Bimbavidhān	Pratimāvaḷi
Introduction	Bhūmika, Paricayika	Upakramaṇika, Bhūmikā	Prastāvanā	Bhūmika	Pravēśa
Irony	Vyaṅga, Śleṣa	Parihās(a), Byājokti, Śleṣa	Vakrokti	Vyaṅgyokti, Viḍambana	Kaṭaki
Legend	Itikathā, Kimbadantī	Upakathā	Dantakathā	Dantakatha, Anusruti	Aitihya, Dantakathe
Literature	Sāhitya	Sāhitya	Sāhitya	Sāhitya	Sāhitya
Lyric	Gītikavitā	Lirik, Gītikavitā, Gītikāvya	Ūrmikāvya	Pragīt	Bhāvagite
Melodrama	Gīti nāṭya, Ati-nāṭaka, Cāñcalyajanak-nāṭa	Melodrāma, Atināṭya, Nāṭyātiśay	Karuṇābhāsi-nāṭaka	Atināṭak	Udrēka nāṭaka, Melōḍrāma
Memoir	Smṛtilekhā	Smṛtikathā	Samsmaraṇa-kathā	Samsmaraṇ	Nenebaraha, Smaraṇa lēkhaṅa
Modernism	Ādhunikatāvāda	Ādhunikatā	Arvācīnatāvāda	Ādhunikātavād	Ādhunikate

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	KASHMIRI	MALAYALAM	MARATHI	ORIYA	PUNJABI
Essay	Asae, Inshāyiyi	Upanyāsam	Nibandha, Lalita-nibandha	Pṛabandha, Racaṅa	Nibandh
Existentialism	Vajūdiyath	Astitvavādam	Astitvavāda	Astitvavāda	Astitvavād
Fable	Guman-kath	Jantukatha, Keṭṭukatha	Dṛṣṭāntakathā, Prāṇikathā	Ākhyāyikā	Ākhyāyikā, Nītikathā
Farce	Carya-pāthūr, Fārs	Prahasaṅam	Prahasaṅa, Fārs	Prahasaṅa, Suāṅg, Tamāsah	Prahasan
Fiction	Fikshan, Phasan	Kathāsāhityam	Kathāsāhitya	Upanyāsa, Kalpita-galpa	Galap
Folklore	Luk-vanut, Luk-adab	Nāṭōṭivijnānī-yam	Lokavidya, Lokasāhitya	Loka-sāhitya	Lokdhārā
Form	Hayath	Rūpam	Rūpa, Ākṛti	Dhāra, Pṛakāra, Pṛaṇāḷi	Rūp
Free Verse	Āzād nazam	Mukta-chandas	Muktachanda	Muktaka	Muktakāvya, Svachhand
Grammar	Grāmar	Vyākaraṇam	Vyākaraṇa	Vyākaraṇa	Vyākaraṇ
Humanism	Insan-navaziyath, Insaniyath	Māṅavika-darśaṅam	Māṅavatā, Māṅavatāvāda	Māṅavikatā	Mānav vād
Humour	Mizah, Zarafat	Hāsyam	Vinoda	Hāsyarasa	Hās
Idealism	Adarsh-pasan-diyath, Misaliyath	Ādarśavādam	Ādarśavāda, Cidvāda, Caitanyavāda	Ādarśavāda	Ādarśavād
Imagery	Paykaruth, Paykar sazee, Imajri	Bimbakalpana	Pṛatimā, Pratimāsṛṣṭi	Rūpakalpa	Bimbāvlī
Introduction	Zan, Taruph	Mukhavura	Prastāvaṅā, Upodghāta	Mukhabandha, Āmukha, Prastāvaṅā	Jāṇ-pachhāṇ
Irony	Sitam-zarīfi, Taniz	Viparītalakṣaṇa, Vyājōkti, Aiṛaṇi	Uparodha	Vyaṅgokti	Vyaṅg
Legend	Qisu	Purāvṛttam, Paḷamkatha	Ākhyāyikā, Dantakathā	Jaṅa-śṛuti, Pṛavāda	Dand kathā
Literature	Adab	Sāhityam	Sāhitya, Vāṅmaya	Sāhitya	Sāhit
Lyric	Gīt, Lirik	Bhāvagītam, Bhāvagāṅam	Bhāvakavita, Bhāvagīta	Gītikavita	Pṛagīt
Melodrama	Maskha-pāthur, Melōḍṛāma	Melōḍṛāmā	Atināṭaka, Melōḍṛāma	Gītināṭya	Atināṭak
Memoir	Yādāsh-nāma, Yād	Aṅusmaraṇam, Ōrmakkuṛippukaḷ	Āthavaṇi	Smṛtikatha	Samsmaraṇ, Yādān
Modernism	Jadīd-pasandiyath	Ādhunikatvaṁ	Ādhuṅikatāvāda	Ādhuṅikatā	Ādhunikvād

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	SANSKRIT	SINDHI	TAMIL	TELUGU	URDU
Essay	Prabandhaḥ	Mazmūn	Kaṭṭurai, Viyāsam	Vyāsam	Inṣaiyyah
Existentialism	Jivatāvādaḥ	Hastīvād	Vāḻve nōkkə-enra tattuvam	Astitvavādam	Vujūdiyyat
Fable	Kalpitākhyāṅam	Ākhāṇī	Nītik-kathai	Nīti katha	Qissah
Farce	Upahāsaḥ, Prahasaṅam	Khilāīnder naqul	Kēlik-kūttu, Nahaic-cuvai	Prahasaṅam	Mazahiyah-Takhayyuli Qissah
Fiction	Kalpitakathā	Afsānavī adab	Punai kathai, Punaipporuḷ	Kalpaṅā-sāhityam	Afsānvi adab
Folklore	Janatā sāhityam	Lok kathā	Nāṭṭuppuṟak-kalai	Jaṅapada-sāhityam	Lok adab, Awami adab
Form	Rūpam	Haiyat	Uruvam	Rūpam, Prakriya	Haiat
Free verse	Niraṅkuśa-kāvyam	Āzād nazm	Vacaṅa kavitai	Vacaṅa kavita	Āzād nazm
Grammar	Vyākaraṇam	Vyākarṇ, Sarf va nahv	Ilak-kaṇam	Vyākaraṇa-śāstram	Qwa'id
Humanism	Mānavatā	Insāniyat	Manitāpimānam	Mānavatā vādam	Insān dostī
Humour	Hāsaḥ	Mazhāq	Nahaic-cuvai	Hāsyam	Mazāh
Idealism	Ādarśaparatā	Ādarśvād	Lakṣiya vādam	Ādarśa vādam	'Ainiyat
Imagery	Kalpanā	Khayālītasvīrūṅ	Puṅai-kāṭci	Rūpakam, Upamānam	Imējeṟi, Timthāl
Introduction	Upakramaḥ	Dībāco, Muqadima	Mukavurai, Muṅṅurai	Upōdghātam	T'āruf, Dībāca
Irony	Vyaṅgya-prastāvaḥ	Tanz	Muraṇ, Suvai	Vakrōkti	Tārīd
Legend	Purāṇa kathā	Dand kathā	Paḻam-katai	Gātha	Riwāyat, Qissah
Literature	Sāhityam	Sāhit, Ilam adab	Ilakkiyam	Sāhityam	Adab
Lyric	Ātma Gītam	Bhāv gīt	Ahak-kavitai, Uṇvuk-kavitai	Bhāva gītam	Ghazal
Melodrama	Saṅgītātmaka-rūpakam	Melodrāma	Kiḷarccik-kathai	Kṛtakam	Melodrāma
Memoir	Smaraṇam	Yādgīryūṅ	Vāḻkkai-kuṟippu	Jñāpakālu	Yād-Dasht
Modernism	Ādhuṅikatā	Jidat-pasandī	Putumai nōkku	Ādhuṅikatvam	Jadīdiyat

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	ASSAMESE	BENGALI	GUJARATI	HINDI	KANNADA
Mysticism	Rahasyavāda, Atīndriyavāda	Maramibād, Maramiābād	Rahasyavāda	Rahasyavād	Anubhava
Mythology	Purāṇakathā	Purāṇ	Paurāṇika-sāhitya	Mithak-vidyā, Purāṇ	Purāṇa
Narrative verse	Varṇanātmaka-pada, Varṇanāt-mika kavita	Kathākavya, Ākhyankāvya, Kāhinīkavita	Varṇanātmaka-padya	Prabandha kāvya	Kathana kavana
Nationalism	Jātīyatāvāda, Rāṣṭrīyatāvāda	Jātīyatābād, Svādeśikatā	Rāṣṭrīyatāvāda	Rāṣṭrīyata, Rāṣṭravād	Rāṣṭrīyate
Novel	Upanyāsa	Upanyās, Novel, Upakathā	Navalkathā	Upanyās	Kādambari
Nursery rhymes	Dhāi-nām, Nicukaṅi gīta	Chele bholano-chaḍā	Bāḷa joḍakaṇām	Lori	Bālaprāsa, Śiśukavite
One-Act play	Ekāṅkikā	Ekāṅkika	Ekāṅkī	Ekāṅki	Ēkāṁka nāṭaka
Opera	Gītābhinaya	Opera, Gītināṭya	Saṅgīta nāṭaka	Gītināṭya	Gītanāṭaka
Panegyric	Praśasti	Stuti, Praśamsāvād	Praśastipradhān-vyākhyān	Praśasti, Praśastikāvya	Praśamse, Praśamsālékhaṅa
Parody	Pāraḍi	Pāroḍi, Byaṅgānukṛti	Pratikāvya	Viḍamban kṛti, Vidrūpika	Aṇaka
Plot	Kathāvastu, Kathāracana	Plōṭ, Kathāvastu	Vastu	Kathānak	Kathāvastu
Poetics	Kāvya śāstra	Kāvyaśāstra	Kāvyaśāstra	Kāvyaśāstṛa	Kāvyamīmāmse
Poetry	Kavitā, Kāvya	Kāvya, Kavitā	Kāvya, Kavitā	Kāvya, Kavita	Kāvya
Progressive literature	Pragatiśīl-sāhitya	Pragati-sāhitya	Pragativādi-sāhitya	Pragatiśīl sāhitya	Pragatiśīla-sāhitya
Prose	Gadya, Katha	Gadya	Gadya	Gadya	Gadya
Prosody	Chandaśāstra	Chandaśāstra, Chandavidya	Chandahśāstra	Chandaśśāstṛa	Candassu
Realism	Vāstavavāda	Bāstabikata, Bastubād, Bāstab bād	Vāstavavāda	Yathārth vād	Vāstavīkate
Renaissance	Punar jāgaraṇa, Nava jāgaraṇa, Reṇesāṅ	Renēsaṅ, Nabajāgaraṇ	Punarutthān-kāḷa	Punarjāgaraṇ	Navōdaya
Research	Gaveṣaṇā	Gabeṣaṇā	Saṅśodhaṅa	Anusandhān, Śodh	Samśōdhane
Rhyme	Antyamil	Mil, Milāntik	Prāsa	Tuk, antyānuprās	Prāsa
Rhythm	Tāl, Laya	Chandaspanda	Lay	Lay	Laya
Riddle	Sāmthar	Samasya, Dhāṇdhāṅ, Praheḷikā, Henyali	Koydō, Samaśyā	Paheli, Praheḷika	Ogaṭu

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	KASHMIRI	MALAYALAM	MARATHI	ORIYA	PUNJABI
Mysticism	Siriyath, Tasavuph	Yōgātmakatvam, Mistisism	Gūḍhavāda, Sākṣātkāravāda	Rahasyavāda	Rahasvād
Mythology	Mithyul, Maithālaji	Purāṇakathā, Purāṇapṛapañcam	Purāṇasāhitya, Purākathāvidyā	Purāṇatattva	Mith-vigyān
Narrative verse	Bayāniyi bāth, Bayanī nazm	Ākhyānakāvyam	Kathātmaka-kāvya	Varṇaṅātmaka-kavitā	Bṛtāntik kāv
Nationalism	Qoem pasandiyath, Kōmiyath	Dēśīyata	Rāṣṭṛavāda	Jātīyatavāda	Rāṣṭarvād
Novel	Nāval	Nōval	Kādambarī	Upaṅyāsa	Nāval (Upanyās)
Nursery rhymes	Shuri bāth, Narseri bath	Kuṭṭikkavita, Śiśukavita	Śiśugīta	Śiśu-gīti, Dōḷīgīta	Bāl gīt
One-Act Play	Ok-aṇgī pāthur	Ēkāṅkam, Ekaṅkanaṭakam	Ēkāṅkika	Ēkāṅkikā	Ikāṅgi
Opera	Oppara, apra	Ōppera, Nṛttanāṭakam	Saṅgītaka	Opera, Jātra	Opera, Gītnāṭak
Panegyric	Tahniyat-nāmā, Kasīd	Praśasti, Praśasti kāvyam	Pṛaśasti, Stavaṅikā	Praśāmsā-gāṅa, Guṇa-kīrtaṅa	Guṇ-gāyan, Pṛaśansātmak
Parody	Paciphiri-bāth, Pāraḍī	Hāsyāṅukaraṇam	Viḍambaṅa, Śaiḷīviḍambaṅa	Lāḷika	Perōḍī
Plot	Katha-tsoek, Pulāṭ	Itivṛttam	Kathānaka, Samvidhāṅaka	Kathāvastu	Kathānak, Gōnd
Poetics	Shāriyath	Kāvyamīmāmsa	Kāvyaśāstṛa, Sāhityaśāstṛa	Kāvyaśāstṛa, Sāhityaśāstṛa	Kāvśāstar
Poetry	Shāyirī	Kavita, Kāvyam	Kāvya	Kavitā	Kāv
Progressive literature	Taraqīpasand adab	Purōgamaṅa-sāhityam	Purōgāmi sāhitya	Āguvā sahitya	Pargativādī sāhit, Aganhvadhū-sāhit
Prose	Nasur	Gadyam	Gadya	Gadya	Vārtik, Gad
Prosody	Orūziyi, prāsḍi	Vṛttaśāstṛam, Chandaśāstṛam	Chandahśāstṛa	Chandahśāstṛa	Chhand śāster
Realism	Haqīeqat-pasandiyath	Yāthātathya-vādam	Riyalism	Vāstava-vāda	Yathārthvād
Renaissance	Nav-zāyun, renāsan	Navōthāṅam, Puṅaruthānam	Renaissāns	Puṅarujjīvaṅa, Navajāgaraṇa, Abhyuthāna	Punar jāgṛti
Research	Tahqīq	Gavēṣaṇam	Saṁśōdhaṅa	Gavēṣaṇa	Khōj, Śōdh
Rhyme	Qāfiyi	Pṛāsam	Yamaka	Mitṛākṣar	Tukānt
Rhythm	Lay	Tāḷam	Laya	Chandaḥpāta	Laya, Tāḷ
Riddle	Pracch	Pṛahēḷika, Kaṭamkatha	Kūṭa, Kōḍe, Ukhaṇa	Prahēḷika	Bujhārat

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	SANSKRIT	SINDHI	TAMIL	TELUGU	URDU
Mysticism	Gūḍhatā	Ilam m'arfat, Tasavvuf	Anupūti	Mārmika vādam	Tasavvuf
Mythology	Purāṇakathā	Dev māla	Purāṇak-kathai	Purāṇam	Sanāmiyat
Narrative verse	Kathānaka-padyam	Bayānī śair	Kathai-śeyyuḷ	Kathā kāvyam	Bayāniyā nazm
Nationalism	Deśīyatāvādaḥ	Qaumiyat	Dēśiyam	Jātīya vādam	Qaum parasti
Novel	Kathā, Ākhyāyikā	Nāvil, Upaṅyās	Nōval, Putiṅam	Navala	Navil
Nursery rhymes	Lalanā gītayaḥ	Bariḍani Laī, Tukabandī	Kuḻandaip-pāḍal	Piḷḷala pāṭalu	Bachchōṁ ke gīt
One-Act play	Ekāṅka-rūpakam	Ēkāṅki, Yak-faslo nāṭak	Ōraṅka-nāṭakam	Ēkāṅkika	Yak bābi-tamthil
Opera	Gītī-nāṭyam	Saṅgīt nāṭak	Iśaik-kūttu	Saṅgīta-rūpakam	Ghiṅai tamthil, Opera
Panegyric	Stutiḥ, Praśaṁsā	Qasīdo	Pukaḻk-kavitai	Stōtram	Qaśīdah
Parody	Aṅukaraṇam	Siṭh	Nayyāṇḍi	Pēraḍi	Tahrīf, Parouḍi
Plot	Kathā vastu	Siṭā rithā	Katai amaippu	Itivṛttam	Paloaṭ, Rūdād
Poetics	Alaṅkāra-śastram	Ilam śairi	Pāṭṭiyal	Chandaś-śāstram	Buṭīqa, ṣeriyāt
Poetry	Kāvyam	Śair, Kāvya	Kavitai	Kavita	Śā'eri
Progressive literature	Purogati-sāhityam	Taraqqipasand adab	Murpōkku-ilakkiyam	Abhyudaya-sāhityam	Taraqqī pasand adab
Prose	Gadyam	Nasr	Urainaḍai, Vacaṅam	Vacaṅam	Nathr
Prosody	Vṛttaśāstram,	'Ilam', Arūz	Yāppu	Chandas	'Uruḍ-wa-bayān
Realism	Vāstavikatā-vādaḥ	Haqīqat nigāri, Yathārthvād	Yatārtha vādam	Vāstavikatā	Haqiqat pasandī
Renaissance	Puṅarujjīvaṅam	Sujāgi, Bedārī	Maṛumalarcci	Sāmskṛtika, Punarujjīvaṅam	Nighat-i-thaniyah
Research	Gaveṣaṇam	Tahqīq	Āyvu, Ārāic-ci	Pariśōdhaṅa	Tahqīq
Rhyme	Antyapṛāsaḥ	Qāfiyo	Eduhai	Prāsa	Qāfiyah
Rhythm	Tāḷātmakatā	Lai	Layam	Laya	Wazn
Riddle	Praheḷikā	Gujhārat	Viḍukatai	Samasya	M'uamma, Chistan

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	ASSAMESE	BENGALI	GUJARATI	HINDI	KANNADA
Romanticism	Ramanyāsa vāda	Romāntikatā	Raṅga darśitā	Svacchandaṭā-vād	Ramyate, Romāntiṣism
Satire	Vyaṅga, Vidrūpa	Byaṅga racana	Kaṭākṣa	Vyaṅg, Vyaṅgya-racana	Viḍambane
Sentiment	Anubhūti	Hṛdras(a)	Kūṇi lāgaṇī	Bhāv, Sthāyibhāv, Ras	Bhāva
Short story	Guṭi galpa	Choṭogalpa	Ṭūṅkī vārta, Navalika	Kahāni	Saṇṇa kathe, Saṇṇe kate
Sketch	Rekhāṅkaṅa, Caritṛa-rekha	Nakśā	Rekhācitṛa	Rekhācitra	Citra
Song	Gīta	Gīt, Gān	Gīta	Gīt	Hāḍu, Gīte
Sonnet	Caturdaśapadi	Soṇet, Caturdaśpadi	Sōnēṭa	Caturdaśapadī, Soṇeṭ	Sunita, Aṣṭasaḍpadi
Style	Śailī, Racanā-rīti	Rīti	Śaili	Śaili	Śaili
Surrealism	Ativāstavavāda, Parāvāstavavāda	Atibāstbatā, Parābāstabatā	Ativāstavavāda	Atiyathārtha vād	Saṛṛiyalism
Symbolism	Pṛatīkvāda	Pratīkīta, Pṛatīkipanthā	Pṛatīkavāda	Pratīka vād	Pratīkātmakate
Tragedy	Dukhāntak nāṭa	Trājeḍi, Śokāntikā	Karuṇāntika	Trāsadī	Rudra nāṭaka, Duranta nāṭaka, Gambhīra nāṭaka
Translation	Anuvāda	Anubād, Tarjama	Anuvāda	Anuvād	Bhāṣamtara, Anuvāda
Travelogue	Bhraman-lekhā, Bhraman vṛttānta	Bhramaṇkāhinī	Pravāskathā	Yātṛāvṛtt	Pravāsa sāhitya, Pravāsa kathaṅa
Unities, The	Aikya, Tri-aikya	Oikya, Samhati	Sthala-kala-kāryani-samvāditā	Saṅkalan, anviti	Aikyagaḷu
Verse	Pada, Payārā	Padya	Padya	Padya, Chand	Padya

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	KASHMIRI	MALAYALAM	MARATHI	ORIYA	PUNJABI
Romanticism	Roūmāniyath	Kālpaṅikata, Romāntisism	Romantisism, Swacchandatāvāda	Romancavāda	Rumānsvād
Satire	Tanz, Haju	Ākṣēpahāsyam	Upahāsa, Upahāsika	Vyaṅga, Vidrūpa	Kaṭākh
Sentiment	Jazbu	Taraḷabhāvam, Vikāram	Bhāva, Sthirabhāva	Rasa	Manobhāv
Short story	Afsāna	Ceṟukatha	Lakhukathā	Kṣudra-galpa	Nikkī kahāni
Sketch	Sikec, Khāk	Rūparēkha	Śabdacitṛa	Rēkhācitṛa	Rekhācitter
Song	Vatsun, Bēth	Gāṅam, Pāṭṭu	Gīta, Gāṇe	Gīta	Gīt
Sonnet	Sāneṭ	Gītakam	Sunīta	Caturdaśapadī kavitā	Sōnaṭ
Style	Oslūb	Śaili, Rīti	Śailī	Śailī	Śailī
Surrealism	Surilīyath	Atiyāthātath-yavādam, Sur-realism	Ativāstavatā-vāda	Ativāstava-vāda	Atiyathārath-vād
Symbolism	Simbāḷiyath, Alāmath pasandi	Pratīkātmakatā, Simbōlism	Pṛatīkavāda	Pratīkavāda	Pratīkvād
Tragedy	Alamiyi, Trejeḍi	Durantanāṭakam	Śokāntika, Śokātmika	Dukhāntaka nāṭaka, Viyogā-ntaka nāṭaka	Trāsdī
Translation	Tarjama	Vivartanam, Tarjuma	Bhāṣāntara	Anuvāda	Anuvād
Travelogue	Safar-nāma	Sañcārasāhityam, Yātṛāvivaraṇam	Pravāsavarṇana	Bhramaṇa kāhiṇi	Safarnāmā, Yāṭra
Unities, The	Yukuthiya, Jūz	Aikya (tṛayam)	Aikya, Ēkasandhata	Mēla, Aikya-samhati	Ektāvāṁ
Verse	Bāth, Kalām, Nazm, Padyam		Padya, Padyapaṅkti	Padya	Pad

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	SANSKRIT	SINDHI	TAMIL	TELUGU	URDU
Romanticism	Vicitṛatāvāda	Romānvād	Ahattanmai	Kālpaṅikavādam	Romān viyat
Satire	Sotpṛāsaḥ	Hajv	Aṇgadam	Adkhikṣēpa kāvyam	Tanz
Sentiment	Bhāvaḥ	Bhāv	Uṇaṛvu	Bhāvam	Jadhbāt, Ehsāsāt
Short story	Laghukathā	Kahāṇī	Śiṛukatai	Kathāṅika	Mukhtasar-afsānāh
Sketch	Rūparekhā	Khāko, Rekhā citṛ	Varaivu	Rēkhā citṛām	Khākah
Song	Gītiḥ	Rāg, Naghmo	Pāḍal	Pāṭa	Gīt
Sonnet	Caturdaśapadam-kāvyam	Cauḍisī	Ahap-pāḍal (in 14 lines)	Sōṇaṭ	Sāneṭ
Style	Rītiḥ	Ibārat	Naḍai	Śaili	Uslūb
Surrealism	Ativāstavikatā-vādaḥ	Taht shūr vārī, Frenc adabī tahrīk	Mēlnilai-yatārthavādam	Ativāstavikata	Surrealism
Symbolism	Pratīka vādaḥ	Iśāriyat	Kuṛiyīḍu	Pṛatīka vādam	'Alāmat nigāri
Tragedy	Durantakathā	Dukhānt nāṭak	Tunpiyal (Kathai, Nāṭakam)	Viṣādānta nāṭakam	Alamiyyah
Translation	Anuvādah	Taṛjumo, Anvād	Moḻipeyaṛppu	Anuvādam	Tarjamā
Travelogue	Yātrāvivaraṇam	Safarnāmo	Pirayāṇa nūl	Yātṛā sāhityam	Safaṛnāmāh
Unities, The	Ekatāḥ	Itihād	Orumai	—	Wahadateṁ
Verse	Padyam	Nazm	Śeyyuḷ	Padyam	Nazm

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GLOSSARY

Literary terms which have evolved down the centuries in the various Indian languages have been used in the text. Some of them indicate major and minor literary forms, others metrical patterns, mode of singing, etc. Quite a few of these are indigenous, but some are borrowed, usually with phonetic modifications. A glossary of such terms is given in the following pages.

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Glossary of Indian Literary Terms

Abhanga: A verse form with four lines (padas) usually devotional in character (Marathi).

Abhijātavāda: Classicism (Marathi); c.f. Śrēṇya sāhityam (Hindi).

Abhyudaya kavitvam: The Progressive Poetry Movement (Telugu).

Ādarśavāda: Idealism in philosophy, as opposed to materialism, the concept or 'idea' which transcends the apparent reality; in literature, as opposed to realism, the attempt to depict what *ought to be* rather than what *is*.

Agralekha: Leading article (Journalism).

Akam (*Aham*): Classical Tamil love poems, essentially subjective.

Ahom: Name of the people who entered the Brahmaputra Valley around 13th century and conquered the land. They were regarded by the natives as 'assamo' (with no equal). The name 'Asam' is taken to be a derivation of this word.

Akhdāi: A semi-classical style of music and songs in Bengali.

Ākhyāna: A narrative in verse; also the story narrated as the latter part of a *Kīrtana*, the former part being a philosophical exposition.

Ākhyāyika: Prose chronicle; story (Hindi, etc.); historical novel (Malayalam); a legend (Marathi).

Akṣara ślōka: A recognized recitation competition wherein the first syllable of the 3rd line in a *ślōka* should be the opening syllable for the next *ślōka* to be recited by the next person. (Malayalam)

Alhani: Death song.

Alaṅkāra: Figure of speech.

Alaṅkāra śāstra: Poetics, rhetoric; literary criticism.

Ālocaṅa: Literary criticism. c.f. Samālocaṅa.

Amitrākṣara chand: Blank verse (Bengali).

Āñcalik upanyās: Modern Hindi regional novel developed out of village scenes.

Aneka sādhan kavya: *Ślēṣa* poem yielding more than one story.

Aṅgirasa: Ruling sentiment.

Aṅka: An act in a play; one of the ten types of *Rūpakas* (Sanskrit).

Aṅkīya nāṭa: One-act plays in prose, particularly in Assamese and Maithili. 'Aṅkīya' derives from *aṅka* (Sanskrit).

Anubhāva: One of the three components of *rasa*.

Anukramaṇi: Index.

Anyāpadēśa: Allegory; allegorical treatment of a story.

Āśu kavitvam: Extempore poetry (especially in Telugu).

Apabhramśa: A middle Indo-Aryan dialect.

Āratī: Prayer; hymns in praise of gods.

Āryā: A verse-metre in Sanskrit, Marathi, etc.

Āśiriyam: A classical metre in Tamil.

Aṣṭāvadhāṅam: c. f. Avadhāṅam.

Āśvāsādi, *Āśvasanta*: The first verse at the beginning of every canto and the last two or three verses at the end.

Astitvavāda: Existentialism.

Āṭhavāṇī: Memoirs (Marathi).

Ativāstavavād: Surrealism; also *Ati-yathārthavād*.

Ātmacaritra: Autobiography.

Ātmakathā: Autobiography.

Āṭṭakkatha: The text of a *Kathakali* play in Malayalam. *Katha* (story): *āṭṭam* (performance).

Āṭṭaprakāram: A manual of dance drama in Malayalam.

Aucitya: Propriety in literature (Sanskrit, etc.).

Avadhāṅam: A poetic feat in which the poet faces eight questioners in Aṣṭāvadhāṅam, and more than 80 questioners in Śatāvadhāṅam (Telugu).

Avatārika: Foreword.

Āzād Nazm: Free verse (Urdu).

Badha kāvya: A long poem based on Mahabharata episodes, especially those in which Bhima wins a contest and kills his opponent. (badha = vadha).

Bā-eit: A couplet adapted from Arabic (Punjabi).

Bakhar: Prose chronicle (Marathi).

Baṇḍāya sāhitya: Literature of protest (Knnada)

Bārāmāsa: Description of 12 months, either devotional in character or expressing love in separation. A variety of folk songs in which the pangs of separation of a woman are narrated in relation to every month of the year beginning with Āṣāḍha (June–July), since incorporated in written narrative poems also. (Hindi, Punjabi, etc.).

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Bargīt: Vaishnavite lyrics of devotional character. They resemble *carya* compositions (Assamese).

Bauddha gāno dohā: Early Buddhist songs (Bengali).

Baudh kavitā: Pattern poetry.

Bāul gīt: Songs by wandering minstrels called Bauls (Skt. Vatula) belonging to a devotional cult of Bengal.

Bayalāṭṭa: Folk drama of Kannada.

Bhāgavat: A verse metre of Oriya consisting of nine letters to the line.

Bhajan: Devotional song rendered by a group of persons.

Bhāṇa: One of the ten types of Sanskrit plays.

Bharatavākya: Literally Bharata's word. The concluding verse or verses of a Sanskrit play, a sort of benediction said to be in honour of Bharata, the founder of the theory of drama.

Bhārūḍa: A narrative form, partly in prose, used by saint poets (Marathi).

Bhāva: Emotion or feeling as the basis of *rasa*.

Bhāvagita: Emotional lyric.

Bhāvakavitvam: Romantic movement in modern Telugu poetry.

Bhāvana: A kind of verse play with *gīt* (Assamese).

Bhet: Devotional literature—song to Kāli.

Bhūpāḷi: Traditional composition sung to wake up a deity. (Marathi).

Bihu-gīt: Songs sung during a festival of Assam celebrating the advent of spring, corresponding to *Viṣu*.

Bimbavāda: Imagism.

Brāhmaṇas: A body of prose literature attached to the Vedic *Samhitas* and dealing with the rituals of *yagas* belonging to the period 850-600 B.C.

Brajbuli: Artificial language used by Vaishnava poets, particularly popular in Bengal. This language is considered to be a creation of Vidyapati. It is a mixture of Bengali and Maithili with some western Hindi and Apabhramsa forms.

Bratakathā: Votive tales in prose (Oriya).

Burañjī: A Thai word meaning a storehouse of knowledge, especially containing chronicles of Ahom kings. (Assamese).

Cabakha: A didactic poem.

Caita: Caitabāra: A class of folk songs relating to love in the month of Caitra (spring), especially in Maithili and Hindi.

Campu: A style of Kavya composition which combines verse with prose.

Caṇḍīmaṅgal: A kind of 'Maṅgal Kāvya' associated with the religious vows of Bengali womenfolk and featuring the goddess Caṇḍī (Bengali).

Caṅkam: Classical Tamil Academy (also Sangham).

Caomāsa: Folk-songs pertaining to the rainy season of four months (Hindi).

Carita kāvya: Song depicting a hero (folk literature). In Apabhramsa, narrative poems of epic or puranic dimensions depicting the conversation of famous and valiant heroes on the pious ways of Jainism or Buddhism.

Carit panthi: Life stories or biographies of devotees or heroes. (Bengali and Assamese).

Caryāpada: Also called *Caryāgīti*. They are mystical songs in old Bengali. The songs follow a literary tradition, but are not poems in the usual sense. They are of three kinds: (i) statements with double meanings; (ii) ritual songs and love lyrics; (iii) didactic couplets or quatrains.

Caubīśī: Folk literature.

Caudīśī: Sonnet (Skt. Caturdaśi).

Caupāi: (Skt. Catuṣpadi). A metre in Apabhramsa and Hindi having 16 moras in every line of a stanza, which is often combined with *doha* in a fixed pattern for the composition of long narrative poems (e.g. Tulsidasa's *Rāmacaritamānasa*).

Cautiśa: A class of verse composition in 34 stanzas.

Chanda: Metre or metrical system.

Chanda-śāstra: The science of prosody.

Chāpaya: Verse form in a Vaishnavite play. A metrical pattern in Apabhramsa, Hindi, etc. suitable for expression of heroic moods (six-line verse in Hindi).

Chappa: (Prosody) Medieval verse form, satirical in content. They are usually short six-line verses. (Gujarati, Hindi).

Chaitighoḍa: A form of rural pantomime (Oriya) with figures of horses built out of a frame of strips of bamboos. Men remain in them and move rhythmically singing interesting songs.

Charā: Doggerel, limerick or short humorous poem. (Bengali).

Chattīsī: 36 words or verses.

Chāyāvāda: Romantic movement in modern Hindi poetry.

Cintu: Poetic narrative especially in children's literature (Tamil).

Citrakāvya: Verses presented in a pictorial pattern which exhibit the composer's ability in the craft of choosing sounds.

Cittukkavi: Epistles in verse (Tamil).

Cūrṇika: A style of prose composition which is easy, does not contain hard letters and has very few compounds. (Sanskrit, Marathi, etc.).

Dalitasāhitya: Literature of the 'Dalits' (the oppressed classes).

Daśakam: A hymn in ten verses.

Daśarūpakas: Ten types of Sanskrit plays based on *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

Dāstān: (1) Prose tales of battle between supernatural demonaic forces and the believers, usually narrated before a large audience and composed orally and spontaneously. (Urdu, etc.). (2) Story interspersed with songs.

Dattasampradāya: The cult of the worship of Dattatreya.

Dehbicārar gīt: A type of mystic, devotional song preva-

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lent in Assamese inspired by Saiva-Sakta and Bouddha systems.

Deśi: Indigenous.

Dhal: (Prosody) The flow of a metre (Hindi).

Dhāmāli: A class of songs derived from women's recitals.

Dhavale: Marriage songs (Folk literature; Marathi).

Dhvani: Suggested or implied meaning which refers to the Sanskrit theory in *Dhvanyālōka*.

Digambara kavitvam: Literally, naked poetry. A rebel movement in modern Telugu poetry.

Divān: A collection of poems (Urdu, Sindhi).

Dohā: Didactic couplets of quatrains, either in doha metre or in chaupai metre in Indo-Aryan languages.

Dohida: (Prosody) Gujarati doha.

Dohra: A form of verse composition (Punjabi, Marathi, etc.).

Dōṣa: Defect (in literary composition); obstacles that block aesthetic experience.

Durant nāṭaka: Dramatic play with a tragic ending. c.f. *Gambhīra nāṭaka* (Kannada).

Dūhā: A verse form.

Dūtakāvya: Message poem modelled on Kalidasa's *Mēghadūtam*.

Dvipada: Couplet.

Ēkāṅka (*Ēkāṅki*), *Ēkāṅkika*: One-act play.

Fāgu: Spring poem, particularly in Gujarati (Folk lit.). Usually sung in the month of Phalguna. It is shorter and more lyrical than the *Rāsa*. It relates to gay sports and joyous dancing.

Gambhīra nāṭaka: c.f. *Duranta nāṭaka*. Tragedy (Kannada).

Gaṇa: Foot (Prosody).

Garbi: Lyrics mainly on the divine sport of Krishna (Gujarati).

Gātha: Poem with a lyrical slant (Malayalam).

Gauḷaṇa: Song of milkmaids expressing love for Krishna but with a spiritual slant. (Marathi)

Gaura-candrika: Prefatory songs about Srichaitanya (Bengali).

Ghazal: A popular poetic form in Urdu.

Ghoḍi: A kind of song, especially sung by Muslims, at the time of seating the bridegroom on a mare.

Gīt: Lyric; Poem with a musical quality.

Gītakam: Sonnet (Malayalam).

Gītikāvya: Lyric (Hindi).

Goṣṭh: A form of prose composition in Punjabi.

Goṭipua: A form of dance prevalent in Southern Orissa.

Grāmīṇasāhitya: Rural literature.

Guṇa: Literary quality; excellence.

Gurubāṇi: Sacred words of the Gurus (Sikh) (bāṇi = vāṇi = word).

Gurumat: Religious writings, particularly in Punjabi.

Haqīqat nigāri: Realism (Urdu, Sindhi, Kashmiri).

Hṛdayavāda: A name given to the passionate poems which come under Chāyāvāda, the modern romantic movement in Hindi.

Hajv: A verse-form whose main purpose is satire (Urdu).

Itihāsa: A term meaning 'This is how it was'. Epic; history.

Janam sākhī: Brief anecdotes known individually as Sākhi (evidence). These are in prose with frequent verse quotations from the Guru's hymns. The term is usually applied to hagiographies of Nanak.

Jangnāma: War journal (Punjabi, Urdu). Events relating to Prophet Mohamed's followers and descendants.

Jāsūsi katha: Detective fiction (Hindi); *Her-kathā*, *Guptapolis kathā* (Marathi).

Jātaka: Tales relating to the earlier births of Gautama i.e. the Buddha. They are 'birth stories' (3rd century B.C.–4th century A.D.). Pali collections of tales of the Buddha's former births consisting of verse and prose narratives. They also contain a vast amount of narrative lore illustrating the daily life of ancient Indian people.

Jātra (*Yātra*): Musical folk-drama (Bengali).

Jīvani: Biography (Hindi).

Kabigān: Songs (light type).

Kādambarī: Term used in Marathi, Kannada and Konkani for the novel drawn from the Sanskrit classic of the same name.

Kāfī: Ballad; Punjabi mystical lyrics of oral tradition.

Kahāṇī: Short story (Sindhi). A short narrative transmitted orally (Marathi).

Kalambagam: A verse form in Tamil.

Kāṇḍa: A section of a large literary work.

Kārikā: Commentary in metrical form (Sanskrit).

Kassīda: Poetic form praising heroes (Urdu, Sindhi).

Kaṭaki: Irony (Kannada).

Kaṭāv: A verse composition of several parts, irregular in structure and linked by rhymes and a refrain (Marathi).

Kathakaḷi: A dance drama of Kerala which is a unique combination of acting, dancing, music and literature. The texts used for these performances are called *Āṭṭakathas* (stories for dancing).

Kathāvastu: Plot or story of a play.

Kaṭhputli: A folk art form of Rajasthan (lit. wooden doll).

Kaṭibandha: Prosody (Marathi).

Kavisamaya: Poetic conventions, also 'kavi saṅketa' (Sanst., Hindi, etc.).

Kaviśri: Prosody (Punjabi).

Kāvya: The generic name for verse composition; the work of a kavi (poet).

Kela keluni: Kelas are a wandering community. They are generally snake-charmers (Orissa) who sing various kinds of songs. (The word is derived from khela = play).

Khaṇḍakāvya: Short poem, especially narrative.

Kīrtan: A style of singing, especially Vaishnava lyrics. Narration of a puranic story punctuated with recitals.

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Kīrtaniya: One who sings religious songs; a form of drama in Maithili.

Kīrtan Dhap: Orthodox kirtan and dance song.

Kissa: An early poetic form following the Persian model (Payabe) influenced by Masnavi.

Koili kāvya: A poetic convention in Oriya in which poems are addressed to a koili (cuckoo).

Kośa: Dictionary; concordance; anthology.

Krama dīpika: Manual for performance of classical plays.

Kuṟavañci: Folk-drama of Tamil Nadu and Andhra.

Kūttu: A somewhat stylized performance in Tamil and Malayalam based on puranic stories.

Kūṭiyāṭṭam: An early form of dramatic performance in Kerala based on well known Sanskrit plays in which men and women take part.

Labhīsa: A comic song (Kashmiri).

Lāḍo: Marriage songs (Punjabi). (Lit. O Dear one!).

Laḷita: Folk theatre. A kind of play with divine characters, performed during a religious festival (Marathi).

Lāvaṇī: Erotic folk-song; a kind of regional or native rāga deriving its name from Lavaṇaka, a region of ancient Magadha (now part of Bihar).

Lila: A narrative of the legendary stories of Rama, Krishna or Siva in a recitative-cum-singing style (Kashmiri).

Lōk katha: Folk-story.

Lōkōkti: Proverb; aphorism.

Lōl: Lyrics of yearning (Kashmiri).

Lorī: Lullaby (Hindi, Punjabi).

Mahānubhāva Panth: Devotional literature of a religious sect in Marathi (13th to 16th centuries).

Mahīna: An amorous poem describing beauty of the month.

Maṅgaḷ kāvya: Long narrative poems propagating the indigenous deities, in particular the goddesses. They have turned out to be significant social documents. *Maṅgaḷ* means auspicious (Bengali).

Maṇipṟavāḷam: A literary dialect accepted in Malayalam (14th century) where words from Sanskrit are blended with Malayalam like a necklace strung with ruby (*maṇi*) and coral (*pṟavāḷam*) which are similar in tone and colour.

Mantra: A Sanskrit term for the typical Indian manifestation of the sacred word. It is a concept which covers more than prayer, invocation or mere formula.

Maqt'a: Final couplet of the ghazal revealing the author's name (Urdu).

Mārga: Classcism (Skt.) as opposed to Desi.

Mārga kavita: Classical poetry, especially in Telugu, as opposed to *Dēśi* (low-brow).

Marsia (*Marthiya*): An elegiac verse, particularly one that recalls the heart-rending tragedy of the Karbala martyrs, Hassan and Hussain, the grandsons of Prophet Muhammad.

Masnavi (*Mathnavi*): A poetic form in couplets.

Matlā: First couplet (ghazal).

Mātrā: Time-beat; measure in metre (Sanskrit).

Maulud: A type of laudatory poem with reference to the Prophet's (Islam) birth (Sindhi).

Mazah: Humour (Urdu).

Mazmun: Essay (Urdu).

Meyppāḍu: Physical expression (Tamil).

Mukhamma: A kind of poem in Urdu having five-line stanzas.

Mukhtsar afsāna: Short story.

Mukta-chanda: Free verse (Marathi, Hindi, Gujarati, Malayalam).

Muktaka: A self-contained stanza.

Mūlarūpa: Archetype.

Musaddas: A variety of poem having six-line stanzas (Urdu, Sindhi).

Muṣaira: Poets' gathering where they read out their own poems.

Mustazād: A variety of metrical form in Urdu.

Nanabayagīt: Nonsense verse (Limerick).

Naql: A short piece of mimicry acted with dialogue improvised on the spot (Urdu).

Nāt': Verse addressed in praise of the Prophet; devotional literature in Kashmiri.

Nāṭakavaḷakku: Dramatic convention, presentational theatricalism (Tamil).

Nāṭak-t-Tamiḷ: Dramatic poetry (Tamil).

Nāṭyachaṭa: Dramatic monologue in prose (Marathi).

Nauha: Short elegy mourning the martyrdom of the Prophet's grandson, usually recited along with the mourners' procession carrying replicas of the Martyr's tomb or other relics made in paper and wood.

Nauṭaṅki: Theatre from folk sources (Urdu, Hindi, etc.).

Navamatavāda: Progressive literature (Marathi).

Navanāṭya: New Theatre (Drama) (Marathi).

Navcētna: Renaissance.

Navajāgaraṇa: Renaissance (Hindi).

Nay kahāni: (New story). Hindi literary Movement arising about 1955.

Nayī kavitā: The New Poetry Movement in Hindi.

Nazm: Poem (Urdu).

Nibandha: Essay (Hindi, Marathi).

Nītikathā: Parable.

Nuḍi kaṭṭu: Idiom (Kannada).

Nyāsa: Elaborate commentary (Sanskrit).

Nyāya: Principles of interpretation.

Ovigīt: A traditional type of poetic song (Marathi).

Paband: A narrative or descriptive cantoed composition in a variety of metres (Kashmiri).

Pad: A further development of the Vatsun without the formal refrain (Kashmiri).

Pada: A genre of medieval Gujarati poetry, religious songs, etc.

Paḍa-payāra: Prosody (Assamese).

Pālā: A traditional performing art in Orissa performed by

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two or more members narrating a story interspersed with humour.

Paḷḷu nāṭakam: An early form of drama (Tamil) dealing with agrarian life.

Pāṅa: A form of devotional poetry in Malayalam. Also a special metre with a musical slant.

Pāñcāli-kāvya: Choral songs, especially in Bengali (Song of the road).

Pañca sakha: Five outstanding followers of Chaitanya who left an enormous mass of religious literature (Oriya).

Parva: Section.

Paṭayaṇi songs: A form of Malayalam folk songs dealing with stories having a heroic slant.

Pāṭhakam: Oral narration of puranic stories in Malayalam with the help of Sanskrit verses with interludes of contemporary social criticism.

Pāṭhālocan: Textual criticism (Hindi).

Pāṭhya samālocana: Textual criticism.

Pāṭṭī: A poetic form in Punjabi centering around alphabets.

Pāṭṭu: Literally meaning song, this is an ancient form of Malayalam poetry containing Tamil elements.

Pharsa: Farce (drama) (Marathi, etc.).

Phatakā: Folk literature.

Poruḷ: Basic content (Tamil).

Povāḍā: Ballad, heroic poetry (Marathi).

Prabandha kāvya: A poem, the stanzas of which are mutually related as opposed to *Muktaka;* e.g. Mahākāvya (Epic) and Khaṇḍa Kāvya (short narrative or episode).

Pragātha: Ode (Kannada).

Pragativāda: Progressivism influenced by Marxism (Hindi, etc.).

Prahasaṅa: Sanskrit dramatic genre resembling farce.

Praheḷika: Riddle. A literary fete emphasizing play of sounds.

Prakṛtivāda: Naturalism (Hindi).

Prāsavāda: A protracted controverry in Malayalam on the indispensability or otherwise of the rhyme on the second syllable of each line of poetry.

Pratibhā: Creative imagination.

Pratibhāna: Intuition (Kannada, etc.).

Pratīka: Symbol; image.

Pratīkavāda: Symbolism.

Pratināyaka: Anti-hero; the main adversary of the hero.

Pratime: Symbol. c.f. *saṅketa* (Kannada, etc.).

Pravāsavarṇana: Travelogue.

Prayogavāda: Experimentalism (Hindi).

Puṟam: Classical Tamil war-poetry.

Purāṇa: Literally means ancient. Puranas contain a great variety of ancient subjects, rules of caste, rituals, philosophy, mythology, etc.

Qasīda: Panegyric in verse.

Qat'a: Ghazal (continuous verses).

Qawali: A group song with mystical overtones (Urdu).

Ragaḷe: A kind of metrical composition in couplets popular in Kannada.

Rajia-marsia: Dirge.

Rāsā: A very popular form of Apabhramsa literature originally derived from folk-dance, composed like a ballad to be performed in dance. Later it became more sophisticated to suit the elite society.

Rasa: A theory of *Sāhitya śāstra* scientifically analyzing the various aspects of aesthetic experience.

Rāso: A type of balladistic narrative poem in Hindi, Gujarati, etc. either in the form of dance songs or written in select metres generally on the theme of the heroic or love episodes of a famous personality. Also a prosodic metre used in such compositions.

Rītī: In Sanskrit poetics, a way of writing poetry; poetic diction or roughly style or stylistic arrangement.

Rītikāvya: The predominant fashion of writing poetry in Hindi (Vraja bhasha) literary history of the 17th and 18th centuries.

Ro'hv: Dance song.

Ruba'i: Quatrain.

Rūpaka: Metaphor.

Rūpakas: A general name for stage plays (dramas) in Sanskrit covering the teni mportant items termed *daśarūpakas*. c.f. Daśarūpaka.

Rūpkalāvād: Formalism.

Sabūjakavita: A literary movement; literally green poetry (Oriya).

Śabdālaṅkāra: Figure of speech based on sound.

Safarnāmā: Travelogue.

Sahṛdaya: A critic or connoisseur with literary taste.

Śaili: Style; idiom.

Samadauni: Wedding song (folk literature).

Samālocana: Literary criticism.

Samasyā: A riddle (Hindi, Marathi, Sanskrit, Malayalam, etc.).

Samasyā nāṭak: Problem play.

Samhitā: A collection of poems on different subjects. Texts of a drama (Marathi).

Samvāhana: Communication.

Sāmyavādi sāhitya: Progressive literature with Communist emphasis.

Sandeśa kāvya: Message Poem; also, *Dūta Kāvya*.

Saṅgam (*Sangham*): Academies (also *Caṅkam* in Tamil).

Saṅgītikā: Opera.

Saṅketa: Symbol.

Saraḷa regaḷe: Blank verse (Kannada).

Sarga: Canto.

Śatakam: Cycle of hundred poems or stanzas.

Śatāvadhāna: See Avadhānam.

Sātvāra: A form of folk poetry in Punjabi emphasizing seasons as bārāmāsā.

Ṣaṭpadi: (Prosody) A six-line stanza.

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Siharfis: Poems based on the 30 letters of the Persian alphabet (Punjabi).
Śikṣā: Phonetics.
Śleṣa: Double meaning.
Śloka: Verse or strophe in any metre though the word has sometimes been used for one metre in particular, the *Vaktra* or *anuṣṭubh*.
Smṛti: Ancient Indian code of law. Literally remembrance, as the laws have been handed down orally.
Śokātmikā: Tragedy (Drama).
Śokagīta: Elegy (Kannada, Marathi, etc.).
Sphūrti: Imagination (Kannada).
Śreṇyasāhitya: Classicism (Hindi).
Śruk: A four-line stanza applied to the Sufistic context (Kashmiri).
Śruti: Literally hearing which refers to the older vedic texts which are believed to have been heard through revelation from divine inspiration.
Śudda bhāṣā: Pure and elegant language (Bengali, etc.).
Sufiānā kalām: Anthology of music (Kashmiri); a poem having Sufistic leanings (Urdu).
Suhāg: Wedding song (Folk literature).
Sunīta: Sonnet (Marathi, etc.).
Sūtra: Sanskrit formula expressing the meaning in the smallest possible number of words. Means thread; aphorism.
Svacchandavāda: Romanticism.
Swāneh-umri: Biography.
Tadhkira: Commentary, criticism (Urdu).
Tamāśa: A kind of musical dance-drama popular in Maharashtra from the 18th century; now a satirical humorous play in folksy language or dialect; a burlesque.
Tantra: Indian sacred books of the Sakta Hindu sect.
Tappā: Short, light song (Hindi, Punjabi).
Taraqqi-Pasand Tehrik: Progressive Literary Association (Urdu).
Tatsama: A word borrowed (mainly from Sanskrit) without any sound change.
Terukkūttu: Street dance (Tamil).
Toḍar-nilai-c-ceyyul: Epic poetry (Tamil).
Tonmai: Class of works in Tamil defined in *Tolkāppiam* as consisting of verse passages largely interspersed with prose and dealing with old stories, c.f. *Campu*.
Tōṭai: Rhyme (Tamil).
Tōṭṭam: Ritualistic songs in old Malayalam, especially in praise of goddess Kāḷi.
Toulanika Vimarśe: Comparative criticism (Kannada).
Tulanātmak samīkṣa: Comparative criticism (Hindi).
Tuḷḷal: Poetic songs in Malayalam accompanying a dance performance popularized by Kunchan Nambiar in the 18th century, dealing with Puranic stories interspersed with criticism of contemporary social life.
Udāharaṇa vāṅmaya: Udāharaṇa (allegoric) literature (Telugu).
Ukhāṇa: Riddle (Marathi).
Ulakiyal vaḷakku: Representational naturalism (Tamil).
Upākhyāna: An episodic story in a larger work.
Uparūpaka: One of the twenty types of minor Sanskrit plays based on nṛtya.
Vacana: The main literary form used for the dissemination of the Lingayat (Virasaiva) cult. It is like a hymn in prose containing three or four sentences (Kannada).
Vadha kāvya: Form presenting episodes of *vadha* (killing), taken chiefly from Mahabharata. (Assamese, Bengali, etc.).
Vaga: Folk-drama troupe (Marathi).
Vainōdika: Comedy (Kannada).
Vāk(h): (Speech): a metrical utterance of spiritual content, especially in Kashmiri.
Vakrokti: Oblique expression.
Vañcippāṭṭu: Boat-song, especially referring to the metre approved for such songs (Malayalam).
Vār: A poem celebrating the exploits of heroes (Punjabi).
Vārakari: A literary movement in Marathi (14th cent.) which upholds social equality and deprecates religious rituals without disrespect to the Vedas.
Vāstavavāda: Realism.
Vatsun: A song with a refrain rendered highly musical by internal rhymes and cross assonances (Kashmiri).
Viḍambaṅa kāvya: Parody.
Viḍambaṅe: Satire (Kannada, Marathi).
Vidrohi sāhitya: Progressive Literature.
Vilāpika: Elegy (Marathi).
Viṣādānta nāṭakam: Tragedy (Telugu).
Virāṇi: Mystic songs (Marathi).
Viruddhokti: Paradox.
Viruttam: Tamil equivalent of *Vṛttam* in Sanskrit, meaning metre.
Vṛtti: Commentary.
Vyakticitra: Pen-portrait; character sketch.
Vyaṅgya: Suggestive meaning as distinguished from *Vācya*, direct meaning; satire.
Yak-Faslo nāṭak: One-act play.
Yakṣagāṅa: An opera (Kannada & Telugu).
Yāppu: Prosody (Tamil).
Yati: A pause specified in metrical form; caesura.
Yātrakaḷi: A folk-drama played by Nambudiris of Kerala c.f. *Jātra*.
Zarāfat: Humour (Urdu, Kashmiri, Sindhi).

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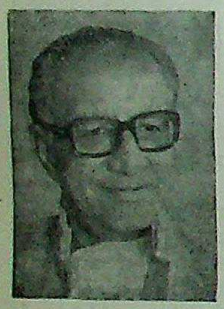

He is a member of the Executive Board of the Sahitya Akademi. Was the Hon. Secretary and member of the Executive Committee of the P.E.N. All India Centre for several years. Was President of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad (1974–75); visited Germany and Europe (1959), USA (1962) and West Germany (1963) on invitation from those countries.

Author of over three dozen books, including 11 collections of short stories, a collection of one-act plays, a full-length play, three volumes of critical essays, a collection of poems and a biographical sketch. Important works: *Abhi vāte* (1944), *Broker-Ni Shreshta Vartao* (1957), *Nava Gagan Ni Niche* (1970). Also edited *Ekanki* (one-act play magazine) and *Gujarati Natya* (a quarterly about dramas). Quite a number of Broker's stories have been translated into English, German, Italian and many Indian languages.

He is a recipient of many prizes and awards: gold medal for the best short story of 1943 from the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad; first prize for the best play written during 1947–54 from the Government of Bombay; a cash prize for the short story competition sponsored by the *New York Herald Tribune* in association with *Janmabhoomi*; first prize for a volume of short stories and also for a travelogue from the Government of Gujarat, Kumar Chandrak, etc.

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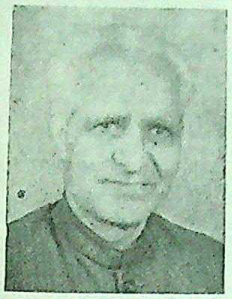

Author of several research papers on Kashmiri language and literature, Kashmiri folklore, history and culture published in various encyclopaedias and academic journals. Important publications: (i) *Kashmir's Contribution to Sanskrit Poetry* (1951), (ii) *Kashmiri Bhāṣa aur Sāhitya* (1956), (iii) *Āzād* and (iv) *Mahjoor* (both Selections with Urdu rendering, 1960–61). (v) *Lagahār Tsuh* (1978) and (vi) *Sanavun Soez* (1978) are collections of Kashmiri poems.

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Has published six anthologies of poems in Oriya including (i) *Ashtapadi* (Eight steps, 1967, won Oriya Sahitya Akademi Award); (ii) *Sabdara Ākāsha* (The Sky of Words, 1971, Sahitya Akademi Award); (iii) *Samudra* (The Sea, 1977). There have been five anthologies of his poems in English translation, including (i) *Quiet Violence*; (ii) *The Other Silence* and (iii) *Oldman in Summer*. He has been translated

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into many Indian languages and several European languages including French, German, Greek, Russian, Romanian, Swedish, Danish, Czech, Macedonian and Ukranian. Has edited seven anthologies of tribal poetry with critical introductions, the latest being *The Awakened Wind from Vikas*.

He has two of his selected poems in Hindi translation. He has also published six books of literary and cultural essays.

Distinctions and special achievements: Was first rank holder in the IAS Examination (1961); has won a fellowship of the International Akademi of Poets, Orissa Sahitya Akademi Award, Central Sahitya Akademi Award, Visuva Award for contribution to Oriya Literature, Language and Culture, and Kumaran Asan Award.

Widely travelled. Participated in (i) the Ninth International Congress of Anthropologists and Ethnologists held in Chicago (1973) and (ii) International Poetry Conference in Yugoslavia (1975 and 1983). Chaired a session in the Tenth International Congress of Anthropologists and Ethnologists at Delhi (1978) and a session in the Fourth Triennale in Delhi, 1978. As Homi Bhabha Fellow he studied the modernization process of the primitive communites in Eastern India. Was Member: (i) National Commission for Cooperation with UNESCO and (ii) Executive Board of the Central Sahitya Akademi. Was Vice-President of the Orissa Lalit Kala Akademi (1977–78). Presently Member, Central Selection Board of Bharatiya Jnanpith.

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Publications in Punjabi number about 30. They include: (i) *Na Dhupe Na Chhaven* (1970, won the Sahitya Akademi Award); (ii) *Alaf Dupehir* (1975); (iii) *Sāhitya Śāstra* (1975) and (iv) *Rupki* (1978).

Apart from the Sahitya Akademi Award, he has won (i) Sahitya Kala Parishad Award and Trophy (1973), (ii) Siromani Sahityakar Award by Punjab Government (1975), (iii) Bhai Vir Singh Kavita Puraskar by Punjab Government (1975), (iv) Best Book Award by Haryana Government (1975) and (v) Best Book Award by Punjab Government (1978).

He presided over one session of All India Writers Conference (1966); toured Czechoslovakia and Central Europe under the Cultural Exchange Programme of Government of India and gave lectures on literary developments in India and, especially in Punjab (1973); visited Canada to deliver lectures on Sikh Religion (1976). Toured Soviet Union as a recipient of 'Nehru Soviet Peace Prize'.

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Under the Madras Government, as Dictionary Assistant in the Parliament Secretariat for two years, as curator of the Adyar Library for three years; Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati, (1959–82).

Published 15 books in Sanskrit and in Malayalam. Publications include: (i) *Maṇirava* (ed.); (ii) *Sandhya* (tr. G. Sankara Kurup); (iii) *Maṇikanam* (a navya nyaya manual. Adyar Library, 1959); (iv) *Kausitakī Brāhmaṇa* (Text and its commentary by Udaya, 2 vols., Steiner Verlag, Weisbaden, W. Germany).

Member of several academic bodies appointed by the University and the Government. Official delegate to the Fourth World Sanskrit Conference (1979) and member of the Organizing Committee for the 5th World Sanskrit Conference. Visiting Professor, Koln University, Germany (1964–65) and University of Poona (1979).

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Has published several articles in Sindhi and English; compiled and edited entries in the National Bibliography.

Member: (i) Advisory Board for Sindhi, Sahitya Akademi, (ii) Advisory Committee for Sindhi, Bharatiya Jnanpith, (iii) Board of Studies in Arabic, Persian, Islamic Culture, etc. Bombay University, (iv) Convener, Ad-hoc Committee for Sindhi, Gujarat University. Convener, Editorial Board *Sahij-Kosh* (Sindhi-Sindhi Dictionary) and Language consultant, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Literature*.

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University for a short period. Trained in Gandhi Ashram, Sevagram, in pre-Independence days. His service as a teacher in the training school with emphasis on basic education and Gandhism, and as a pioneering writer in Tamil on allied subjects is notable.

Has written, edited and published over 100 books in Tamil and English on religion, education and literature. Editor of the Fifth International Tamil Conference papers, Madras, 1981. The most important of his works in Tamil is the century-wise publication of the *History of Tamil Literature* planned in 30 vols, 11 of which have been published. Other important works in Tamil are: (i) *A Critique on Modern Tamil Prose Style* (1975), (ii) *Essays on Tiruvachakam* (1965), (iii) *Saivam* (1969).

Works in English are: (i) *Education in Ancient Tamil Land* (1969); (ii) *An Introduction to the History of Tamil Literature* (1974); (iii) *Ballad Poetry in Tamil*; (iv) *Festivals of Tamil Nadu* (1980).

Arunachalam has been a member of various advisory boards of education including the Tamil Nadu Academy of Sciences.

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SASTRY, C. N.: M.A., Ph.D.; 'Amarendra', Telugu story writer and English professor, b. 1924, Machilipatnam, Krishna Dist., Andhra Pradesh. Educ. Andhra, Madras and Osmania universities. Taught English since 1947 in various colleges. Currently Principal, J.K.C. College, Guntur.

Publications in Telugu: 6 volumes of stories (*Āshājyōti*, *Pañjaram*, etc.), 2 volumes of plays (*Chakravarti*, *Vasumati* etc.) and 2 volumes of literary essays; *Bhāva Vina* (Lit. Criticism) 1966; has translated into Telugu: *Macbeth*, *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, *Poems of Kabir*, and select works of Sri Aurobindo, Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi.

Member: Telugu Advisory Board Central Sahitya Akademi, and Executive Board of Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi.

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HASAN, MOHAMMAD: M.A., Ph.D.; Urdu Professor, playwright and critic; b. 1926. Educ. Lucknow University. Taught Urdu in Lucknow, Aligarh, Delhi and Kashmir universities. Joined the Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi, as Professor of Urdu and later became the Chairman of the Centre of Indian Languages, School of Languages.

Has published 36 books in Urdu, two books in Hindi and two books in English. Important works: (i) *Morpankhi* (Play, 1975); (ii) *Jadīd Urdu Adab* (Criticism, 1976); (iii) *Hindi Adab ki Tārīkhsa* (History, 1955).

Jawaharlal Nehru Fellow awardee (1973–75); Founder editor of Urdu quarterly *Asri Adab*; President, All India Urdu Teachers Association from 1973; Project Director, 'Pakistani Writings in Urdu; An Analysis of Contemporary Trends'; Project Director, 'Reading Material in Urdu' sponsored by the UGC; Member, Urdu Advisory Board for Central Sahitya Akademi; Chairman U.P. Urdu Academy (1977–79).

Toured Europe in 1974 as leader of Urdu University Teachers Delegation.

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Published eight books and 30 papers in Assamese. Important publications: (i) *Bhāshāvijñān* (General Linguistics); (ii) *Bhāshā Āru Sāhitya* (1956). (critical essays on language and literature); (iii) *Vaishnava Bhaktir Dhārā Āru Santa-Kathā* (Vaishnava Bhakti Movement in India and its Saints); (iv) *Assamiyā Bhāṣār Rūp-Kathā* (Assamese Morphology—a Descriptive Analysis). Publications in English include 18 learned papers and two books, namely, (i) *Assamese Linguistics* and (ii) *A Study on Kamrupi—a Dialect of Assamese*.

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Published six collections of short (stories: *Kuber Hatibaruah*, *Chabi Aru Frame*, *Parthiva-Aparthiva*, etc.). A collection of essays: *Cinta Āru Carcha*. Also published about 200 articles, two novelettes. Edited about 20 works.

Member: (i) Assamese Advisory Board, Central Sahitya Akademi; (ii) Publication Board, Assam.

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Author of about 20 books in Assamese, being collections of his own poems and articles on literary criticism. Important publications in Assamese: (i) *Jātismar*, (ii) *Ei Nādi-yedi*, (iii) *Phul Tarā Gān*, (iv) *Assamiyā Kavitār Chanda*, (v) *Rupar Tilingar Māt* (1981). In English: *Fundamentals of Assamese Metre*. Founder-editor of the now defunct *Maṇidīp* for many years.

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Author of six books in Assamese and one in English; over 50 articles in Assamese and English, especially on drama. Important Assamese publications: (i) *Tragedy Bicār* (Judgement of Tragedy, 1972, 1976); (ii) *Sāhitya Kathā* (Facets of Literature, 1973); (iii) *Nāṭaka* (*Drama*, 1973); (iv) *Ādhunik Assamiya Sāhitya* (Modern Assamese Literature, 1976). Book in English: *Tragic Outlook in Assamese Drama* (Ph.D. dissertation, 1980).

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Was invited by the British Council in 1979 as visitor to study the latest developments in Drama and Theatre in Britain.

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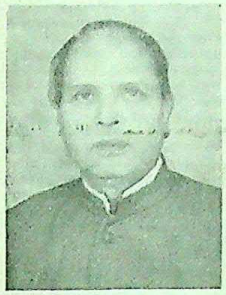
BHATTACHARYYA, BIRENDRA KUMAR: M.A., Ph.D.; Assamese novelist and poet, b. 1924; educ. Gauhati University. Teaches Journalism in Gauhati University since 1974.



Author of 12 novels, several short stories and poems in Assamese. Important novels are: *Pratipad* (1970), *Ai* (1960), *Śataghni* (1965), *Mṛtyuñjay* (1970), *Iyaruiṅgam* (1960), *Raṅgā Megh* (1976) and *Kālar Humaniyah* (1982). Prose works include (i) *Sri Aurobindo* (a biography), (ii) *A Survey of Assamese Culture* (1826–1976, in Assamese); and (iii) *Humour and Satire in Assamese Literature* (English, 1982). Edited two Assamese journals *Rāmdhenu* (1953–63) and *Sādiniya Navayug* (1963–67).

Won the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1961 for his novel *Iyaruiṅgam* and the Jnanpith Award in 1978 for his novel *Mṛtyuñjay*. President of the Assamese Fine Arts and Crafts Society. Vice President, Sahitya Akademi from 1983.

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He has obtained the Ph.D. degree from Gauhati University for his dissertation on 'Assamese Sonnets and Literary Epics'. Besides several critical literary appreciations on Assamese authors, he has translated *Antony and Cleopatra* and *The Tempest*.

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Has published a number of critical essays and papers on Indian English, Assamese and English literatures, besides two important books: (i) Assamese: *Jīvani* (Biography, 1974—a treatise on biographical writings); (ii) English: *Nationalism in Indo-Anglian Fiction* (1978).

Dr Sarma is also a creative writer in Assamese and has published: (i) *Kāchār Dāre Hīrār Dāre* (Like Glass Like Diamond, 1968), (ii) *Dūṣita Subās* (Contaminated Fragrance, 1971).

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Published more than 25 books in Assamese, six of them being collections of original poems and one on Assam's folk culture titled *Asamar Loka Sanskriti* (Folk culture of Assam). Composed several lyrics for films and broadcast from AIR. Her important poetical works are *Banphāriṅgar Raṅg* (1967) *Dinār pāchat Din* (1977), *Sāmipeshu* (1977), *Antaraṅga* (1978).

Member of several academic and cultural committees, both of national and regional range like (i) Advisory Board for Central Sahitya Akademi, (ii) Advisory Committee of National Book Trust, (iii) Advisory Board for Cultural Affairs, Government of Assam. Recipient of National Award for children's literature, (iv) Assam Sahitya Akademi Award.

Participated in several conferences and seminars of national and international significance.

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BARUA, LALIT KUMAR: M.A.; Assamese critic b. 1938. Educ. Delhi and Gauhati universities. Though he commenced as a teacher of English in Pragjyotish College, Gauhati, he entered Assam Civil Service (Class I) in

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1963 having obtained the first rank in the Assam Civil Service Examination, 1962. Held various posts under the Government of Assam and now functions as Deputy Secretary to the Governor of Assam.

Has published several papers in Assamese and in English on literary criticism and social history. Has published in Assamese a work on Ram Mohan Roy and Vidyasagar titled *Ram Mohan Aru Vidyasagar*. A serious student of Rabindranath Tagore and F. R. Leavis, he has published several critical articles on them. Also translated into Assamese, novels of Prem Chand and Albert Camus.

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Published about 50 scholarly papers, mostly in Bengali and some in English. Three books are in press. Dissertations on Bengali Compound Verbs and Generative Phonology of Bengali have won acclaim.

As a Fulbright scholar he specialized in Linguistics in the Chicago University. Visited Japan in 1979 on an invitation from the Japan Foundation. Special interests: linguistics and theatre.

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His doctoral dissertation is on 'the History of Bengali Versification'. Publications: (i) *Bāṅglā Chander Vivartan* (1977), (ii) *Sāhityer Mukti* (1966), Has written several articles on Linguistics, Art, Culture, Sociology etc. which include 'Austric Influence on Bengali Language and Culture', 'Place-names of Bengal' and 'Pre-Aryan Languages'.

Edits *Hariad Sakam* (Green Leaf), a journal in Santhali language, since 1963.

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Publications: (i) *Rabindra Pratibhār Paricaya* (a comparative and critical estimate of Tagore's poetical genius), (ii) *Bāṅglā Kāvyer Rupa O Rīti* (a treatise on aesthetic forms and nature of Bengali poetry), (iii) *Samāj Pragati O Rabīndranāth* (on the socio-economic thinking of Tagore), and (iv) *Vaiṣṇava-Rasa-Prakāśa* (on the evolution of the Bengal Vaishnavism). Edited Candimangala poems of Kavikankana Mukundaram.

Was awarded D.Litt. (Calcutta University) degree for the first work mentioned above.

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Publications: (i) *Prabandhakār Bankimchandra O Unabiṅśa Śatābdir Bāṅgāḷi Samājman* (1967), (ii) *Rajendralāl Mitra* (1969), (iii) *Dhūrjaṭiprasād* (1970), (iv) *Alexander Duff O Anugāmi Kayekjan* (1980). Has published several learned papers in Bengali journals. Edited *Nineteenth Century Studies* (1973–75) and *Counterpoint* (1977–78).

As a specialist on 19th Century Bengal, he gave 'Adhya-

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pak Sudhir Kumār Dās Gupta Lecture' at Calcutta University on '19th Century Bengali Poetry and Poetics'.

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Has published papers in Bengali and English. Publications: *Sudhīndranāth Datta* ('Makers of Indian Literature, Series of Sahitya Akademi). Has done some translation, and edited, among others, the first volume of the collected works of Buddhadeva Bose, jointly with Subir Roy Choudhury. Currently Chairman of the Jadavpur Department of Comparative Literature, and editor of *Jadavpur Journal of Comparative Literature.*

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Important works: (i) *Nihitapātāl Chhāya* (1967); (ii) *Babren Prārthana* (1977); (iii) *Tumitho Theman Gaurinavo* (1979).

Has won Sahitya Akademi Award (1978) and also Asan Akademi Award (1983).

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Has published several volumes of poems in Bengali; has translated several novels into Bengali; written three large volumes on Indian cricket. A widely read scholar in the novel; has worked for 4 years in Canada on colonial literature, and is at present working on 'Sub-Literature' (comics, westerns, science-fiction, romances and thrillers), and on a book on recent trends in Latin American fiction which will be called *Kālibānter Prithibi* (the world of Caliban).

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Publications: (i) *Bilāti Jātrā Theke Swadeshi Theatre*, (ii) *Melā Theke Jhāmelā*, (iii) *Golondāj Theke Goyendā*, (iv) *Sejuger Kecchā Ekāler Itihās*, (v) *Tokolosh*, etc.

Edited: (i) *Derozio, European Poet and Reformer* by E. W. Madge, (ii) *An Early History of Growth of Calcutta* by Binoy Krishna Deb, (iii) *Pañchāṣ Bacharer Premer Galpa*, etc. Writing for children is his special interest.

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Publications: 7 books including (i) *Rabindranather Pañchabhut*; (ii) *Last Days in England of Raja Rammohun Roy* (biog. ed.)

(i) Ex-Member, Advisory Board for Juvabani Akashvani, (ii) Working as Compere, Calcutta Doordarshan, (iii) Member, National Book Trust Advisory Panel. Also connected with the Bengali daily *Ājkāl* from its inception in 1981. Has edited a number of out-of-print books in English and Bengali.

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Publications: (i) *Upanyās Kathā* (a treatise on the novel); (ii) *Bangla Carit Sāhitya* (Biographical Literature in Bengali); (iii) *Rabindra Carya* (research papers on Tagore), etc. Ed: (i) *Rabindranath* (1961); (ii) *Hindu athaba Presidency Colleger Itibṛttva* (History of Hindu and Presidency College); (iii) *Śarat Racanāvali* (collected works of Saratchandra Chattopadhyay), etc.

Is the Chairman, West Bengal State Akademi of Dance, Drama and Music, (ii) Member, UGC Panel of Modern

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Indian Languages, and (iii) of the Board of Governors, West Bengal State Book Board. Was a Visiting Professor at Jahangirnagar University (Bangladesh), and Kalyani University (West Bengal).

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Published 85 books, out of which 50 are for children. Joint editor of *Sandesh* (monthly) for 20 years. Awards received: (i) 'Lila Puraskār', Calcutta University, (ii) Government of India prize for children's books, twice, (iii) Sangit Natak Akademi prize for Drama (1963), (iv) 'Rabindra Puraskār' (1968), (v) Bhubaneswari Gold Medal, Shishu Sahitya Parishad (1973), (vi) Bhubanmohini Dassi Gold Medal, Calcutta University (1975).

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SEN, NABANEETA DEV: M.A., Ph.D.; Bengali poet, short story writer and critic; b. 1938; educ. Calcutta, Jadavpur, Harvard, Indiana and California universities. Reader in Comparative Literature, Jadavpur University.

Publications include: (i) *Pratham Pratyay* (Poems, 1959); (ii) *Swagata Debdūt* (Poems, 1971); (iii) *Ami Anupam* (Novel, 1977); (iv) *Iswarer Pratidwandī* (Criticism, 1977); (v) *Monsieur Hulor Holiday* (Short stories, 1980).

Member, advisory boards of Jnanpith Award, Sahitya Akademi Award; ex-member, Vidyasagar Award, and NCERT Children's Award.

Positions held: (i) South Asian representative on the Executive Committee of International Comparative Literature Association (1973–79), (ii) Fellow of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, from 1974.

Dr (Smt.) Nabaneeta Dev Sen
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72 Hindustan Park
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GUJARATI

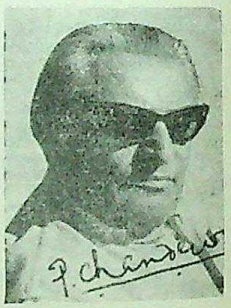
SHASTREE, KESHAVRAM KASHIRAM: Mahamahopadhyaya Vidyavachaspati; Gujarati Professor and lexicographer; b. 1905. Mangrol Sorath, Junagadh; educ. in Sanskrit and Gujarati in the traditional style. Research guide and professor, Gujarat Vidyasabha and B. J. Institute of Learning and Research.

Publications: about 140 books and 1000 articles and papers. Some important works: (i) *Kavicharitra* vols. I & II (biography, 1939–41); (ii) *Akṣarane Śabda* (1945); (iii) *Vallabhācārya Mahāprabhuji* (life-sketch); (iv) *Bṛhad Gujarāti Kośa;* (v) *Vananspati Kośa* (i.e. Botanical Dictionary in 10 languages—Sanskrit, Gujarati, Latin, Marathi, Hindi, Punjabi, Bengali, Tamil, Telugu and English)

Distinctions and honours: (i) Ranjitram Gold Medal of Gujarat Sahitya Sabha; (ii) Honorary degree of Vidyavachaspati from the All India Sanskrit Conference; (iii) Padmasri; (iv) Gold medal at the Dwaraka session of the Gujarat History Conference, etc.

Prof. K. K. Shastree
'Madhuvan', Ellis Bridge
Ahmedabad 380 006

CHANDERVAKER, PUSHKER: M.A.; Gujarati playwright, novelist and folklorist; b. 1922, Chanderva; educ. Bombay University. Taught Gujarati in colleges and rendered valuable service in the collection and editing of folklore in Gujarati.



Publications: 16 novels and several plays; ed. four collections of folk songs of Gujarat. Important Works: (i) *Raṅkaṇa Ratan* (novel 1946); (ii) *Piyar no padośī* (one-act plays, 1948); (iii) *Bavadana Bāla* (novel, 1954); (iv) *Nava Halko* (Folk songs, 1956); (v) *Antardīp* (Short stories, 1957).

Has won many prizes and awards from Gujarat and Rajasthan States. Member, Folklore Committee of Gujarat State and president for the last four years; Vice-President, Folklore Society of India, Calcutta.

Prof. Pushker Chandervaker
Chanderva
Via Jalila, Taluka Dhandhuka
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DALAL, SURESH: M.A., Ph.D.; Gujarati poet, editor and professor; b. 1932, educ. Bombay University. Professor of Gujarati, K. J. Somaiya College (1964–73) and SNDT Women's University since 1973.

Author of 7 volumes of poems, 8 volumes of children's verse, one volume of literary criticism, two volumes of essays. 'Ed. 6 volumes of anthology of Gujarati poems, 5 volumes of literary criticism and two volumes of short

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stories. Translated into Gujarati two American novels and adapted *Antony and Cleopatra* in story form. Ed. of *Kavita*, a bimonthly of poetry and criticism since 1967.

Two volumes of poetry have been awarded prizes by the Government of Gujarat and another volume annexed the Mahakavi Nhanalal award.

Member: (i) Board of Studies in Gujarati, Bombay University, (ii) Academic Council, SNDT Women's University, (iii) Executive Committee, PEN, (iv) Advisory Panel of the Central Board of Film Censors, (v) Raja Rammohun Roy Library Foundation, etc.

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JOSHI, SHIVKUMAR: B.A. (Hons.); Gujarati playwright, novelist and short story writer. b. 1916, Ahmedabad; educ. Bombay university. Trained in theatre art at Naṭ Maṇḍal, Ahmedabad.

Literary output: 25 full-length plays, 45 one-act plays, 30 radio plays, 23 novels and 12 collections of short stories. Translated Tagore's *Jogajog* and Bijan Bhattacharya's *Nabanna*. Important books: (i) *Kanchuki Bandha* (Novel, 1956); (ii) *Suvarṇarekha* (Play, 1961); (iii) *Triparṇa* (Play, 1973).

Awards and distinctions: (i) Kumar Chandrak Award for Best Gujarati One-Act play, 1952; (ii) Sangit Natak Akademi Award for *Suvarṇarekha* (1964); (iii) Narmad Suvarna Chandrak award for *Sumaṅgala* (1958), and Ranjitram Suvarna Chandrak Award also for the same.

President of 'Anamika' Hindi Theatre Group, Calcutta. Participated in (i) International Theatre Institute, Budapest, 1969; (ii) World Theatre Festival, Nancy (France), 1975.

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MEHTA, CHANDRAKANT: M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.; Gujarati critic and professor; b. 1911, Surat, South Gujarat; educ. Wilson College, Bombay University. Taught Gujarati and Sanskrit in Khalsa College, Bombay, Sophia College, Bombay (1938–47), Bhavan's College, Bombay (1947–61), and Delhi University (Reader in Gujarati, 1961–76).

Publications: 13 books including (i) *Kathā Viśeṣ* (Criticism on Gujarati fiction, 1972); (ii) *Tārāśaṅkar Bandyōpādhyāya* (1972); (iii) *Madhyakālānam Sāhitya na Prakāro* (1955); has translated 25 books into Gujarati.

Participated in 'All Bengal Sarat Centenary'. Has published books in Hindi and Bengali. Ed. (English): *Anthology of Gujarati Literature* (Bharatiya Vidyabhavan); *Anthology of Gujarati Poetry* (National Book Trust). Recipient of the Gujarat Government Award for the best work in literary criticism (1972).

Dr Chandrakant Mehta
6-A Kumkum Society
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SHAH, RAMANLAL, C.: M.A., Ph.D.; Gujarati professor and critic; b. 1926, Padro, Baroda; educ. Bombay University. Lecturer and subsequently professor of Gujarati, St. Xavier's College (1951–70); Professor and Head of the Gujarati department, University of Bombay, since 1970.

Publications: 7 books on criticism, 6 books dealing with research, 4 on religion, one biography, one travelogue and one collection of One-Act plays. Ed. 8 works. Important books: (i) *Gujarati Sāhityanu Rekhādarśan*; (ii) *Naḷa-Damayantini Kathānō Vikās*; (iii) *Samaysundara*; (iv) *Passport ni Pānkhe*.

Prizes and Awards: (i) B. K. Thakore Gold Medal & Keshavlal Dhruv Prize; (ii) Gujarat Government prize for the best One-Act plays (*Shyām Raṅg Samīpe*—1966).

Participated in World Religious Conference, Madura (1977); Theosophical Centenary International Convention, Adyar (1975); PEN International Conference, Sydney (1977) and Brazil (1979).

Dr Ramanlal C. Shah
35 Choupatty Sea Face
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PARIKH, DHIRU: M.A., Ph.D.; Gujarati professor and poet; b. 1933, Ahmedabad; educ. Gujarat University. Taught Gujarati, Mahila College, Surendra Nagar and in Gujarat University as Reader.

Publications: (i) *Kantākni Khushbo* (a Collection of Short Stories, 1964); (ii) *Ughād* (a collection of poems, 1971); (iii) *Atratya Tatratya* (a collection of critical articles, 1978); (iv) *Rajendra Shah* (monograph, 1977). Edited *Kavilok* (A Gujarati bimonthly).

Has won Kumar Chandrak Award for Poetry in 1971.

Dr Dhiru Parikh
'Lavanya', Vijay Park
Navrangapura
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JOSHI, RAMANLAL: M.A., Ph.D.; Gujarati critic and professor; b. 1926; educ. Gujarat University, Ahmedabad.

Published 12 volumes of critical essays in Gujarati. Ed. '*Akhegeeta*' with introduction and critical notes, and the prose writings of Uttamlal Trivedi; also *Gujarati Granthakār Śreṇi* in which more than 25 monographs have been published. Important works: *Govardhanrām—Ek Adhyāyan* (1963); (ii) *Parimāṇ* (Criticism, 1969); *Bhāratīya Naval Katha* (Criticism, 1974).

Writes in English on Gujarati literature, especially noteworthy is his monograph *Govardhanrām* (Sahitya Akademi, MIL Series).

Member: Indian PEN; President of Criticism section of 29th Gujarati Sahitya Parishad (Kalyan, 1977); Gujarati Advisory Board of Sahitya Akademi; Vice President, Gujarat Sahitya Akademi.

Dr Ramanlal Joshi
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JADEJA, DILAVARSINH D.: M.A., Ph.D.; Gujarati critic and professor; b. 1933, Rajkot Dist; educ. Gujarat and MS universities. Taught Gujarati in colleges. Dean, Faculty of Arts, Sardar Patel University (1974–77). Principal N. & A. Arts College (1977–).

Publications: Five books on literary criticism in Gujarati; ed. eight books in collaboration with others; founder editor of *Oorja* quarterly. Important books: (i) *Pratidhwani* (1972); (ii) *Vivakṣa* (1973).

Member: (i) Executive Council & Academic Council, Sardar Patel University; (ii) Editorial Board, *Gnan Gaṅgotri*. Secretary, Gujarati Sahitya Parishad (1974–75).

Awards and Prizes: Bhaikaka Gujarat State Inter-University Award for work on literary criticism.

Dr D. D. Jadeja,
Principal, Nalini-Arvind and
T. V. Patel Arts College
Vallabh Vidyanagar 388 120
Dist. Kaira (Gujarat)

HINDI

TIWARI, BOLA NATH: M.A., D.Phil., Ph.D.; Hindi scholar and linguistician; b. 1923, Husainpur; educ. Allahabad University. Participated in Freedom Movement.

Earning while learning was a necessity for him. For the last 25 years he has been working as senior Lecturer and Reader in the department of Hindi, Delhi University.

Published about 60 books including 2 novels, 3 collections of poems, 5 books on literary criticism 10 on linguistics and quite a few on lexicography, stylistics and the theory of translation. Important books: (i) *Hindi Bhasha* (History of Hindi Language); (ii) *Śabdavigyān* (Study of words); (iii) *Śailīvigyān* (Theory of stylistics); (iv) *Anuvigyān* (Theory of translation); (v) *Kośvigyān* (Lexicology).

Recipient of 18 prizes and awards.

Dr B. N. Tiwari
E-4/23 Model Town
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GAURI SHANKAR (SATYENDRA): M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt; Hindi critic and folklorist; (1907–83); Professor at Rajasthan University (1964–74).

Published about 30 books comprising short stories, plays, literary criticism and history. Publications: (i) *Guptaji ki Kalā*; (ii) *Prem Chand aur Uṅki Kahanikalā*, (iii) *Braj Lok-Sāhitya ka adhyayan*; (iv) *Madhyakālīn Sāhitya ka Lok-tattwik adhyayan*; (v) Kalā *Kalpana aur Sāhitya*; (vi) *Muktiyagna* (1937); (vii) *Baṅgla Sāhitya ka Itihās* (1961). Ed. *Sāhitya Sandesh* (monthly), and *Braj-bhārati* (monthly).

Vice-Chairman of Indian Folklore Society and a member of various committees set up by the UGC and Central Government.

MACHWE, PRABHAKAR: M.A., Ph.D.; Hindi critic, poet and linguist; b. 1917, Gwalior. Educ. Agra University; Lecturer in Philosophy and English (1938–48), Literary Programme Producer, AIR (1948–54), Assistant Secretary, Sahitya Akademi (1954–71) and Secretary (1971–75), Director, Bharatiya Bhasha Parishad, Calcutta, since 1979.

Published 65 books in Hindi, English and Marathi including poems, novels, one-act plays, essays, literary criticism, biography, history of literature etc. Select books in Hindi: (i) *Jainendra ke Vichar* (ed., 1937); (ii) *Shasan Shabda Kosh* (Lexicon co-edited with Rahul Sankrityayan, 1948);

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(iii) *Tolstoy aur Bharat* (1969, received Soviet Land Award), etc. English: (i) *Kabir*; (ii) *Namdev*; (iii) *Keshavasut*; (iv) *Four Decades of Indian Literature*, etc.

Visiting Professor, universities of Wisconsin, California, and Kashmir; Fellow, IIAS, Simla. Has travelled widely; knows several languages.

Dr Prabhakar Machwe
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Calcutta 700 017

MATHUR, GIRIJA KUMAR: M.A., LL.B.; Hindi poet; b. 1919, Ashoknagar, Madhya Pradesh; educ. Lucknow University. Worked for some time in the AIR from 1943 and later became Station Director and Dy. Director General Doordarshan, India.

Published 14 works, out of which 10 are collections of poems and two works of literary criticism, one of the latter in English. The award-winning titles are: (i) *Nāṣ aur Nirmāṇ*; (ii) *Dhūp ke Dhan*; (iii) *Shila Paṅk Chamkeeley* and (iv) *Bheetri Nadi ki Yatra*. A good number of his poems have been translated into English, Russian, German, Swedish, Bulgarian, Japanese, etc.

Honours and distinctions: (i) LIDICE—1961, an international award by Czechoslovakia for his verse-play *Shanti Vishwa*; (ii) Delhi Administration's honour to an eminent poet, 1974; (iii) M. P. Government's state honour, etc. His impact on the socially oriented programme and experimental trends in poetry has been acknowledged widely.

Shri Girija Kumar Mathur
B-III/44 Janakpuri
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CHOUDHURI, INDRA NATH: M.A., Ph.D.; Hindi scholar and comparatist; b. 1936; educ. Delhi University. Senior Lecturer in the Department of Hindi, Hansraj Postgraduate University College, Delhi; Professor and Director, Centre of Advanced Studies & Research, Dakshin Bharata Hindi Prachar Sabha, Hyderabad (1982–84). Now Secretary, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi.

Writes in Hindi, English and Bengali. Publications: (i) *The Influence of Bengali Literature on the Poetry of Nirula*, (ii) *A Comparative Study of Modern Hindi and Bengali Literary Criticism*, (iii) Joint ed. *Comparative Literature* (Delhi University). Has contributed over 50 articles of diverse interests in scholarly periodicals.

Dr. I. N. Choudhuri
Secretary
Sahitya Akademi
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New Delhi 110 001

JAIN, NIRMALA: M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.; b. 1931; educ. Delhi University. Senior Lecturer in Hindi, (i) Lady Sri Ram College for Women, Delhi University (1956–70), (ii) Reader, Department of Hindi, Delhi University (1970–81) (iii) Professor & Head of Hindi Department, Delhi University (1981–).

Pub. Seven books: (i) *Ādhunik Hindi Kāvya Mein Rūpa Vidhāyan* (A study of forms in modern Hindi poetry, 1963); (ii) *Rasa Siddhānta aur Saundarya-śāstra* (1967); (iii) *Plato ke Kāvya Siddhānta* (Literary Theory of Plato, 1964); (iv) *Hindi Ālocana—Bis winśati* (Twentieth Century Hindi Literary Criticism, 1975); (v) *Ādhunik Sāhitya Mūlya aur Mūlyāṅkan* (Modern Hindi Literature—Norms and Evaluation, 1979) etc.; ed. two books, contributed a number of research papers in Hindi periodicals.

Member: (i) Hindi Advisory Board, Sahitya Akademi; (ii) Hindi Advisory Board, National Book Trust. Visited the USA once on a lecture tour and again to participate in an International Seminar.

Dr (Mrs) Nirmala Jain
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SAHNI, BHISHAM: M.A., Ph.D.; Hindi novelist and critic; b. 1915. Rawalpindi; educ. Delhi University. Teaching English and writing and staging of plays, especially in Hindi.

Pub. Hindi: four novels, six collections of short stories, two full length plays, one book of stories for children. English: *Balraj My Brother* (biography 1981). ed. *Nai Kahānian* (short story journal, 1965–68).

Awards and distinctions: (i) Sahitya Akademi Award for the novel *Tamas* (1976); (ii) Shiromani Lekhak Award, Government of Punjab (1975). Lotus Award (1980). Served as translator in Moscow.

Dr Bhisham Sahni
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GUPTA, SHANTI SWARUP: M.A., Ph.D.; Hindi scholar, b. 1925, Khurja (Uttar Pradesh); educ. Universities of Allahabad, Delhi and Agra; Lecturer in English, N. R. E. C. College (1947–51); Lecturer and Reader in Hindi, Delhi University since 1951.

Pub. over a dozen books: (i) *Pāscātya Kāvyaśāstra ke Siddhānta*; (ii) *Kalpanā Tatva*, etc. Translated three books from Marathi into Hindi. Ph.D. dissertation is on 'Comparative Study of Hindi and Marathi Novels.'

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B-2 Reids Lines
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Delhi 110 007

PRASAD, R. C.: M.A., Ph.D., D. Litt.; English professor and Hindi critic; b. 1929, Patna; educ. Patna and Edinburgh Universities. Lecturer in English, Patna University (1960–63), Reader (1964–73); Professor, Bhagalpur University, Patna University (1974–80 and 1982–), Pro-Vice Chancellor, Bhagalpur University (1980–82).

Pub. English: a dozen books: (i) *Literary Criticism in Hindi*; (ii) *Early English Travellers*; (iii) *Mystic Feeling*; (iv) *Lifting the Veil*, etc.

Distinctions: (i) Participated in an International Seminar in Edinburgh (1975) and again at the University of Uppsala (Sweden) in 1978. Also in the Frankfurt Book Fair (1969).

Dr R. C. Prasad
Prof. and Head of English Department
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KANNADA

CHIDANANDA MURTHY, M.: M.A., Ph.D.; Kannada professor and linguistician; b. 1931, Devangare; educ. Mysore University. Kannada Lecturer, Mysore University (1953–68), Professor, Bangalore University (1968–).

Pub. over 250 research papers in Kannada and English and several books in Kannada. Important works: (i) *Basavanna* (biography, NBT); (ii) *Cultural Study of Kannada Inscriptions* (Ph. D. dissertation); (iii) *Vāgartha* (22 research papers); (iv) *Pūrṇa Sūryagrahaṇa* (a sociocultural survey).

Visited the USA twice: (i) Taught Kannada in Chicago University (1967–68); (ii) Participated in the Fourth International Conference on Historical Linguistics, Stanford University (1979). Member (i) Editorial Board of Samasta Kannada Sahitya Charitra; (ii) Kannada Sahitya Parishat, (iii) Kannada Encyclopaedia Advisory Committee; (iv) Vice-President, Dravida Bhasha Vignana Parishat.

Dr Chidananda Murthy
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NAYAK, H. M.: M.A., Ph.D.; Kannada professor and critic; b. 1931, educ. universities of Mysore, Calcutta and Indiana, Pennsylvania (USA). Taught Kannada in the Mysore University. Now professor and head of the Department of Kannada and Linguistics, and Director, Kannada Adhyayana Samithi, Mysore University and chief editor, *Kannada Encyclopaedia*.

Author, editor and translator of over 60 books in Kannada and in English. Widely travelled in Europe, USA and USSR.

Among his Kannada works are (i) collections of essays and short stories and (ii) *Sallāpa*; (iii) *Rabindranātha Ṭākurāru*; (iv) *Samīkṣe*; (v) *Janapada Swarūpa*. His English works are: (i) *Kannada—Literary and Colloquial*; and (ii) *Kannada Literature—A Decade*. Mysore University Golden Jubilee Award for *Sallāpa*.

Member: (i) Sahitya Akademi Executive Board, (ii) Kannada Advisory Committee, NBT; (iii) Linguistic Panel and Research Committee of the UGC. (iv) Executive Committee of the Bharatiya Jnanpith; and (v) President, Karnataka Sahitya Akademi.

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PRABHU SHANKARA: M.A., Ph.D.; Kannada professor and critic; b. 1929, Chamarajnagar; educ. Mysore University. Taught Kannada from 1954 and served the cause of Kannada as Director of Publications and Extension Services of the Mysore University (1964–81). Visiting Professor, Benaras Hindu University (1976–78).

Author of over 17 books comprising works on literary criticism, plays, biographies, travelogues, pen-pictures and translations. Pub.: (i) *Kannaḍadalli Bhāvagīte* (Lyric in Kannada, Ph.D. dissertation); (ii) *Kāvya Yōga* (Research articles); (iii) *Aṅgulimāla* (verse play); (v) *Swami Vive-*

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kananda (biography); (v) *Barāgu* (a study of the personality and impact of Sri Basaveshwara).

Visited the USA in 1976 and gave a course of lectures in colleges and universities.

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Mysore University
Mysore 570 006

DESAI, SHANTINATH, K.: M.A., Ph.D.; English professor and Kannada critic; b. 1929, Haligal, Dharwad; educ. Bombay and Leeds (UK) universities. Lecturer in English (1953–67), Reader and Professor, Karnataka University (1967–72) and Professor, Shivaji University, since 1972.

Edited six books in English and contributed 22 articles in learned journals. Pub. in Kannada: over 10 books consisting of novels, short story collections, Radio plays, critical essays and translations; (i) *Mukti* (novel, 1961); (ii) *Vikṣepa* (novel, 1971); (iii) *Sṛṣṭi* (novel, 1977); (iv) *Daṇḍe* (short story collection, 1971); (v) *Sāhitya Mathu Bhāṣe* (criticism, 1980); (vi) *Shanta Rama Rao* (English, 1976).

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Department of English
Shivaji University
Kolhapur 416 004

RAMACHANDRA MURTHY, H. K.: M.A.; Kannada critic, b. 1925; educ. Mysore University. Had been teaching English since 1948, retired as Reader in English, National College, Bangalore. Worked as editor of the *English-Kannada Dictionary* (1972–75).

Critic, playwright and actor in Kannada, he has written many books: (i) *Moliere* (1973); (ii) *Brecht* (1978); (iii) *Gajina Gombe* (1979); (iv) *Galileo* (Kannada translation of Brecht's *Life of Galileo*, 1976). Has translated several works into Kannada, including G. V. Plekhanov's *Art and Social Life*.

Visited G.D.R. in 1978 on the occasion of the 80th birth anniversary of Brecht. Contributed several articles to the *Kannada Encyclopaedia* and *History of Kannada Literature*. Received awards from Kannada Sahitya Akademi twice.

Prof. H. K. Ramachandra Murthy
'Chetana', 108, 13th Main Road
Jayanagar
Bangalore 560 011

GOVINDARAJ, GIRADDI: M.A.; English teacher and Kannada critic; b. 1939; Dharwad; educ. Karnatak University and Lancaster University (UK). Taken Master's degree in English, Kannada and Linguistics. Lecturer in English since 1964 (Karnatak College and P.G. Centre at Gulbarga of Karnatak University).

Published several learned papers in Kannada and English; 13 books in Kannada consisting of short stories, poems, criticism etc.: (i) *Śārada Lahari* (long poem, 1956); (ii) *Aa Muhka Ii Mukha* (Short Stories, 1970); (iii) *Navya Vimarśe* (Criticism, 1974); (iv) *Saṇṇa katheya Hosa Olavugalu* (Criticism).

Awards and distinctions: (i) British Council Scholarship for higher studies in Britain (1972–73); (ii) Karnataka Sahitya Akademi Award for *Navya Vimarśe* (1975); (iii) Mysore University Golden Jubilee Award (1977), etc. Founder Member of Rangamadhyama Theatre Institute, Gulbarga.

Sri Giraddi Govindaraj
Department of English
Postgraduate Centre
Karnataka University
Gulbarga 585 105

INAMDAR, V. M.: M.A.; English Professor and Kannada novelist and critic; b. 1912, Hudali, Belgaum Taluk; educ. Bombay University. Lecturer and Assistant Professor and Professor; Department of Collegiate Education, Bombay and Karnataka States; UGC Professor, Bangalore University.

Author of 40 books, among them (in Kannada) *Eradu Dhruva*, *Śāpa*, *Citralēkha*, *Mañju Musukida Dāri*, *Navilu Nauka* (novels); *Sharatchandra*, *Shivaramā Karantha*, *Kuvempu Kadambarigalu*, *Pāscātya Kāvyamīmāmse* (literary criticism), etc.

Awards: (i) Bombay University Gold Medal; (ii) Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Gold Medal and (iii) Karnataka Sahitya Akademi Award.

Has visited England, Canada and USA.

Prof. V. M. Inamdar
'Kalpa', 406/B, Third Main Road
Saraswathipuram
Mysore 570 009

SEETHARAMIAH, M. V.: M.A.; Kannada critic and editor; b. 1910, Mysore City; educ. Mysore University. Asst. Editor and Chief Editor, *English-Kannada Dictionary* of Mysore University (1939–46); Lecturer, Reader in Kannada, Government College, Bangalore (1946–61); Research Professor, UGC (1968–73).

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Poet, novelist, essayist, dramatist and writer of short stories, and specialist in textual criticism. Seetharamaiah has published about 50 books: (i) Critical edition of *Kavirājamārga* (1968); (ii) *Kannaḍa Sāhityadalli Śānta Rasa*; (iii) *Bhāratīya Kāvya Mīmāmsage Kannaḍa Kavigaḷa Koduge*; (iv) *Madana Magaḷu* (Novel, 1950); (v) *Mugilugaḷu* (Essays, 1950), etc.

Has been honoured by the Karnataka Sahitya Parishat and Kannada Sahitya Akademi. Founder Secretary, B. M. Sri Memorial Foundation.

Prof. M. V. Seetharamaiah
54 'Arvinda', III Road
Govipuram Extension
Bangalore 560 019

ANANTHARAMAIAH, RUDRAPATNA LAKSHMIKANTAIAH: M.A.; Kannada bibliographer and editor; b. 1937; educ. Mysore University. Lecturer in Kannada 1961–67; Research Assistant and member, editorial board, Kannada Bibliography Project; Asst. Director, (1968–78) and presently Deputy Director of Prasaranga, University of Mysore.

Published 32 books in Kannada, over 20 translations and 8 books on *Kannada Grantha Sūci* (bibliography): (i) *Bhāratīya Samskṛti Parampare* (tr. of *Indian Heritage* by Humayun Kabir); (ii) *Karnāṭaka Bhūgōḷa* (tr. of *Karnataka Geography* by R. P. Misra); (iii) *Kīrtana Darpaṇa* 1 & 2 (compilation of musical compositions with notations along with other scholars); (iv) *Bhāratīya Raṅgabhūmi* (tr. of *Indian Theatre* by Adya Rangacharya; ed. of the literary monthly, *Grantha Lōka*, in Kannada.

Sri R. L. Anantharamiah
T-31, Manasa Gangothri
Mysore 570 006

AMUR, G. S.: M.A., Ph.D.; Professor of English and Kannada critic; b. 1925; educ. Bombay, Karnataka, California and Yale universities. Has been teaching English; now Professor of English at Marathwada University.

Published three books in Kannada and seven in English, Kannada: (i) *Mahakavi Milton* (1959); (ii) *Kṛitiparīkṣa* (1970); English: (iii) *The Concept of Comedy* (1963); (iv) *Ādya Raṅgācārya* (1974); (v) *A Critical Spectrum*; (vi) *Manohar Malgoṅkar*. Widely travelled as a Fulbright Hayes Scholar.

Dr G. S. Amur
Professor of English
Marathwada University
Aurangabad 431 001
Maharashtra

VENKATASUBBIAH, G.: M.A.; Kannada lexicographer and editor; b. 1913, Mysore; educ. Mysore University. Lecturer, Mysore University (1939–42); Professor and Principal, Vijaya College, Bangalore (1943–68). Chief Editor, *Kannada-Kannada Dictionary*.

Pub. about 20 books in Kannada, among them *Nayasena* and *Anukalpane*, has edited old classics and written many critical articles.

President, Kannada Sahitya Parishat (1964–69). Member. (i) Advi sory Board of Lexico graphers Society of India; (ii) Karnataka Sahitya Akademi.

Prof. G. Venkatasubbiah
58, 31st Cross
VII Block, Jayanagar
Bangalore 560 011

KASHMIRI

KOUL, OMKAR, N.: M.A., Ph.D.; Kashmiri linguistician; b. 1941, Kulgam, Kashmir. Taught Hindi and Urdu languages at Illinois University (1969–71). Principal, Northern Regional Language Centre (CIIL) at Patiala since 1971.

Has published several research papers on linguistics and literature. Published books: (i) *Kashmiri aur Hindi Rāmakathā Kāvya Ka Tulnātmak Adhyān* (1974); (ii) *Linguistic Studies in Kashmiri* (1977); (iii) *Punjabi Phonetic Reader* (Co-author, 1980), etc.

Awards: (i) First prize by the Government of India for his book on *Rāma Kathā Kāvya*; (ii) Fellowship by the Government of Australia to study In-service Teacher Education in Australia.

Dr Omkar N. Koul
Principal
Northern Regional Language Centre
Central Institute of Indian Languages
Patiala 147 002

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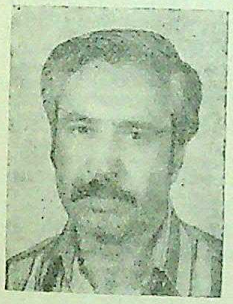
LONE, ALI MOHAMMAD: B.A.; Kashmiri playwright, b. 1926, Srinagar; educ. Punjab University. Worked as Asst. Editor *Khidmat;* script writer and producer, All India Radio (1952–65); Deputy Secretary, Cultural Akademi, since 1965.

Publications 12 books: (i) *Viz chhe Sa'eny* (Play in Kashmiri); (ii) *Suyya* (Play in Kashmiri); (iii) *Dharti Ka Swarg* (book in Hindi for children); (iv) *Soen Adab* (an anthology of Kashmiri literature). Several short stories in Urdu and Kashmiri, and over 150 plays in Urdu and Kashmiri.

Awards: (i) Best Play Award, Cultural Academy, 1963; (ii) Sahitya Akademi Award for the drama *Suyya* (1972); (iii) Soviet Land Nehru Award for translation of *Mother* (1972), etc. Member. (i) Sahitya Akademi Advisory Board; (ii) Audition Board, AIR, Srinagar.

Shri Ali Mohammad Lone
Dalgate
Srinagar 190 009

SHANT, RATTAN LAL: M.A., D.Phil.; Kashmiri short story writer, b. 1938, Srinagar; educ. Allahabad University. Has been working in the Hindi Department of Government College, Bemina, Srinagar.



Has written 6 books, edited 5 books and published several critical articles in Kashmiri, Hindi, Urdu and English. Important works: (i) *Khoṭi Kirṇen* (Hindi poems, 1965); (ii) *Achhīrvalan Pyāth Koh* (Kashmiri short stories, 1972); (iii) *Kavi Vyaktitva* (Thesis in Hindi on Poetic Personality).

Awards: (i) President's Gold Medal (1957); (ii) Cultural Academy Award, Srinagar (1966).

Dr R. L. Shant
55 Badiyar Bala
Srinagar 190 001

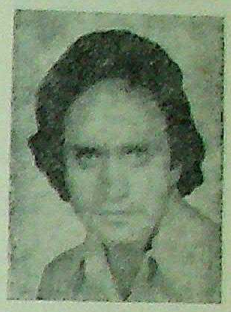
MOHI-UD-DIN, AKHTAR: B.A.; Kashmiri short story writer, b. 1928, Srinagar; educ. University of Kashmir, Additional Secretary-cum-Director, Law Department, J & K Government.

Published over ten books including (i) *Sat-Sanger;* (ii) *Doed Dag* (Novel); (iii) *Soen Zal* (collection of short stories); (iv) *Slavamir* (travelogue); (v) *Daleela* (folk tales).

Awards and honours: (i) Sahitya Akademi Award (1958); (ii) Padmashri (1968); (iii) Bengali Sahitya Sammelan Award (1969); (iv) Kalakendra Shield (1975).

Sri Akhtar Mohi-ud-Din
Lal Bazar, Nowshehar
Srinagar 190 011

SHAFI SHAUQ (MOHAMAD SHAFI LONE): M.A.; Kashmiri poet and researcher; b. 1950, Kaprin. Earlier Research Assistant in J & K Art Academy, now Lecturer, P. G. Department of Kashmiri, University of Kashmir.



Has published 6 books including (i) *Farshi Pethu Arshas Tām;* (ii) *Kāṣhur Grammar* (in collaboration with Haji Munawar); (iii) *Zabān tu Adab* (1980).

Sri Shafi Shauq
Lecturer, PG Department of Kashmiri,
University of Kashmir
Srinagar

FIRAQ, GHULAM NABI: M.A.; Adib-i-Fazil; Kashmiri poet and critic; b. 1922, Srinagar. Has taught English in college classes.

Published works include: (i) *Dictionary of Technical Terms;* (ii) *Sombrān* (an anthology of Kashmiri poetry); (iii) *Sañglāb* (collection of poems).

Member: (i) Bharatiya Jnanpith, Kashmiri Advisory Board; (ii) Managing Board of the Standard Public High School, Srinagar.

Prof. Ghulam Nabi Firaq
Nowshehar
Srinagar

MAJEED, GULSHAN: M.A.; Kashmiri poet and critic; b. 1949; educ. Kashmir University. Has been teaching philosophy in Kashmir University. Jailed several times for political activities.

Has published several articles and three books: (i) *An Introduction to Modern Philosophy;* (ii) *Kashmiri Ghazal;* (iii) *Elementary Aesthetics.*

Sri Gulshan Majeed
Centre for Central Asian Studies
University of Kashmir
Hazrat Bal
Srinagar

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MALAYALAM

PRABODHACHANDRAN NAYAR, V. R.: M.A., Ph.D.; Malayalam linguistician; b. 1938, Paravur, Kerala; educ. Kerala and London universities. Has been teaching Linguistics as Reader and Professor of the Linguistics Department, Kerala University since 1962. Commonwealth scholar and post-doctoral Research Fellow, School of Oriental & African Studies, London (1967–70). Director, UGC's Tribal Dialect project in the Kerala University (1978–80).

Author of several research papers in English and Malayalam and also 6 books including (i) *Malayāḷam Verbal Forms* (1972); (ii) *Malayāḷam—A Linguistic Description* (1973); *Svanavijñānam* (Malayalam book on Phonetics, 1980).

Asst. Editor, International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics (1972); Chairman, Board of Studies in Linguistics, Kerala University and Guide for doctoral and post-doctoral research projects. Won Kerala Sahitya Akademi's Award for *Svaṅavijnānam* in 1982.

Prof. V. R. Prabodhachandran Nayar
Department of Linguistics
University of Kerala
Karyavattom
Trivandrum 695 581

AYYAPPA PANIKER: M.A., Ph.D.; Malayalam poet and critic, and professor of English; b. 1930, Kavalam, Kerala; educ. Kerala and Indiana universities, and also at the Central Institute of English. Lecturer in English in the University College (1952–65) and Institute of English, Kerala University; (1965–73) Reader (1977–80), Professor (1980–), Fulbright scholar (1969–70). Visiting Scholar at Yale and Harward (1981–82).

Author of several research papers in Malayalam and English, and six books. Publications in Malayalam: (i) *Ayyappa Paṇikaruṭe Kṛtikaḷ* vols. I & II (collection of poems, 1974, 1982); (ii) *Ayyappa Paṇikaruṭe Lēkhanaṅṅaḷ* (collection of articles, 1981) etc. In English: (i) *A Short History of Malayalam Literature* (1977); (ii) *Mañjēri Iśwaran* (1982); (iii) *K. M. Paṇikkar* (1982). ed. *Vallathol: A Centenary Perspective* (1978); *Literary Studies* (1973). Founder editor of the quarterly *Kerala Kavita*, and general editor of the monograph series, *Kerala Writers in English*.

Awards and distinctions: (i) Kerala Sahitya Akademi Award & SPCS Award for poetry. Participated in the International Poetry Festival, Yugoslavia (1975).

Dr Ayyappa Paniker
Sarovaram, 3 Gandhi Nagar
Trivandrum 695 014

KURUP, O. N. V.: M.A.; Malayalam poet, lyricist and professor; b. 1931, Chavara, Quilon Dist., Kerala; educ. Kerala University; Professor of Malayalam in Kerala Government colleges.

Kurup has published 14 collections of poems, one collection of essays, one book of juvenile poems and six collections of lyrics. Kurup made a mark by his first publication *Porutunna Soundaryam* (The Fighting Beauty, 1950). His *Dāhikkunna Pānapātram* (The Thirsty Cup, 1956) contains poems with revolutionary sparks; and in his *Mayilppīli* (Peacock Feathers, 1964) a turning point towards a more aesthetic approach can be noticed. *Akṣaram* and *Uppu* contain poems which show a subjective flavour and mature philosophical insights.

He is a recipient of several awards and honours, the more important being (i) Kerala Sahitya Akademi Award for the best book of poems, 1971 (*Agniśalabhaṅṅaḷ*, 1970); (ii) Central Sahitya Akademi Award, 1976 (collection of poems, *Akṣaram*); (iii) Soviet Land Nehru Award in 1981 (collection of poems *Uppu*, 1980); (v) five annual awards for the best lyricist, given by the Kerala State Film Awards Committee.

Member, Executive Board of Central Sahitya Akademi and Executive Board of the Kerala Sahitya Akademi. Visited the USSR in 1981 to participate in the 150th birth anniversary celebrations of Tolstoy and in 1982 as a Soviet Land Nehru Award winner.

Prof. O. N. V. Kurup
'Indeevaram', Cotton Hill Square
Trivandrum 695 014

LEELAVATHY, M.: M.A., Ph.D.; Malayalam critic and professor; b. 1928, Guruvayoor, Trichur dist.; educ. Madras University. Lecturer and professor of Malayalam in Kerala Government colleges (1949–83).

Publications: 8 books in Malayalam on Literary Criticism; (i) *Navaraṅgam* (collection of essays, 1973); (ii) *G-yuṭe Kāvya Jīvitam* (biography and study of the works of G. Sankara Kurup, 1980); (iii) *Malayāḷa Kavitā Caritram* (History of Malayalam Poetry, 1980), etc.

Member of Kerala Sahitya Akademi General Council since 1974 and its Executive Board from 1980 onwards.

Awards: (i) Kerala Sahitya Akademi Award (1980);

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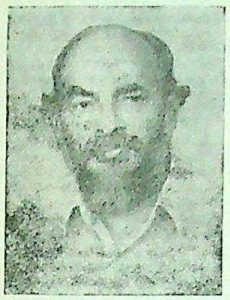
(ii) Otakuzhal Award (1978); (iii) Soviet Land Nehru Award (1976); (iv) SPCS—Benefit Award (1979).

Dr M. Leelavathy
'UJVAL', Cochin University P.O.
Cochin 682 022

RAGHAVAN PILLAI, K.: M.A., Ph.D.; Malayalam critic and Sanskrit scholar; b. 1920, Chengannoor, Kerala; educ. Kerala, London and California universities. Worked since 1945 as professor of Sanskrit and Director, Oriental Research Institute and Manuscripts Library, Kerala University (1964–1980). Did post-doctoral studies in Linguistics, University of California.



Has written several papers and articles in Malayalam and English. Books in Malayalam: (i) *Malayāḷappiravi* (Origin of Malayalam, 1968); (ii) *Eṅṭe London Jīvitam* (Travelogue, 1956); (iii) *Sārtriṅṭe Astitwadarśanam*, (1982). English: (i) *Studies in Vākyapadīya*.

Member: (i) Official Language Commission (Kerala); (ii) Kerala State Archives Advisory Board; (iii) Dean, Oriental Faculty, Kerala University etc. Recipient of (i) Maṅkompu Āṇḍi Iyer Gold Medal; (ii) Kerala Sahitya Akademi Award for *Malayāḷappiravi* (1969) and *Arthattinṭe Atirttikaḷ* (1983).

Dr K. Raghavan Pillai
Lakshmi Bhavan, Pongummood
Medical College P.O.
Trivandrum 695 011

THARAKAN, K. M.: M.A.; Malayalam critic and English professor; b. 1930, Puthenkavu, Kerala; educ. Banaras Hindu University and Pitts University, USA. Lecturer in English (1952–59), Professor (1959–79), editor, *Malayala Manorama* Weekly and *Bhāṣhāpōṣhiṇi* (1979–).

Published 15 books in Malayalam and two books in English. (i) *Malayāḷa Novel Sāhitya Caritram* (History of Malayalam Novel, 1977); (ii) *Eṅṅil Aliyunna Dukham* (novel, 1978); (iii) *Ādhunika Novel Darśaṅam*; (iv) *The Poetic Act* (1978).

Awards and distinctions: (i) Kerala Sahitya Akademi Award for *Pāścātya Sāhitya Tatvaśāstram* (Literary Criticism, 1975); (ii) Member, Kerala Sahitya Akademi Executive Board (1978–84). Currently its Vice-President. Participated in the Conference of World Christian Council, Melbourne (1980); Population Conference in Philippines (1972), etc.

Prof. K. M. Tharakan
Editor
Malayala Manorama Weekly
Kottayam (Kerala)

ACHUTHAN, M.: M.A.; Malayalam critic; b. 1930, Trichur Dist., Kerala; educ. Madras University. Lecturer in Malayalam (1956–72), Professor (1972–83) in Kerala Government colleges.

Published half a dozen books in Malayalam including (i) *Pāścātya Sāhitya Darśanam* (A Survey of Western Literary Criticism, 1962); (ii) *Kavitayum Kālavum* (1965); (iii) *Cerukatha Innale, Innu* (Short Story Yesterday and Today, 1973), etc.

Member (i) Kerala Sahitya Akademi Executive Board; (ii) Member (also president for one year) Directors' Board, Writers Cooperative Society; (iii) Samasta Kerala Sahitya Parishat, etc.

Awards: (i) Kerala Sahitya Akademi for *Cerukatha Innale, Innu* (literary criticism); (ii) Kalyani Krishna Menon Endowment Award; (iii) SPBF Award by Writers Cooperative Society.

Prof. M. Achuthan
Publications Manager
Mathrubhumi M. M. Press
Cherootti Road
Calicut 673 001

GUPTAN NAIR, S.: M.A.; Malayalam critic and essayist, b. 1919, Kayamkulam; educ. Kerala University. Malayalam Lecturer, Professor (1945–70), Head of the Language Department of the State Institute of Languages, Kerala (1970–75) and Professor of Malayalam, Calicut University (1975–78).

Published many articles in Malayalam and English; ed. *Granthālōkam* monthly, mouthpiece of the Kerala Granthasala Samgham, for many years. Main works in Malayalam: (i) *Ādhuṅika Sāhityam* (1981); (ii) *Krāntadarśikaḷ* (1958); (iii) *Kāvyaswarūpam* (1974); (iv) *Tirañṅeṭutta Prabandhaṅṅaḷ* (1982). Translated several works from English, mainly plays.

Member: (i) Kerala Sahitya Akademi Executive Board; also its President since June 1984 (ii) Sahitya Parishath; (iii) and several University bodies.

Received 1983 Sahitya Akademi Award for his collection of essays *Tirañṅeṭutta Prabandhaṅṅal*.

Prof. S. Guptan Nair
'Visvabharati'
Peroorkada
Trivandrum 695 005

EZHUTHACHAN, K. N.: M.A., Ph.D.; Researcher and critic in Malayalam; (1911–1981) Cherupulacheri; educ. Madras University. Post-graduate degrees in Sanskrit, Malayalam and English. Started career as stenographer; joined

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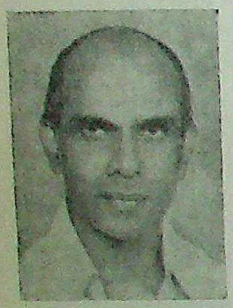
the Malayalam department of the Madras University as Lecturer (1953–72). Held the following posts after retirement: Senior research officer, Kerala State Institute of Languages, Research Fellow of Dravidian Linguistics Association and Visiting Professor in Calicut University and Research Guide in Kerala Sahitya Akademi.

Published about 2 dozen books, mostly in Malayalam and a few in English. Important publications: in Malayalam, *Muttum Paviḷavum* (research essays, 1976); in Sanskrit: *Kēraḷōdayam* (a Mahākavya, 1979); in English, *History of Grammatical Theories in Malayalam*.

Awards: (i) Sahitya Akademi Award for Sanskrit for *Kēralōdayam* (1979); (ii) Kerala Sahitya Akademi Award for *Muttum Paviḷavum* (1976).

RAMACHANDRAN NAIR, K.: M.A., Ph.D.; Malayalam professor and critic; b. 1930, Trivandrum; educ. Kerala University. Has been teaching Malayalam in colleges of Kerala University. Now Professor and Head of the Malayalam Department; ed. '*Bhāṣa Sāhiti*', a quarterly journal of research and literary studies, published by the Kerala University.



Publications include: (i) *Early Maṇipravāḷam*—A Study (Ph.D. dissertation in English); (ii) *Rēkhārūpam* (a collection of essays in Malayalam); (iii) *Vaiśika Tantram* (a critical edition of this 13th century classic), etc. Also ed. *Selected Poems of Asan* and *Selected Poems of Ulloor*, both in English.

Member of various academic bodies of Kerala and other universities. Dean, Faculty of Oriental Studies, Kerala University.

Dr K. Ramachandran Nair
Department of Malayalam
University of Kerala
Kariyavattom
Trivandrum 695 581

ANUJAN, O. M.: M.A., Ph.D.; Malayalam poet and professor; b. 1928, Palghat Dist., Kerala; educ. Madras, Kerala and Delhi universities. Assistant Professor of Malayalam, Madras Presidency College (1952–56); Reader, Professor, Department of Modern Indian Languages, Delhi University (1956–).

Published over 15 books, mostly collections of poems in Malayalam. Works include (i) *Mukuḷam* (collection of poems, 1945); (ii) *Malayāḷicci* (Poetry, 1949); (iii) *Sṛṣṭi* (Poetry, 1968); *Kaviyuṭe Kathakaḷ* (Poet's stories, 1952). ed. *Kathāmāli*, a journal of the International Centre, New Delhi; produced three Kathakali dramas.

Visited Europe as a member of the Cultural Exchange Programme of Government of India (1969).

Dr O. M. Anujan
D-8 University Flats
29–31 Chhatra Marg
Delhi 110 007

MARATHI

VELANKAR, KAMAL, N.: M.A., Ph.D.; Marathi writer and linguistician; b. 1941; educ. Bombay and Oxford universities.

UGC Junior Research Fellow in Humanities 1962–64. Lecturer in Sanskrit, Wilson College, Bombay (1964–66). Studied Ethnology, Comparative Philosophy, etc. at Oxford (1967–70).

Reader in Linguistics, Bombay University, since 1971.

Author of several research papers and articles. Important work: *The Decorative Simile in Ṛgveda* (1966).

Dr (Mrs.) Kamal Velankar
Department of Linguistics
University of Bombay
Bombay 400 032

JAHAGIRDAR, CHANDRASHEKHAR: M.A., Ph.D.; Marathi critic; b. 1945; educ. Shivaji University, Kolhapur. Reader in English, Shivaji University.

Has published critical articles in Marathi and English. Specialist in American Literature. Main work is a dissertation: *Alienation in the Novels of J. D. Salinger, Saul Bellow and Bernard Malamud.*

Dr Chandrashekhar Jahagirdar
Reader, Department of English
Shivaji University
Kolhapur 416 004

KULKARNI, S. R.: M.A., Ph.D.; Marathi scholar; b. 1916, educ. Nagpur and Osmania universities. Commenced his career as a journalist, was jailed for 3 years for participation in the Freedom Movement. Joined

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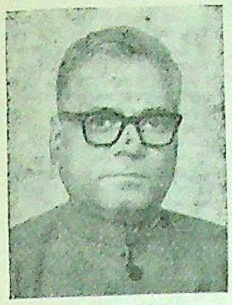
Osmania University as Lecturer in 1957 and became Professor in 1970.



Author of several research publications; specialist in the literature of the medieval saints. Publications: (i) *Nathañca Bhagvat Dharma* (Bhagawat dharma as propagated by saint Eknath); (ii) *Prācīn Marāṭhī Gadya, Prēraṇa āṇī Parampara* (Old Marathi prose: Incentives and Tradition); (iii) *Navrāṭra Sampāle* (The Nine Nights are Over), etc.

Dr S. R. Kulkarni
2-1-512/4, Nallakunta
Hyderabad 500 044

DHONGDE, R. V.: M.A., Ph.D.; Marathi scholar and linguistician, b. 1945; educ. Bombay and Poona universities. Started his career as Lecturer in English, but specialized in language teaching in 1968 (Central Institute of English, Hyderabad); Reader in Linguistics, S. N. D. T. Women's University (1978–81) and currently at the Pune University.

Author of several research papers on linguistics and critical articles in English and Marathi. Has published a book in Marathi on 'Vijay Tendulkar', the dramatist.

Dr R. V. Dhongde
Department of Linguistics
Pune University
Deccan College
Post-Graduate Research Institute
Pune 411 006

HATKANGALEKAR, M. D.: M.A.; Marathi critic, b. 1927, Hatkangle, Satara; educ. Bombay University. Has been teaching English for about 30 years. At present Head of the English Department, Willingdon College, Sangli.

Author of several short stories and critical articles in Marathi and English. Publications: (i) *Sāhityatil Adhōrēkhitē* (1980); (ii) *Vicārdhāra* (ed. Collection of essays of Prabhakar Padhye).

Prof. M. D. Hatkangalekar
Head of the English Department
Willingdon College
Vishrāmbag
Sangli 416 415

PUROHIT, K. J.: M.A.; Marathi short story writer and essayist; b. 1923, Nagpur; educ. Nagpur University. Taught English in college classes for about 35 years. Retired as Principal of Ismail Yusuf College, Bombay, in 1982. Specialist in American literature and linguistics.

Has published 15 books including 10 collections of short stories, the important ones being: (i) *Ṣirwā;* (ii) *Cnadra Māza Sakhā;* (iii) *Andarwāt.* Also some translations from English.

Awards and distinctions: (i) Prize-winner, New York Herald Tribune short-story competition; (ii) Gold Medalist for Marathi literature.

Prof. K. J. Purohit
5 'Abhang', Sahitya Sahawas
Bandra (East)
Bombay 400 051

BHAGWAT, ACHYUT KESHAV: M.A.; Marathi critic; b. 1918; educ. Bombay University. Taught English at Fergusson College, Pune and later in Sangli and Kolhapur. Retired as Principal of Wai College in 1978.

Has written short stories, essays and critical articles. Important works: Marathi: (i) *Marāṭhi Nāṭyaracana* (1951); (ii) *Tagore, Sāhitya Kale Vicār* (1961); English: (i) *Lokmāṅya Tilak, a Biography* (in collaboration), 1958; (ii) *Maharashtra—A Profile* (1977).

Prof. A. K. Bhagwat
'Manorath', 10 Girija Society
Poud Road
Pune 411 004

SHIRWADKAR, VASANT: B.A.; Marathi critic, b. 1918, Pimpala Gaon Baswant, Nasik; educ. Bombay University. Worked as Assistant Director of Publicity in the Directorate of Publicity, Government of Maharashtra; Public Relations Officer, Maharashtra State Board of Textbooks Production.

Edited *Kishor* (children's magazine in Marathi). Important publications: (i) *Graha Āṇi Agraha* (1976); (ii) *The Wandering Saint* (Biography in English of Gadge Baba); (iii) *Tējasi Leni* (biographical sketches). Also a large

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number of critical articles, and articles on subjects of general interest.

Shri Vasant Shirwadkar
9 'Asara' Kherwadi
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KANADEY, V. R.: M.A., Ph.D.; Marathi poet and short story writer; b. 1929; educ. Nagpur and Manchester universities. Has been teaching English. Now Head of the P. G. Department of English, Nagpur University.

Has written critical articles, poems and short stories in Marathi and English. Has translated *Antigone* into Marathi and '*Dindi Sūryastāci*' into English. Has published several research papers. Important work: *Critical Essays*.

Recipient of British Council scholarship (1964) for study at Manchester University.

Dr V. R. Kanadey
22 Jeevanchhaya Lay-Out
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JOSHI, RAMANANDA BHIKAJI: M.A.; English Professor and Marathi critic; b. 1903, Hyderabad; educ. Allahabad and Bombay universities. Professor of English, Siddharth College, Bombay; Principal, Ambedkar College of Arts, Science and Commerce, Mahad (1961–64).

Writings mainly comprise travelogues, literary criticism and essays.

Publications: (i) *Kāñcece Kavaca* (1949); (ii) *Jamman Āṇi Itar Kathā* (1953); (iii) *Vātchal* (Travels, 1953); (iv) *Uthav* (1978); (v) *Sathavani* (Autobiographical essays, 1979) etc. Also *H. N. Apte* (in English, 1979). Translations from English: (i) *Arts and Man* (1973); (ii) *Poetries and Sciences* (1979).

Received several Maharashtra State awards.

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ORIYA

PATTANAYAK, D. P.: M.A., Ph.D.; Linguistician and Oriya critic, b. 1931, Tigiria; educ. Utkal, Poona, Visvabharati and Cornell universities. Apart from his mother tongue Oriya, he knows English, Assamese, Bengali, Hindi, Marathi, French and Russian. After a brief period of teaching in Viswabharati University, he specialized in Linguistics and earned a Ph.D. degree from Cornell University. He was the Director of the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Government of India, Mysore, until recently.

Has published about 100 scholarly papers and 12 books in Oriya, Hindi and English. His interest covers fields such as comparative and synchronic linguistics, language teaching, anthropology, comparative religion and literary criticism. Important works: (i) *Sahitya Biksha* (1965); (ii) *Ravīndra Smaraṇika* (1962); (iii) *Aspects of Applied Linguistics* (1972).

Dr Pattanayak acts as consultant to the Government of India and State governments on matters relating to language planning, and guides research projects in sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics. At present he is a Nehru Fellow.

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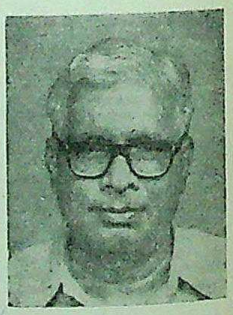
DAS, KUNJABEHARI: M.A., Ph.D.; Oriya poet, b. 1914, Puri; educ. Calcutta and Visvabharati universities. Lecturer and later Professor of Indology, P.G. Research; and Head of the Department of Oriya, Visvabharati University. Now lives in retirement at Cuttack.



Poet, essayist, biographer, novelist, short story writer and specialist in folk literature, he has published 58 books in Oriya and English. Important publications: (i) *Prabhāti* (Poems, 1944); (ii) *Mati Lāltu* (Poems, 1955); (iii) *A Study of Orissan Folklore* (1953); (iv) *Amērikaru Europe Afrika* (1972).

Awards and distinctions: (i) Won Orissa Sahitya Akademi Award for the travelogue mentioned above. (ii) Central Sahitya Akademi Award for *Mo Kahāni* (My Story, 1979).

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SAHOO, K. C.: M.A., Ph.D.; Oriya scholar; b. 1929, Cuttack; educ. Utkal and Ranchi universities. Taught in Ranchi College and Visvabharati University (1952–71) and as Reader in Oriya, Utkal University since 1971.

Published about 20 books and 100 papers in Oriya and English. A specialist in Ancient Oriya Literature. Currently engaged in preparing a definitive edition of the *Mahabharata* of Balarama Das and Oriya *Bhagabat* of Jagannath Das.

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Published 24 books in Oriya and English; edits two journals, one in Oriya and the other in English.

Member: (i) Executive Board, Central Sahitya Akademi and (ii) All Orissa Writers Cooperative Society.

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Has published 4 novels, several stories, poems and essays in Oriya. Important works: (i) *Sāmudrika* (One Who Belongs to the Sea, 1964); (ii) *Andharāra Luha* (Tears of Darkness, 1967); (iii) *Nēta* (The Leader, 1980), etc. Has written several research papers in English on American and Indian literatures.

Has attended various seminars and conferences organized by the British Council, Central Institute of English, Hyderabad, etc. Attended the Commonwealth Writers Conference at Stirling in 1975.

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SATPATHY, N.: M.A., Ph.D.; Oriya critic; b. 1937, Cuttack; educ. Utkal University. Lecturer in Oriya, Ravenshaw College (1962–69); Lecturer, Reader in Oriya, Utkal University, (1969–1976–). Devoted to modern literature and socio-political fields of study.

Important works: (i) *He Sati He Sārathi* (Biography of Utkalmani Gopabandhu Das, 1969); (ii) *Ādhunik Oriya Sāhitya* (1977); (iii) *Forty Years of Modern Oriya Poetry:* 1920–1960, Ph.D. Dissertation, (1976) etc. ed. *Iṣṭahar*, a quarterly in Oriya.

Member: (i) Orissa Sahitya Akademi; (ii) Sarala Award Advisory Committee; (iii) Writers' Cooperative of Orissa, etc.

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MAHAPATRA, KHAGESWAR: M.A., Ph.D.; Oriya linguistician and critic, b. 1933; educ. Utkal and Viswabharati universities. Has been teaching Oriya language and literature since 1957 in Orissa colleges, Visvabharati and Delhi universities. At present professor and Head of the Oriya Department, Visvabharati University.

Published 50 research papers and about ten books including (i) *Caryā Gītika* (1965); (ii) *Samālōcanāra Digadigānta* (1972); (iii) *Oriya Bhāṣa O Lipi* (1977).

Collaborated on the Munda Language Project sponsored by the Chicago University. Visited USA, Japan, Hong Kong, Thailand etc. and participated in international conferences.

Member: (i) Orissa Sahitya Akademi General Council and Finance Committee: (ii) Jnanpith Language Advisory Board for Oriya.

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MOHANTY, PROFULLA KUMAR: M.A., Ph.D.; Oriya critic and playwright; b. 1939, Berhampur; educ. Allahabad and Berhampur universities. Reader in English, Berhampur University. Now Secretary, Higher Secondary Board, Orissa, Bhubaneswar. As a critic he has specialized in modern Oriya poetry. He is also a playwright, actor and producer in Oriya and English.

Author of over 100 poems, and three plays entitled (i) *Kala Janha;* (ii) *Malā Ākāśa* and (iii) *Saṛga Sanyāsi.*

Member, Oriya Sahitya Akademi.

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Higher Secondary Board (Orissa)
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MOHANTY, JANAKI BALLABHA: M.A., Ph.D.; Oriya critic and poet; b. 1925, Puri; educ. Utkal University. Joined Government service as Lecturer in 1949, and retired as Professor and Head of the Department of Oriya in Ravenshaw College, Cuttack. Has done considerable work in compiling about 3000 unpublished Oriya lyrics.

Published about 20 works consisting of scholarly studies, poems, juvenile literature, translation and critical works. Important books: (i) *Tiryak* (Poems, 1951); (ii) *Katha O Kathākār* (1954); (iii) *Ādhunika Oriya Sāhitya* (1963).

Recipient of several awards from literary institutions. Was member: (i) Sahitya Akademi General Council; (ii) President, Utkal Sahitya Samaj.

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BARIK, SOURINDRA NATH: M.A.; Oriya poet and critic; b. 1938, Mayurbhanj; educ. Utkal University. Reader in English, B.J.B. College, Bhubaneswar.

Publications include: (i) *Sāmānya Kathana* (collection of poems); (ii) *Anwēśara Swara* (Essays) and (iii) *Upā-Bhārat* (collection of poems).

Recipient of the Orissa Sahitya Akademi Award for Poetry in 1968.

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PUNJABI

ATAMJIT SINGH: M.A., M. Litt., Ph.D.; Punjabi critic, b. 1934; educ. Punjab and Delhi universities. Has taught Punjabi in colleges in Punjab, Delhi University (Department of Modern Indian Languages) 1965–1977; now Reader, School of Punjabi Studies, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar. Has served as an adviser for a socio-economic and socio-linguistic survey in Punjab and U.P. conducted jointly by Osaka university of Foreign Studies, Japan, and National Institute of Urban Affairs, New Delhi.

Has published numerous articles in Punjabi on literary criticism, folklore and linguistics. Publications include: (i) *Sāhitiki* (Essays); (ii) *Dhārmiki* (Essays on religion and religious poets). He was co-translator of *Bhāratīya Kāvya Śāstraki Parampara* (ed. Nagendra).

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SANDHU, BALBIR SINGH: M.A., Ph.D.; Punjabi scholar and lexicographer; b. 1934; educ. Kurukshetra and Punjab universities. Taught Punjabi literature and linguistics in the Panjab University for 25 years. Now he is Chief Editor, *English-Punjabi Dictionary* of the same University.

Has published three monographs in English and one in Russian. ed. *English-Punjabi Dictionary* (2 vols.).

Has worked as a post-doctoral Fellow in the Leningrad University for 8 years and earned the degree of Doctor of Science. Has represented India in foreign countries in several international conferences.

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KOHLI, SURINDER SINGH: M.A., Ph.D.; Punjabi scholar and critic; b. 1920, Rawalpindi; educ. Punjab and Delhi universities. Taught Punjabi in many colleges in a senior position (1945–59); Reader in Punjabi, Delhi University (1959–62), Professor and Chairman, Department

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of Punjabi, Punjab University (1962–79).

The books written and edited by him number over 70. They deal with comparative religion, literary criticism and children's literature. Important books: (i) *Gurudēva* (An epic poem, 1944); (ii) *Puñjābi Sāhit—Vastu te Vicār* (Criticism, 1946); (iii) *A Critical Study of Ādigranth* (English, 1961), (iv) *Sikh Ethics* (1975).

Member of a dozen important committees and boards including the Punjabi Advisory Board of Sahitya Akademi. Has attended several seminars and conferences of literary importance.

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SATINDER SINGH: M.A., Ph.D.; Punjabi scholar and critic; b. 1942; educ. Guru Nanak Dev University. Teaches Punjabi, now Reader, School of Punjabi Studies, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar.

Has published three books; ed. 5 books and contributed over 25 papers in Punjabi and English. Publications: (i) *Guru Nānak Kāv-Adhyān* (A study of the imagery in the poetry of Guru Nanak, 1969); (ii) *Ādhunik Punjābi Kāv: Rūp Adhyān* (Modern Punjabi Poetry: A Study in Form, 1980); (iii) *Sāhit Adhyān* (ed. Lectures on Literature by Dr Harbhajan Singh, 1981); (iv) *Bhāi Vīr Singh: Jīwan te Rachna* (1982), etc.

Awards and achievements: (i) Best Book Award from the Pubjab Government, 1970; (ii) Cash and Best Book Award from Punjabi University, Patiala; (iii) Best Book Award from the Punjab Government for the year 1980. Member of various university academic bodies. Guide for several research projects. Participated and helped in organizing All India Seminar on Comparative Indian Literature. Also participated in many seminars and conferences.

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GURCHARAN SINGH: M.A., Ph.D.; Punjabi educationist and critic; b. 1917, Jullundhur. Had been teaching Punjabi in colleges since 1949, retired as Principal, Khalsa College in 1977. Acknowledged freedom fighter and leader of social movements.

Has published over 50 books and many research articles. Important publications: (i) *Dhārti da Sandhūr* (poetry, received Punjab Government Award, 1965); (ii) *Wāgdi si Ravi* (Novel, received PEPSU Government award, 1952); (iii) *Sāhit de Rūprekha* (Criticism).

Distinctions: He has promoted, founded and headed several organizations and institutions. He is Vice-President, Punjabi Sahit Academy, Ludhiana; Vice-President, Kendri Punjabi Likhari Sabha, Jullundhur. Member, Arts Council, Punjab. Abhinandan granths were presented to him twice in recognition of his services to Punjabi literature at Patiala and Jullundhur.

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GURCHARAN SINGH: M.A., Ph.D.; Punjabi scholar; b. 1939; educ. Meerut and Delhi universities. Lecturer in Punjabi: Desh Bandhu College, 1972–78 and since 1978 in Delhi University Department of Modern Indian Languages.

Published several critical studies on literary and religious topics in periodicals and also one book *Bāṇi Kēndar Te Vikēndar* (collection of critical essays, 1979).

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JAGGI, RATTAN SINGH: M.A., Ph.D., D. Litt.; Punjabi researcher and critic, b. 1927, Campbellpur Dist.; educ. Punjabi and Magadha Universities. Worked in Delhi Police department (1950–57), Lecturer in colleges (1957–63), Reader (1971–78), Professor (1978–).

Has published 33 books (original and edited). Has won awards for five books in Punjabi and two in Hindi dealing with criticism and research. He is a specialist in the study of Punjabi manuscripts. Publications: (i) *Daśam Granth da Purāṇic Ādēyam* (1965); (ii) *Guru Nānak di Vicārdhāra* (1969); (iii) *Guru Nānak Bāṇi* (ed. 1968).

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KOHLI, MOHINDER PAL: M.A., Ph.D.; Punjabi critic; b. 1932; educ. Punjab University. Taught English at DAV College, Lahore (1956–68); Assistant Editor, *Literary Studies*, (1968–71); taught in the Dept. of Punjabi, Punjabi University (1971–75); Reader in the P. G. Department of Punjabi in the University (1979–).

Has published about 200 articles and five books in Punjabi and English. Important works: (i) *The Influence of the West on Punjabi Literature;* (ii) *The Celestial Singer;* (iii) *Ādhunik Panjābi Kavita*. ed. *The Cultural History of the Punjab*. Has translated into Punjabi Shakespeare's *Othello* and Bertrand Russell's *New Hopes for a Changing World*.

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AHLUWALIA, JASBIR SINGH: M.A., Ph.D.; Punjabi critic and researcher; b. 1935, Ludhiana; educ. Punjab University. Director, Planning and Development, Punjabi University; Director, Punjab State University Text-Book Board; Secretary, Punjab Education Board.

Published over a dozen books and over 25 research papers. Important publications: (i) *Sikh Phālsphe Di Bhūmika* (Introduction to Sikh Philosophy, 1977); (ii) *Kāgaz da Rāvan* (1965); (iii) *Marxism and Contemporary Reality* (English, 1973).

Distinctions: (i) Represented India at an International Literary Conference, Moscow (1973); (ii) Delivered a series of lectures on Sikhism at Nairobi University (1974); (iii) His Punjabi poems have been included in the 3rd volume of Asian Literature (Korea).

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SANSKRIT

KUNCHUNNI RAJA, K.: M.A., Ph.D.; Sanskrit scholar and researcher; b. 1920, Trichur; educ. Madras and London Universities. Professor of Sanskrit, Madras University till 1980, Senior Fellow, Dravidian Linguistics Association and Hony. Director, Adyar Library and Research Centre, Madras since 1980.

Author of several research papers and about 20 books in English and Malayalam. Special interests: Linguistics and history of Sanskrit Literature. Publications: English—(i) *Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature* (1958); (ii) *Indian Theories of Meaning* (1963); Malayalam—(i) *Bhāṣāgavēṣaṇam* (Essays); (ii) *Bhāṣācintakaḷ* (Essays). Has also ed. *New Catalogus Catalogorum* for Madras University (3 vols. in collaboration and 5 vols. as chief editor) and ed. *Annals of Oriental Research* for Madras University.

Member (i) Sahitya Akademi Advisory Board for Sanskrit; (ii) Film Censor Board Advisory Panel; (iii) Editorial Board, Adyar Library Bulletin (from 1951).

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CHOUDHURI, ROMA: M.A., D.Phil.; educationist and Sanskrit scholar; b. 1912; educ. Calcutta and Oxford Universities. Professor of Philosophy and Principal, Lady Brabourne College, Calcutta (1939–68); Vice Chancellor Rabindra Bharati University (1969–75); Founder Secretary of 'Prācyavāṇi' (Institute of Oriental Learning).

Author of a large number of research publications on philosophy, arts, culture and education in English, Bengali and Sanskrit; also 20 modern Sanskrit plays. Important books in English: (i) *Doctrine of Nimbarka and His Followers* (in 3 vols. 1940–43); (ii) *Ten Schools of Vedanta* (3 vols. 1973); (iii) *Sanskrit and Prakrit Poetesses* (1939); (iv) *Aspects of Indian Life* (1975).

Distinctions: Patron, President or member of various cultural and educational organizations like 'Pracyavani', Eastern Regional Children's Welfare Society, International Baul Parishat. Invited by the Government of W. Germany (1970) and Soviet Government (1971), and participated in the 11th Commonwealth Vice Chancellors' Conference in Edinburgh (1973).

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MAINKAR, T. G.: M.A., Ph.D.; Sanskrit scholar and researcher (1915–1981); educ. Poona University; Principal, Fergusson College, Poona; Dar Professor of Sanskrit and Head of the Department, Delhi University; 'R. G. Bhandarkar Professor' of Sanskrit, Bombay University; Director, Postgraduate and Research Department, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

Author of 16 works on various aspects of Sanskrti learning which include: (i) *Gītābhāṣyaprakāśa* (1955); (ii) *Mysticism in Ṛgveda* (1961); (iii) *Kālidāsa, His*

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Art and Thought (1962); (iv) *Studies in Dramatic Criticism* (1971); (v) *Ṛgvedic Foundations of Sanskrit Poetics* (1977).

Distinctions: (i) UGC National Lecturer (Sanskrit, 1971–72); (ii) Recipient of Silver Medal from Asiatic Society, Bombay (1974); (iii) M. M. Kane Gold Medal (1977).

WARNEKAR, SRIDHAR BHASKAR: M.A., D.Litt., Sanskrit poet and critic; b. 1919, Nagpur; educ. Nagpur University. Hon. Professor, Sanskrit Visva Parishad.

Author of about 100 research articles and 25 books including (i) *Bhāratīya Dharma Va Tattvajñān* (1973); (ii) *Jawahara Taraṅgiṇiḥ* (1958); (iii) *Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahamsīyam* (poem, 1963), (iv) *Sivarājyodayam* (poem, Sahitya Akademi Award 1972).

Positions held: (i) Organizing Secretary, Sanskrit Visva Parishad (1955–56); (ii) Honorary Professor, Sanskrit Visva Parishad for Madhya Pradesh (1952–55); (iii) Member, Standing Committee for Sanskrit, Maharashtra State; (iv) Editor, *Yogaprakash* (a Marathi monthly).

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Author of many research papers and a few books including (i) A Critical Edition and Study of Ruyyaka's *Alaṅkāra Sarvasva* (1965); (ii) *A Critical Study of Gadya Karṇāmṛta* (1980).

Has participated in Oriental conferences in India and the United Kingdom; widely travelled. Founder-Secretary, Samskrita Ranga, Madras. Member: (i) General Council and Sanskrit Advisory Board of Sahitya Akademi; (ii) Rashtriya Samskrit Samsthan, New Delhi.

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Author of over 150 research papers and several books including: (i) *Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's Prakriyāsarvasva—A Critical Study;* (ii) *Religion, Art and Culture;* (iii) *Kerala Sanskrit Literature—A Bibliography;* (iv) *Sangīta Śāstra Pravēśika.* ed. 15 works including Narayana Bhatta's *Dhātukāvya* and *Mukundaśataka* of Ramapanivāda.

Specialist in Sanskrit grammar and linguistics as also Indian Music and Dance.

SARMA, K. V.: B.Sc., M.A., D. Litt.; Sanskrit scholar and specialist in Indology, b. 1919, Chengannur; educ. Kerala, Madras and Punjab universities. Career: Supervising Pandit in Oriental Research Institute and MSS Library, Trivandrum, 1944–51; Research Assistant and Lecturer, Madras University (1951–1962); Curator, V. V. Research Institute, Hoshiarpur (1962–65), Reader V. V. B. Institute of Sanskrit & Indological Studies, Hoshiarpur (1965–75); Director of the Institute (1975–80).

Author of 150 research papers and 50 books including (i) *Āryabhaṭīya* (1976); (ii) *Tantrasamgraha* (1977); (iii) *A History of Kerala School of Hindu Astronomy* (1972). His total research work exceeds 10,000 pages. ed. Visweswaranand Indological Journal and the Punjab University Indological Series.

Member: (i) Rashtriya Sanskrit Samsthan; (ii) National Commission for the Compilation of the History of Sciences in India; (iii) Faculty of Oriental Studies in Jammu University. Also Chairman, Adarsh Sanskrit Pathasala. Recipient of Maharani Setu Parvatibai Prize of Kerala University (1973).

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KRISHNAMOORTHY, K.: M.A., B.T., Ph.D.; Sanskrit critic and researcher; b. 1923, Hassan Dist.; educ. Mysore and Bombay universities. Has been teaching Sanskrit literature since 1944. Reader (1959–69), Professor (1966–83).

Author of 200 research papers and 38 books including (i) *Kannada Kāvya Prakāśa* (Criticism, 1970); (ii) *Essays in Sanskrit Criticism* (1963); (iii) *Dhvanyāloka and Its Critics* (1967); (iv) *Vakroktijīvita* (1968).

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Awards & distinctions: (i) Rani Setu Parvatibai Prize, Kerala University (1965); (ii) Mysore University Golden Jubilee Award (1970); (iii) Karnataka State Sahitya Akademi Award (1973 & 1975).

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HIRANANDANI, POPATI, R.: B.A.; Sindhi short story writer and essayist, b. 1924, Hyderabad, Sind; educ. Banaras Hindu University. Has been teaching Sindhi, now Head of the Sindhi Department, K. C. College, Bombay.

Has published 24 books (5 collections of short stories, 3 novels, 6 essay collections, remaining general books and translations). Important works: (i) *Kāli Gulābji Sāgar Ṣarab Jo* (Short stories, 1967); (ii) *Curaṇ Ciṅkan Citā meṅ* (Essays, 1971); (iii) *Munhinje Hayatia jā Son a Ropā Warqā* (Autobiographical, 1981) which won Sahitya Akademi Award.

Member: (i) Advisory Board for Sindhi and General Council, Sahitya Akademi; (ii) Government of India's Advisory Committee for Sindhi; (iii) President, Sindhi Sahitya Mandal, Bombay.

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Has written a few books and 50 research articles in Sindhi, Hindi and English. Important works: (i) *Sindhi Sāhitya Jo Itihās* (History of Sindhi Literature, 1972); (ii) *Sindhi Bhāṣa kā Sāmānya Vyākaraṇa* (in Hindi, 1957).

Member: (i) Advisory Board for Sindhi, Sahitya Akademi; (ii) Government of India, Advisory Committee for Sindhi.

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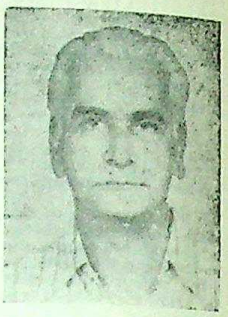
SADARANGANI, H. I.: M.A., Ph.D.; D. Litt.; Sindhi poet and scholar; b. 1913, Shahdapur, Sind; educ. Bombay and Tehran universities. Lecturer in Sindhi, D. G. National College, Hyderabad, Sind; Lecturer in Persian, D. J. Sind College, Karachi; Lecturer in Sindhi, Delhi College (1948–57); Persian Supervisor, A.I.R. (1957–74).



Has published several articles and 12 books (5 vols. of poems, one book of essays, 2 books of research and 4 books of translation). Important works: (i) *Raṅgīn Rubaiyūn* (1959); (ii) *Chīkha* (Poems, 1977); (iii) *Persian Poets of Sindh* (research work in English, 1956).

Won Sahitya Akademi award for *Chīkha*; UGC Award (1981). Member: (i) Executive Board and General Council of Sahitya Akademi (1968–77); (ii) Board of Studies in Sindhi, Punjab University; (iii) Government of India Advisory Committee for Sindhi.

Dr H. I. Sadarangani
2/11 Kalkaji Extension
New Delhi 110 019

JETHWANI, HARIKANT: B.A.; Sindhi poet and playwright, b. 1935, Jacobabad, Sind; educ. Punjab University. Presently, in charge of Sindhi News, AIR, New Delhi.

Has published 4 books including: (i) *Phāhiljandār Registān* (Short stories, 1978); (ii) *Makān Khāli Ahei* (One Act plays, 1978); (iii) *Ughāra Awaz* (Poems, 1981); ed. *Sindhu Samaj* Quarterly (1958–60); *Sāhit Dhāra* monthly (1964–65); and *Akhāni* monthly (1965–67).

Shri Harikant Jethwani
F-615 Curzon Road Apartments
New Delhi 110 001

KHATWANI, KRISHIN, I.: Antya Diploma; Sindhi short story writer; b. 1927, Tharushah, Sind; educ. Viswabharati, Dissertation on Soviet Novel.

Published 7 books including: (i) *Amar Pyār* (Eternal Love, novel, 1961); (ii) *Vindri ain Biyūm Kahāniyun* (Short stories, 1964); (iii) Aṣiyāno, (Abode, play, 1976).

Member: Sindhi Advisory Board, Sahitya Akademi; (ii) Government of India Advisory Committee for Sindhi. Won 1980 Sahitya Akademi Award for *Yadhik Pyār* (novel).

Shri Krishin Khatwani
'Sindu', 5/3 New Palasia
Indore 452 001

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MIRCHANDANI, ARJAN 'SHAD': B.A., Ph.D.; Sindhi poet; b. 1924, Sukkur, Sind; educ. Bombay University. Had been teaching Sindhi in colleges, was Professor and Head of Sindhi Department, Jai Hind College, Bombay. Now Reader and Head, Department of Sindhi, Bombay University.

Has published 7 books including: (i) *Aun cityūn jo Gaemar* (Poems, 1957); (ii) *Bewās ain Nūn Dour* (Criticism, 1970); (iii) *Tapasya jūn Roṣnyūn* (Poems, 1974).

Member: (i) Government of India Advisory Committee for Sindhi; (ii) Sindhi Advisory Board, Sahitya Akademi; (iii) Academic Council and Faculty of Arts, Bombay University; (iv) Chairman, Board of Studies in Sindhi, University of Bombay.

Dr Arjan Mirchandani 'Shad'
Silverbeach H. Society
Juhu Vile Parle Development Scheme
North-South Road 10, Plot 23
Andheri, Bombay 400 049

DHAMEJA, DAYAL KODUMAL 'ASHA': M.A., Ph.D.; Sindhi poet; b. 1936, Khairpur Mirs, Sind; educ. Bombay University. Head of Sindhi Department, Chandibai Mansukhani College, Ulhas Nagar (Maharashtra).

Author of 10 books consisting of poems, plays, criticism, etc. in Sindhi and Hindi. Important works: (i) *Pushpa Pankhiryūn* (Poems 1966); (ii) *Sindhi Kavyoṁ ki Hindi Sādhana* (Criticism, Hindi, 1977).

Has won 7 awards for books including a UNESCO Award administered by the Ministry of Education and Central Hindi Directorate.

Dr Dayal K. Dhameja 'Asha'
'Vishnu Kunj', Block No. 1974
Ulhasnagar 421 005
Maharashtra

JOTWANI, MOTILAL: M.A., Ph.D.; Sindhi poet and scholar, b. 1936, Sukkur, Sind; educ. Delhi and Harvard universities. Lecturer in Sindhi, Visiting scholar, Harvard University Center for the Study of World Religions (1979–80). Now senior lecturer in Sindhi, Deshabandhu College, New Delhi.

Has published 24 books consisting of poems, short stories, novels, history of language and literature, etc. Important works: (i) *Shah Abdul Latif, His Life and Work* (English, 1975); (ii) *Anāsir Ji Sazīṣ* (Poetry, 1968); (iii) *Nāraṅgi Traffic Light Te* (Novel).

Awards: Three national prizes for writing in Hindi. Member: (i) Government of India Advisory Committee for Sindhi. (ii) Editorial Board of *Sandarbha Bhārati*, Calcutta.

Dr Motilal Jotwani
B-14 Dayanand Colony
Lajpat Nagar
New Delhi 110 024

TAMIL

SHANMUGAM, S. V.: M.A., Ph.D.; Tamil scholar, b. 1932; educ. Annamalai University. Has taught linguistics and Tamil Literature for 22 years. Proi fessor of Linguistics, Annamala-University since 1976.

Published 70 articles and 11 books. Important publications: (i) *Dravidian Nouns* (A comparative study); (ii) *Indonesian Studies;* (iii) *Eḷuttilakkaṇak koṭpāṭukaḷ* (Phonological theories in Tamil grammar). One of the associate editors of *Moḻiyal* (Linguistics), a quarterly journal.

Visiting Fellow in the Reading University, U.K.; Professor of Indian Studies, University of Indonesia, Jakarta (1976–78).

Dr S. V. Shanmugam
Professor, C.A.S. in Linguistics
Annamalai University
Annamalainagar 608 101

AIYASWAMI, R.: M.A.; Tamil poet (1911–82); educ. Madras University; News Editor, National Times, and ed. 'Congress', a Tamil weekly. Programme Executive of All India Radio in charge of talks, plays, features and music.

A pioneer in folk literature. Has published over 20 books in Tamil consisting of poems, stories for children, folk songs etc. Important books: (i) *Kanikkāi* (Collection of poems); (ii) *Kinaṭṛu Tavaḷai* (stories for children, 1964); (iii) *Nāḍoḍi Pāḍalkaḷ* (Folk songs for children, 1959).

Recipient of Government of India prize (1967). Tamil Writers Association and Children's Writers Association have honoured him for his literary contributions.

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ABDUL RAHMAN, SYED: M.A.; Tamil poet and critic; b. 1937, Madurai; educ. Madras University. Associate ed. *Tamil Nadu*, Daily; Lecturer in Tamil (1963–70), Professor of Tamil since 1970, Islamia College, Vaniyambadi.

Has written 6 books, ed. 4 books and contributed several research papers. Important books: (i) *Pālvīti* (poems, 1974); (ii) *Sevvāṇḍi* (poems, 1975); *Nirukkuṭṭakam* (poems, 1977), Has participated in several poetry recitals in various parts of India.

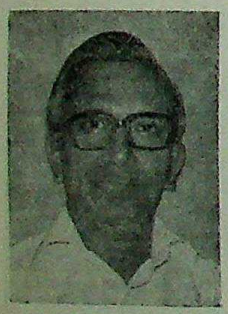
Prof. Abdul Rahman
Professor of Tamil, Islamia College
Vaniyambadi 635 752
Tamilnadu

RAMASUBRAMANIAM, V. 'AUNDY': Tamil playwright (1897–1982); Left college in 1917, protesting against the arrest and detention of Annie Besant. He was a freelance journalist, editor, playwright and actor for over four decades.

Has written 9 plays and has translated 7 into Tamil. Important works: (i) *Māmiyār Purāṇam*; (ii) *Maṅgalyam*; (iii) *Maṇḍōdari*; (iv) *Some Forgotten Aspects of Playwriting* (English). ed. *Strī-dharma*, Tamil monthly from Madras.

Had acted in and directed about 150 performances on the stage. Founder of the Academy of Theatrical Research, Madras.

KANDASWAMI, SANKARAN 'TURAIVAN': B.A.; Tamil playwright and critic; b. 1925, Tenkasi; educ. Madras University; joined All India Radio as a staff artist (Announcer and Script writer) and in due course became Station Director and finally Deputy Director General AIR, Eastern Region. Throughout his career he has written a large number of plays, poems, stories and features in Tamil. His articles in the Tamil periodicals appear under the pen name 'Turaivan'.



Publications: (i) *Porcūṭar* (Poems, 1949); (ii) *Nāṭakakkāri* (Novel, 1954); (iii) *Onpatu Śenbagappū* (Collection of poems, 1980). Has translated Mahakavi Vallathol's Malayalam poems into Tamil on behalf of the Sahitya Akademi.

Sri S. Kandaswami
Plot No. 2, Punnainagar
Nagercoil 629 004

SIVAPATHA SUNDARAM, S.: B.A.; Tamil critic; b. 1912, Jaffna, Sri Lanka; educ. Colombo University. Editor *Ilakēsari*, Tamil literary weekly (1938–42), served Radio Ceylon (1942–47), and BBC (1947–52) as Tamil programme organizer. Lecturer in Mass Communication, Bharatiya Vidyabhavan.

Published 5 books including (i) *Oḷipparappu Kalai* (1955); (ii) *Tamil Nāval Nūrāṇḍu Varaḷārum Vaḷarciyum* (1977) jointly with P. G. Sundararajan; (iii) *Śēkkiḻar Aḍiccuvaṭṭil* (1978).

Served as organizing secretary of the Second All India Writers Association (1968) and President, Tamil Writers Association (1968).

Sri S. Sivapatha Sundaram
'Sravasti'
29 Kamaraj Avenue
Adayar
Madras 600 020

JAGANNATHAN, K. V.: M.A.; Tamil scholar and editor; b. 1906, Tiruchi; educ. Madras University; ed. *Kalaimagal*, Tamil monthly, since 1935. Has done research in Tamil under Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Iyer.

His publications in Tamil number over 200, consisting of poems, short stories, folk literature, literary criticism and research. Important works: (i) *Mēḥamaṇḍalam* (poetry, 1955); (ii) *Kalaignaṃ Tyāgam* (short stories, 1941); (iii) *Tamil Kāppiyaṅṅaḷ* (research, 1955).

Recipient of Sahitya Akademi Award for Tamil (1967). Also an award from Kavi Mutt.

Sri K. V. Jagannathan
Editor, *Kalaimagal*
87 M. K. Ammankoil Street
Madras 600 004

GOPALAKRISHNAN, V. D.: 'Poovannan'; M.A.; Tamil novelist; b. 1932; educ. Madras university. Teacher of Tamil in colleges and specialist in children's literature. Now Professor of Tamil, D. G. Vaishnava College, Madras.

Published 70 books of which 60 are meant for children. Important books: (i) *Kāvēriyin Anbu* (Novel, 1961); (ii) *Pulavar Magan* (Historical novel, 1965); (iii) *Pāṭṭu Tōṭṭam* (Poems, 1973). ed. *Karimbu*, children's weekly in Tamil (1955–56).

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Awards: Received 3 awards from Government of India for the best book in Tamil for children and similarly 3 awards from the Government of Tamil Nadu. Recipient of the award for the best story writer for films (1970) and gold medal for story writing for children's films (1979), both from Tamil Nadu Government.

Sri V. D. Gopalakrishnan
9 Rangarajulu Street, Ayyavu Colony
Aminjikarai
Madras 600 029

RAMALINGAM, M.: 'Ezhilmudalvan'; M.A., Ph.D., Tamil critic; b. 1939, Thanjavur; educ. Madras University. Lecturer (1966–70), Professor of Tamil (1970–).

Published some research papers and 10 books (7 literary criticism, 2 novels and one book of poems) including (i) *Nāvel Ilakkiyam* (Novel literature, 1972); (ii) *Punai Kathai Vaḷam* (Fertility of Fiction, 1973); (iii) *Poyyāna Iravukaḷ* (Novel, Meaningless Nights, 1973).

Awards: (i) Sahitya Akademi Award for Tamil (1981). (ii) Tamil Nadu Government Award (1982); (iii) Franklin Gold Medal (1963); Dr. G. D. Pope Gold Medal, the last two from Madras University.

Dr M. Ramalingam
Professor of Tamil
Government College (Men)
Kumbakonam 612 001

SUBRAMANIAN, S. V.: M.A., Ph.D.; Tamil scholar and researcher, b. 1926, Tirunelveli; educ. Annamalai and Kerala Universities. Teaching and research in Tamil. Reader and Head of the Tamil Department, Kerala University (1968–74). Director and Chief Professor, International Institute of Tamil Studies since 1974.

Has published 21 works in Tamil, 3 in English and ed. over 30 works. Important works: (i) *Ilakkiya Ninaivukaḷ* (1964); (ii) *Tamiḷ Viṭukataikaḷ* (1975); (iii) *Studies in Tamil Language and Literature* (1973).

Member: (i) General Council and Advisory Board for Tamil, Sahitya Akademi; (ii) Faculty of Oriental Studies, Kerala University; (iii) and Vice-President, All India Tamil Teachers Association.

Dr S. V. Subramanian
Director, International Institute of Tamil Studies
Adayar
Madras 600 020

TELUGU

RADHAKRISHNA, BUDARAJU: M.A., Ph.D.; Telugu scholar and linguistician; b. 1932, Prakasam Dist.; educ. Andhra University. Lecturer in Telugu (1953–73), Deputy Director & Head of Telugu Department, Telugu Akademi (1972–).

Published 3 and edited 19 books in Telugu; ed. 4 books in English and contributed about 30 research papers and a dozen poems in Telugu. Special interests: dialectology, socio-linguistics and literary criticism. Important books: *Aśru dhāralu* (long poem in Telugu); (ii) *Vyāvahārika bhāṣā vikāsam*; (iii) Monograph on the *Karimnagar dialect of Telugu* (Dissertation in English).

Approved research guide of Osmania University. Research Fellow, Government of India (1958–60).

Dr B. Radhakrishna
Deputy Director
Telugu Akademi
Himayatnagar
Hyderabad 500 029

RAMA RAJU, B.: M.A., Ph.D.; Telugu scholar and linguistician; b. 1925, Warangal Dist.; educ. Osmania University; Lecturer in Telugu (1951–57); Reader (1957–68); Professor (1968–73). Head of the Department of Telugu, Osmania University (1974–).

Published 15 books in Telugu including (i) *Vāsucaritṛam* (Poem, 1961); (ii) *Telugu Janapada gēya sāhityamu* (Criticism 1958); (iii) English: *Folk Tales of Andhra Pradesh* (1979). Has edited three classics and translated a few books into Telugu. Proficient in Hindi, Urdu and Sanskrit.

Served as Secretary, Telengana Writers Association and Andhra Writers Association; Joint Secretary of A.P. Sahitya Akademi.

Dr B. Rama Raju
Professor and Head of the Department of Telugu
University College of Arts & Commerce
Osmania University
Hyderabad 500 007

VENKATAVADHANI, DIWAKARLA: M.A., Ph.D.; Telugu scholar and researcher, b. 1913, West Godavari Dist.; educ. Andhra University. Telugu Lecturer (1934–51), Professor, Osmania University (1951–74).

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Published 35 books in Telugu consisting of poems, dramas, and criticism, and about 200 research articles. ed. *Telugu Encyclopaedia* vol. VI. Important works: *Andhra Vāṅmaya caritṛamu* (1953); (ii) *Nannaya Bhāratamu* (1958); (iii) *Pothana* (Telugu and English).

Awards: Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi Award for Literary Criticism (1971). Member: (i) A.P. Sahitya Akademi for 26 years; (ii) Sahitya Akademi Telugu Advisory Board for 6 years; (iii) Telugu Advisory Committee of Bharatiya Jnanpith (convener).

Dr Diwakarla Venkatavadhani
18/4 R.T., Barkatpura
Hyderabad 500 027

SARMA, CHALLA RADHAKRISHNA: M.A., M.Litt.; Ph.D.; Telugu scholar and researcher; b. 1929, Krishna Dist.; educ. Madras University; Telugu Lecturer (1954–1957); Language Assistant and Regional Secretary, Sahitya Akademi (1957–81); Professor of Telugu, Kamaraj University (1981–).

Published 40 books (in Telugu, English and Tamil) consisting of poems, essays, biographies, novels etc. Important works: Telugu (i) *Jayimcina Janata* (Poetry, 1972); (ii) *Tenugu Vindu* (Essays, 1973); (iii) English: *The Ramayana in Telugu and Tamil—A Comparative Study* (1973).

Member: (i) General Council, A.P. Sahitya Akademi; (ii) Film Censor Board, Madras, for a few years; (iii) Tamil Nadu Government Expert Committee for translation of Tamil Classics.

Dr C. R. Sarma
Professor of Telugu
Madurai Kamaraj University
Madurai

HEMALATHA, J.: M.A., Ph.D.; Telugu scholar and writer; b. 1941; educ. Osmania University. Teaching Telugu in Sri Sathya Sai Arts & Science College for Women since 1968; Principal of the College from 1974.

Has published several articles in Telugu and the book titled '*Dakṣiṇa Āndhra Vāṅmayamu Bhāṣa viśēṣālu*'. Active participant in various educational and cultural organizations.

Member: (i) Post-Graduate Board of Studies for Telugu, S.V. University; (ii) State Council for Education for Women, A.P.; (iii) Sports Council, S.V. University.

Dr J. Hemalatha
Principal
Sri Sathya Sai Arts & Science College for Women
Anantapur 515 001

KONDAMUDI, S. R. M.: M.A., M.Phil.; Telugu novelist; b. 1937, Returu; educ. Andhra University. Has been teaching English in St. Theresa's College, Eluru; now, Professor and Head of the Department of English.

Published in Telugu over a dozen novels, 3 full length plays, over 20 one-act plays, about 100 short stories and a few books of literary criticism. Important works: (i) *Karuṇa Pāpam Paḍaga Nīḍa* (In the Shadow of the Hood of Sin); (ii) *Deivōpahatulu* (The Starcrossed), both novels; (iii) *Padma Vyūham* (Telugu Drama).

Recipient of the best story award for 1957. As leader of a cultural delegation chosen by Government of India in 1972–73, he toured Italy, Algeria, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon and other places.

Sri S. R. M. Kondamudi
Head of the Department of English
St Theresa's College
Eluru 534 006
Andhra Pradesh

PRASADA RAO, M. V. N.: 'Hitasri'; M.Com.; Telugu story writer; b. 1926, Tenali; educ. Andhra University. Has been teaching Commerce in V.S.R. College; now Vice Principal of the college and department head.

Has published 10 books in Telugu consistsing of short stories and plays. Important books: (i) *Hitaśri Kathālu;* (ii) *Jāri Añcu*; (iii) *Hitaśrī Naṭikalu* (collection of short plays).

His stories have been included in the anthologies brought out by Central Sahitya Akademi, and A.P. Sahitya Akademi.

Sri. M. V. N. Prasada Rao
Vice Principal, V.S.R. College
Tenali 522 201
Andhra Pradesh

ANJANEYULU, D.: M.A., B.L., D.Litt.; journalist and Telugu critic; b. 1924, Guntur; educ. Madras University. Sub-editor, *The Indian Express* (1948–53), *The Hindu* (1953–58); Senior Information Officer, P.I.B. (1971–75);

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Senior Correspondent, News Editor, AIR (1977–82).

Regular contributor to journals and periodicals like *Quest*, *Thought*, *Indian Review*, *Indian Literature*, *The Hindu*, *Swarajya*, etc. His writings are mostly in English. Important books: (i) *Dr. C. R. Reddi* (Monograph published by Sahitya Akademi); (ii) *Window to the West* (Travelogue, Soviet Union and Europe); (iii) *Kandukūri Vīrēśaliṅgam* (Biography—Publications Division, Government of India)

Dr D. Anjaneyulu
'Saketa'
No. 14 Mandavalli Street
Madras 600 028

HANUMANTHA RAO, P.: M.A., Ph.D.; Telugu writer and researcher; b. 1931, Guntur; educ. Andhra University; Lecturer in Telugu, Head of the Telugu Department and Principal, Hindu College, Guntur.

Published about 10 books consisting of novels, poems, essays and plays. Important works: (i) *Svarṇa Yugamu* (Historical novel); (ii) *Veṅkaṭēśa* (125 verses —tr. from Sanskrit); (iii) *Āndhra Sāhityamu—Camatkār Vaibhavamu* (Post-doctoral dissertation).

Dr P. Hanumantha Rao
Principal
Hindu College
Guntur 522 003
Andhra Pradesh

NARASIMHA RAO, B. V.: 'Balabandhu'; B.A., B.Ed.; Telugu writer, b. 1913, Krishna Dist. Teacher and Inspector of Schools (1940–68). He is an artist, and writer in Telugu, who has specialized in children's literature.

Has published 15 books in Telugu consisting of songs, rhymes, stories and mini plays for children. Member: (i) Andhra Nataka Kala Parishad, (ii) A.P. Sangeet Natak Akademi; (iii) A.P. Balakala Akademi, which conferred the title of 'Balabandhu' on him.

Sri 'Balabandhu' B. V. Narasimha Rao
Rajendranagar
Gudivada
Krishna Dist.
Andhra Pradesh

VISWANATHAM, K.: M.A.; English professor and Telugu critic, b. 1916, Nellore Dist.; educ. Madras University and King's College, London. Taught English in colleges (5 years) and PG students, Andhra University for 31 years, retired as Professor and Head of the Department in 1976.

Has written several papers in English. Important books are: (i) *India in English Fiction* (written while doing research in King's College, London); (ii) *Essays in Criticism and Comparative Poetics* (A compilation of papers on literature: English, American, Indo-Anglian and Sanskrit, 1979).

Awards: (i) USRT awardee of the U.G.C. (1977–79). Member: (i) UGC Team which visited universities in Assam; (ii) Senate, Andhra University. Participant in Commonwealth Literature Conference, Uganda.

Prof. K. Viswanatham
4/IV, MIG Flats, Pithapuram Colony
Vizakhapatnam 3
Andhra Pradesh

URDU

KHAN, NASEER AHMAD: M.A., Ph.D.; Urdu linguistician; educ. Aligarh University. Has taught Urdu literature and linguistics in Kashmir, Aligarh and Jawaharlal Nehru universities.

Has published many articles on Urdu linguistics and stylistics in leading Urdu journals. The five books published include (i) *Elements of Urdu Structure;* (ii) *Linguistic Analysis of Standard Urdu;* (iii) *Urdu Dialects and Socio-linguistic Analysis of Karkhandari.*

Member of various academic and literary organizations.

Dr Naseer Ahmad Khan
Centre of Indian Languages
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi 110 067

ASHRAFI, SYED ABDUL WAHAB: M.A. (Urdu and English), B.Ed., Ph.D.; Urdu scholar and critic; b. 1936. Now Professor and Head of the Department of Urdu, Ranchi University.

Published 10 books, mostly dealing with literary criticism. Has also published some short stories. Important works: (i) *Ṣad Azīmābādi and Uṅki Nasṛnigari* (Ph.D. dissertation in Urdu); (ii) *Mani-ki-Talāś* (Collection of articles); (iii) *Kahāni-ki-Rūp* (Collection of short stories).

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Has won as many as four awards for books. Member. (i) Bihar Urdu Akademi; (ii) Faculty of Arts, Delhi University; (iii) Vice President, All India University Teachers Association. Now working as Chief Editor of *Descriptive Research Dictionary*.

Dr Wahab Ashrafi
New Ahmad Colony
Central Street
Hindpiri
Ranchi (Bihar)

QAMAR RAIS: M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.; Urdu critic and poet; b. 1932, Shahjahanpur, U.P.; educ. Nagpur, Aligarh and Lucknow universities. Visiting Professor, Tashkent State University (1962–66), Reader and Head of the Urdu Department, Delhi University (1976–79).

Noted specialist on Prem Chand. Published 12 books including (i) *Shuāra-i-Uzbekistān* (tr. Uzbek poem, 1970); (ii) *Prēmcand ka Tanqidi Mutalea;* (iii) English: *Impact of October Revolution on Indian Literature* (in English, 1977); (iv) *Talash-o-Tawazun* (criticism).

Distinctions: (i) Secretary, National Federation of Progressive Writers; (ii) General Secretary, All India University Urdu Teachers Association (1972–1983); (iii) ed. *Asri Agāhi*, Urdu monthly.

Dr Qamar Rais
C-166, Vivek Vihar
Delhi 110 032

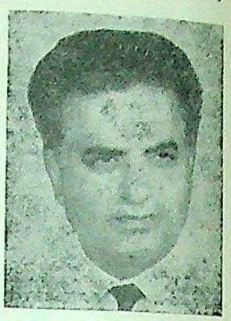
AZEEM, ANWER: M.A.; Urdu story writer, and journalist; b. 1928, Gaya dist.; educ. Patna University. Worked as translator and Urdu Adviser in USSR, then as chief editor, Urdu *Blitz*, Bombay. In 1961 joined *Soviet Land* Magazine as editor in New Delhi.

Published 12 books including (i) *Dhuān Dhuān Savēra* (novel, 1965); (ii) *Ajnabi Fāsley* (Short stories, 1977); (iii) English: *Deep Are the Roots* (1969). Has translated Turganev, Pushkin, Gorky, etc.

Awards: (i) U.P. Urdu Akademi Award for novel (1970) and Short Story (1971); (ii) Soviet Land Nehru Award (1969). Widely travelled in Europe.

Sri Anwer Azeem
D-40 Marg Saket
New Delhi 110 017

JOGINDER PAUL: M.A.; Urdu short story writer; b. 1925, Sialkot; educ. Punjab University. Worked as a school master in East Africa after graduation; and a decade later took his M.A. degree in English literature as an external candidate. Professor of English and later Principal, S. B. College, Aurangabad (1965–78). His mother tongue is Punjabi, but writes in Urdu and English.



Published 10 books in Urdu including: (i) *Silvaten* (Mini stories, 1970); (ii) *Amad-O-Rāft* (Novel, 1975); (iii) *Laikin* (Short story, 1977); (iv) *Be Mahāvara* (Short stories, 1978).

Has written numerous critical articles in English highlighting a new dimension to short story writing. Award: UP State Fiction Award (1976).

Sri Joginder Paul
E-587 Greater Kailash II
New Delhi 110 048

HUSAINI, M.A.: Writer in Urdu and English; b. 1926; educ. Lucknow and Punjab universities. Started his career as teacher in English (1948–53); joined Ministry of Information and Broadcasting in 1953 and worked in Publications Division, Directorate of Field Publicity and Research, etc.

Has been writing in English and Urdu since 1945. Toured Africa and Europe in 1959; America, Canada and Japan in 1971. Currently serving as Chief Documentation Officer, Research and Reference Division, and ed. *Mass Media Annual*.

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Published several articles in Konkani and English and six books. Important books: (i) *Koṅkaṇi Ek Svatantra Bhāṣa* (1967); (ii) *Koṅkaṇi Lōk Gīth* (1976); (iii) English: *Konkani Language and Literature* (1978).

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Published 5 books and several stories and articles. Important books: (i) *An Introduction to Modern Dogri Literature* (1965); (ii) *Sri Kant* (novel, tr. from Sarat Chandra); (iii) *An Introduction to Dogri Folk Literature and Pahari Art* (1965). ed. *Dogri Lokgit* in 7 parts.

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Publications in English 15, including (i) *Jawaharlal Nehru: A Study of His Writings and Speeches* (1960); (ii) *Writers' Gandhi* (1967); (iii) *The Swan and the Eagle* (1969). ed. of several publications with scholarly Introductions. Contributor: (i) *Encyclopaedia of World Literature*; (ii) *Saturday Review*; (iii) *Span*; (iv) *Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, etc.

Awards and distinctions: (i) Rockefeller Fellow at Princeton; (ii) Fellow of the University of Wisconsin; (iii) Visiting Professor at Queensland and Flinders universities in Australia, Leeds in England and Texas and Yale in USA; (iv) Visiting Professor at IIAS, Simla; (v) National Lecturer, U.G.C. and (vi) Consultant of East-West Center, Hawaii.

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Published about 45 novels, and plays, operas and playlets numbering about 50. Has compiled a *Kannada dictionary* (1942); *Bālāprapañca* (Children's encyclopaedia, 1934–38); popular science books titled *Jnāna Prapañca* (4 vols.) and *Yakṣagāna bayalāṭa*. Important novels: (i) *Cōmanaduḍi* (1933); (ii) *Maraḷi Maṇṇige* (1942); (iii) *Mūkajjiya Kanasugaḷu* (1968).

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Scope of the Index

This is an author, title and subject index. It includes entries for names of authors, names of institutions, titles of works and names of topics. Entries for authors and titles are made only when they are discussed in the text in sufficient detail. In case, you are interested in searching for an author or a title, first look under the name of the author or title of the work. If you do not find an entry, search under the topic with which that author or title is associated.

Entries for titles of works are printed in italics.

Entries for topics include English terms as well as vernacular terms.

Example: alienation theme;
alankara, Sanskrit poetics;
etc.

Entries for foreign authors and their works are generally not included in the index. However entries are made under names of appropriate topics to facilitate easy search and retrieval.

Example: English drama;
existentialistic theme;
psychological theme;
translations and adaptations;
western literary criticism;
etc.

If, for instance, you are interested in Camus, or Sartre, search under 'existentialistic theme'; if you are interested in Sigmund Freud, search under 'psychological theme'; etc.

References

If an author is known by more than one name, entries are grouped under one form of name with a '*see*' cross reference from the other form.

Example: Faturananda, *see* Mishra, Ramachandra

In order to facilitate search under topics related to a topic, '*see also*' cross references are made from many topics to related topics.

Example:

biographical literature 957-1046, 1286, 1289-91, 1332, 1338
see also the specific types, e.g. autobiographies; diary literature; letters, memoirs, and reminiscences; names of specific languages with the sub-heading biographical literature, e.g. Assamese biographical literature; Konkani biographical literature; etc., and names of important persons, e.g. Gandhi, M. K.; Nehru, Jawaharlal; etc.

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in this index:

comp: compared with
infd: influenced by
infg: influencing
irt: in relation to

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